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THE MISSOURI HISTORICAL REVIEW

October, 1920 - July, 1921

PUBLISHED BY
THE STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY
OF MISSOURI

VOLUME XV

FLOYD C. SHOEMAKER, *Secretary-Editor*
COLUMBIA, MISSOURI

1921

CONTENTS.

Page.

Atchison County's Memorial at Rock Port, Mo., by John C. Stapel..... 648
Century of Education in Missouri, by C. A. Phillips..... 298
Century of Journalism in Missouri, by W. V. Byars..... 53
Century of Missouri Agriculture, by F. B. Mumford..... 277
Century of Missouri Legal Literature, by John D. Lawson..... 595
Century of Missouri Literature, by Alexander Nicolas DeMenil..... 74
Century of Missouri Politics, by C. H. McClure..... 315
Century of Transportation in Missouri, by Edward J. White..... 126
Followers of Duden, by William G. Bek.....519, 660
Guide to the Study of Local History and the Collection of Historical Material, by Jonas Viles and Jesse E. Wrench..... 453
Historical Articles in Missouri Newspapers.....580, 743
Historical Notes and Comments.....214, 393, 561, 721
Influence of the Mississippi Valley on the Development of Modern France, by Maurice Casenave..... 651
Labor and Industry in Missouri During the Last Century, by Lee Meriwether..... 163
Missouri Centennial Exposition, by Donald D. Davis..... 449
Missouri in 1820, by Jonas Viles..... 36
Missouri-Mississippi Railroad Debt, by E. M. Violette.....487, 617
Missouri Taverns, by Walter B. Stevens..... 241
Missourians and the Nation During the Last Century, by Champ Clark.. 433
Missourians in China, by J. B. Powell..... 611
Missourians in Japan, by S. H. Wainwright..... 468
Model Centennial Program for Local Celebrations, by E. M. Violette.... 337
One Hundred Years of Banking in Missouri, by Breckinridge Jones..... 345
Popularizing State History, by Floyd C. Shoemaker..... 700
Shelby's Expedition to Mexico, by John N. Edwards.....545, 707
Social Customs and Usages in Missouri During the Last Century, by Mary Alicia Owen..... 176
Social Reform in Missouri During the Last Century, by George B. Mangold 191
Travail of Missouri for Statehood, by Walter B. Stevens..... 1

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THE MISSOURI HISTORICAL REVIEW

Vol. XV October, 1920 No. 1

MISSOURI CENTENNIAL NUMBER

CONTENTS.

	Page
The Travail of Missouri for Statehood — Walter B. Stevens	1
Missouri in 1820 — Jonas Viles	36
A Century of Journalism in Missouri — W. V. Byars	53
A Century of Missouri Literature — Alexander Nicolas DeMenil	74
A Century of Transportation in Missouri — Edward J. White	126
Labor and Industry in Missouri during the Last Century — Lee Meriwether	163
Social Customs and Usages in Missouri during the Last Century — Mary Alicia Owen	176
Social Reform in Missouri during the Last Century — George B. Mangold	191
Historical Notes and Comments	214

FLOYD C. SHOEMAKER, Editor

The Missouri Historical Review is published quarterly. The subscription price is $1.00 a year. A complete set of the REVIEW is still obtainable—Vols. 1-14, bound, $50.00; unbound, $30.00. Prices of separate volumes given on request. All communications should be addressed to Floyd C. Shoemaker, Secretary, The State Historical Society of Missouri, Columbia, Missouri.

"Entered as second-class matter at the postoffice at Columbia, Missouri, under the Act of Congress, Oct. 3, 1917, Sec. 442."

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THE MISSOURI HISTORICAL REVIEW

VOL. XV, NO. 1 COLUMBIA OCTOBER, 1920

The Travail of Missouri for Statehood.

BY WALTER B. STEVENS.

"But the agony is over and Missouri is born into the Union, not a seven months baby but a man child; his birth no secret in the family, but a proud and glorious event, proclaimed to the nation with the firing of cannon, the ringing of bells and illumination of towns and cities."

In this enthusiastic spirit the *St. Louis Enquirer*, of March 29, 1820, commented on the passage by Congress of the Missouri statehood act. The *Enquirer* was the paper for which Benton wrote. Two years and two months had elapsed since Missouri's petitions for admission to the Union had been presented to Congress. In a way congratulations were premature, for a year and four months were to pass before President Monroe's tardy proclamation announced that "the admission of the said State of Missouri into this Union is declared to be complete."

As early as the fall months of 1817, petitions were being circulated by men of influence in Franklin, St. Charles, Herculaneum, Ste. Genevieve, Cape Girardeau, New Madrid, St. Louis. They were "from sundry inhabitants of the Territory of Missouri praying that said territory may be admitted to the Union on an equal footing with the original states." The movement was timely. Across the river, Illinois, supposed

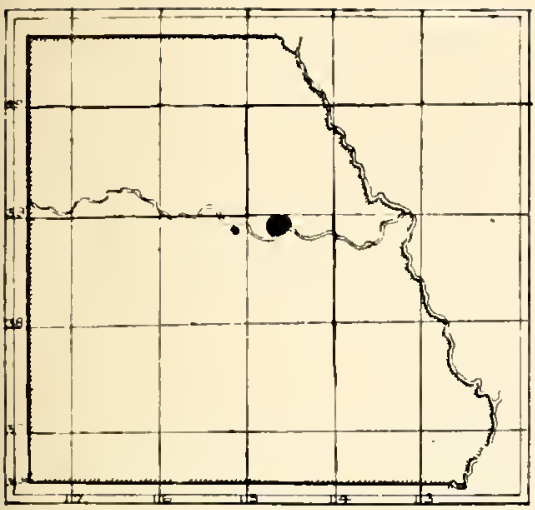
Editor's Note: The *Review* is not responsible for opinions and conclusions advanced by its contributors.

to be some thousands smaller in population, was asking statehood. Seven states had been added to the original thirteen. Missouri was growing faster than any of them. Rev. John Mason Peck wrote in his "Memoir:"

"The newcomers, like a mountain torrent, poured into the country faster than it was possible to provide corn for bread-stuff. Some families came in the spring of 1815; but in the winter, spring, summer and autumn of 1816, they came like an avalanche. It seemed as though Kentucky and Tennessee were breaking up and moving to the 'Far West.' Caravan after caravan passed over the prairies of Illinois, crossing the 'great river' at St. Louis, all bound for Boone's Lick. The stream of immigration had not lessened in 1817."

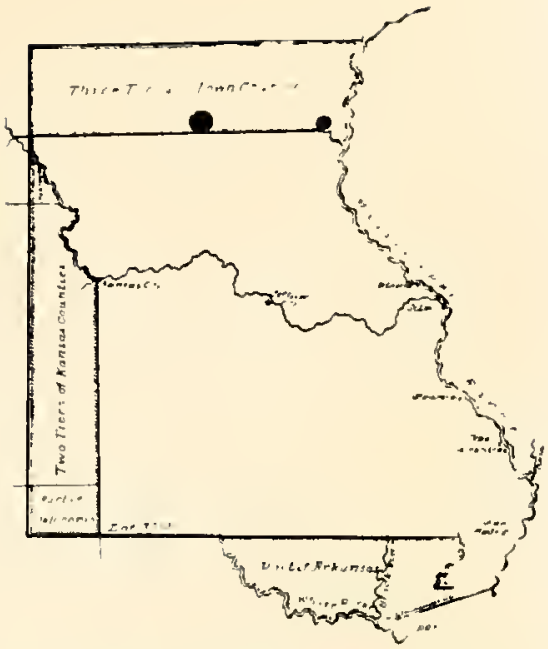
On the anniversary of the battle of New Orleans, January 8, 1818, the petition of the "sundry inhabitants of the Territory of Missouri" was presented to Congress. That same month the petitions from Illinois were presented. Before the end of that session Congress had passed the necessary legislation for Illinois. The convention met in Kaskaskia and framed a constitution. Illinois was, in December, 1818, a state. But Missouri waited—waited from January 8, 1818, to March 6, 1820, for the first formal answer to her prayer. In the meantime, a game of national politics went on. Alabama put in a plea for statehood and it was granted.

When the Union was formed there were seven free and six slave states. After that the policy was to admit alternately a slave state and a free state. Thus was to be maintained a compromise balance of power. Missouri's petitions upset it. Senate and House wrangled long, the Senate willing to admit without restrictions; the House, having a majority, insisting on conditions as to slavery. Tallmadge of New York offered a resolution to make Missouri gradually a free state. This provision was that no more slaves should be admitted to Missouri and that all children born of slaves then in Missouri should be free at twenty-five years of age. The House adopted the resolution. The Senate refused to concur. There was much talk and vain effort to compromise.



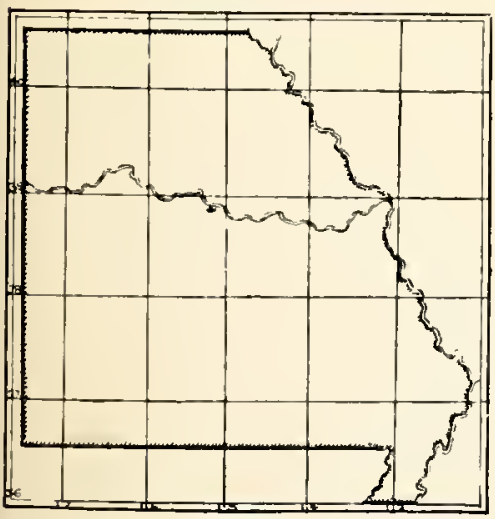
BOUNDARY OF MISSOURI AS FIRST SUGGESTED IN 1817

From Houck's *Hist. of Mo.*, I. 3.



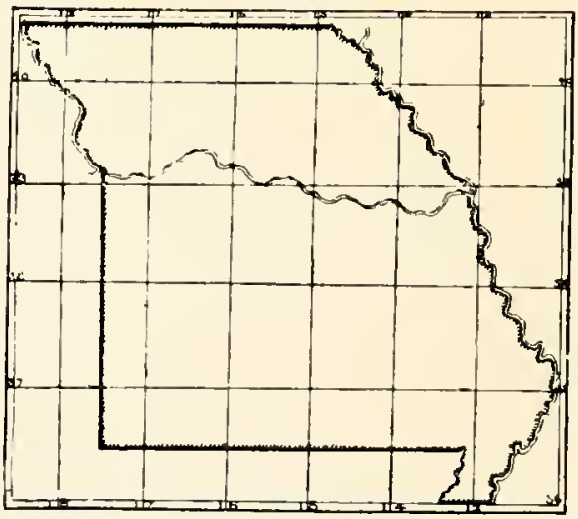
BOUNDARY OF MISSOURI AS SUGGESTED BY THE TERRITORIAL LEGISLATURE IN 1818.

From Houck's *Hist. of Mo.*, I. 5



BOUNDARY OF MISSOURI AS ADOPTED BY CONGRESS IN 1820.

From Houck's *Hist. of Mo.*, I. 6.



BOUNDARY OF MISSOURI WITH THE PLATTE PURCHASE ADDED.

From Houck's *Hist. of Mo.*, I. 12.

Arkansas territory was created, but the Fifteenth Congress adjourned March 4, 1819, with Missouri waiting.

Tallmadge and Taylor were two northern members who led the fight to make Missouri an addition to the list of free states. At the celebration on the Fourth of July, 1819, in St. Louis, Missourians paid their respects to these two statesmen in this toast:

"Messrs. Tallmadge and Taylor—Politically insane.—May the next Congress appoint them a dark room, a straight waistcoat and a thin water gruel diet."

The toast was drank and the newspaper report says it was "followed by nineteen cheers and the band played Yankee Doodle."

Along the Mississippi and up the Missouri, resentment toward Congress spread. Prominent men of the Boone's Lick country assembled at Franklin to celebrate the arrival of the first steamboat. The banquet, after congratulations on the opening of steamboat navigation on the Missouri, was given the turn of an indignation meeting over the delay of statehood. One after another, the speakers arose and proposed condemnation of Congress. Duff Green, who later became editor of the administration organ at Washington, led off with: "The Union—It is dear to us but liberty is dearer."

Dr. James H. Benson offered: "The Territory of Missouri—May she emerge from her present degraded condition."

Stephen Rector introduced a tone of belligerency in his sentiment: "May the Missourians defend their rights, if necessary, even at the expense of blood, against the unprecedented restriction which was attempted to be imposed on them by the Congress of the United States."

Dr. Dawson proposed: "The next Congress—May they be men consistent in their construction of the Constitution; and whey they admit new states into the Union, be actuated less by a spirit of compromise, than the just rights of the people."

Nathaniel Patton, the editor, proposed a thoughtful toast: "The Missouri Territory—Its future prosperity and

greatness can not be checked by the caprice of a few men in Congress, while it possesses a soil of inexhaustible fertility, abundant resources, and a body of intelligent, enterprising freemen."

Major J. D. Wilcox put his proposition in the form of an ultimatum: "The citizens of Missouri—May they never become a member of the Union, under the restriction relative to slavery."

The St. Louis grand jury put forth a declaration that "the late attempt by the Congress of the United States to restrict us in the free exercise of rights in the formation of a constitution and form of state government for ourselves is an unconstitutional and unwarrantable usurpation of power over our inalienable rights and privileges as a free people."

The grand jury of Jefferson county returned to the court a protest, saying:

"We have beheld with equal surprise and regret the attempt made in the last Congress to dictate to the people of Missouri an article in their constitution prohibiting the further introduction of slavery in their state or debar them from the rights of state sovereignty if they would not submit to such restriction. That slavery is an evil we do not pretend to deny, but, on the contrary, would most cheerfully join in any measure to abolish it, provided those means were not likely to produce greater evils to the people than the one complained of; but we hold the power of regulating this, or applying a remedy to this evil, to belong to the states and not to Congress. The Constitution of the United States which creates Congress gives to it all its powers, and limits those of the states; and although that Constitution empowers Congress to admit new states into the Union, yet it neither does, by express grant nor necessary implication, authorize that body to make the whole or any part of the constitution of such state."

One of the most notable protests against the action of Congress came from delegates of "the several Baptist churches of Christ, composing the Mount Pleasant Association." These delegates addressed a long memorial to Congress, which was printed in eastern newspapers. The memorial was signed by Edward Turner, moderator, and George Stapleton, clerk. The memorial set forth:

"That, as a people, the Baptists have always been republican, they have been among the first to mark, and to raise their voice against oppression, and ever ready to defend their rights, with their fortunes and their lives; in this they are supported as well by the principles which organized the revolution, and secured our independence as a nation, as by those recognized in our bill of rights, and that Constitution which as citizens we are bound to support.

"Viewing the Constitution of the United States, as the result of the united experience of statesmen and patriots of the Revolution, and as the sacred palladium of our religious as well as civil liberty, we can not without the most awful apprehensions look on any attempt to violate its provisions, and believing that a vote of a majority of the last Congress restricting the good people of this territory in the formation of their constitution for a state government to be in direct opposition thereto; we would enter our most solemn protest against the principle endeavored to be supported thereby."

The twenty-one members of the grand jury of Montgomery county signed their names to their protest at the July, 1819, term against the action of Congress.

"They view the restrictions attempted to be imposed upon the people of Missouri territory in the formation of a state constitution unlawful, unconstitutional and oppressive. They can not admit the right of any power whatever to impose restrictions on them in the form or substance of a state constitution.

"They hope those restrictions will never more be attempted; and if they should, they hope by the assistance of the genius of '76, and the interposition of Divine Providence, to find means to protect their rights."

Especially notable among these protests was the one to which the grand jurors of St. Charles signed their names. Declaring that they considered it their duty to take notice of all grievances of a public nature, they said:

"We do present that the Congress of the United States, at their last session, in attempting to restrict the people of Missouri, in the exercise and enjoyment of their rights as American freemen, in the formation of their state constitution, assumed an unconstitutional power, having the direct tendency to usurp the privileges of state sovereignties; privileges guaranteed by the declaration of American rights, the Constitution of the United States, the treaty of cession, and the blood of our fathers who achieved our independence. That it is a restriction heretofore without

precedent or parallel, as it regards the admission of territories into the union of the states, and if persisted in by those members of Congress who at the last session proved themselves opposed to the growth of our happy land and luxuriant country, will be, in our opinion, a direct attack and infringement on the sacred rights, state sovereignty and independence, and the tocsin of alarm to all friends of the Union under our republican form of government. Although we much deplore any existing political differences of opinion with the majority of the House of Representatives of the last Congress, who introduced and supported the restriction, yet we consider it our bounden duty as freemen, and as republican members of the great American family, to take a dignified stand against any assumption or usurpation of our rights from whatever quarter it may come, and to support the Constitution of the United States as the anchor of our political hope."

One hundred years ago Missouri was divided into seven counties. The grand jury of every county went on record in most formal protest against the attitude of Congress toward Missouri. From April, 1819 to December of the same year, wherever Missourians assembled, resolutions were adopted or toasts were drank in defiance of the dictation of Congress as to what, on the subject of slavery, should be put in the state constitution. And these sentiments were indorsed with many cheers.

In these later days people applaud by the watch. The cheering is timed. Newspapers and partisans gauge popular approval by the duration of the applause. One hundred years ago the successive cheers were counted. After drinking fervently to a sentiment, the people "hip hip hurrahed." Their enthusiasm was estimated by the number of these cheers. There was no fictitious swelling of the volume of sound by the blowing of horns, by the ringing of bells, by the beating of drums, by the stamping of feet. It was all vociferous. And, when the tumult and the shouting died, everybody knew that the sentiment or the candidate had been indorsed by one, or ten, or twenty, or whatever the count might be, cheers. Thus, at a meeting in St. Louis, over which Auguste Chouteau presided, the *Missouri Gazette* reported that these two toasts "received the largest number of cheers:"

"The next Congress, a sacred regard for the Constitution, in preference to measures of supposed expediency, will insure to them the confidence of the American people. Nineteen cheers. Yankee Doodle (music)."

"The Territory of Missouri, with a population of near 100,000, demands her right to be admitted into the Union, on an equal footing with the original states. Nineteen cheers. 'Scotts o'er the Border'."

Probably the most significant and effective of these protesting meetings was one at which Thomas H. Benton presented the resolutions. These resolutions took the form of what might be called an ultimatum to Congress. They were passed upon by such foremost Missourians as William C. Carr, Henry S. Geyer, Edward Bates and Joshua Barton before being adopted unanimously by the meeting. Alexander McNair presided. David Barton was secretary. This, then, was the action of the men who were to be the first governor and the first two United States Senators and other acknowledged leaders of the new state. The resolutions declared in no uncertain words "that the Congress of the United States have no right to control the provisions of a state constitution, except to preserve its republican character." They denounced the action of the House of Representatives as "an outrage on the American Constitution." But the concluding resolution presented to Congress and the rest of the country a new if not startling situation:

"That the people of this territory have a right to meet in convention by their own authority, and to form a constitution and state government, whenever they shall deem it expedient to do so, and that a second determination on the part of Congress to refuse them admission, upon an equal footing with the original states, will make it expedient to exercise that right."

There might be Missouri compromise in Cong ess. There was to be no Missouri compromise in Missouri.

The threats were not few that if Congress persisted in tying strings to Missouri's admission, the people of the territory might reject the terms and set up an independent government for themselves.

More than slavery was involved, Missourians thought, in the attempt of Congress to dictate the constitution of the new state. Joseph Charless said, in his *Missouri Gazette*, of March 24, 1819: "But the question before Congress is a question of more vital importance. It is, in fact, whether the inhabitants of this territory shall themselves be slaves to the other states." And this was from the newspaper which printed the views of the restrictionists and which was not pro-slavery.

The grand jury of the circuit court for the northern district of the Territory of Missouri, in a pronouncement, hinted at dire possibilities if Congress continued to dictate the constitution to be framed by Missouri.

"Altho' we deprecate anything like an idea of disunion, which, next to our personal liberty and security of property, is our dearest right and privilege, and can not entertain for a moment the most distant probability of such an event, yet we feel it our duty to take a manly and dignified stand for our rights and privileges, as far as is warranted by the Constitution of the United States, and the act of cession, and from which we will not depart."

The grand jurors of the Supreme Court for the Territory of Missouri uttered their protest, concluding: "And they believe it the duty of the people of Missouri to make it known in the most public manner that they are acquainted with their own rights and are determined to maintain them." The grand jurors declared that the "action of Congress is a gross violation of those rights."

In the summer of 1819, a movement to go before Congress with new petitions for statehood was started in the southern part of the territory. These petitions proposed that the new state should be bounded on the north by the Missouri river and on the south by the White river. They received some signatures, the argument being that if the territory north of the Missouri was left out for later consideration, Congress would be less likely to impose slavery restrictions on the new state. The movement was scarcely well under way when indignant remonstrances were made. St. Louis voiced ur-

DAVID BARTON

Speaker of the Missouri Territorial House of Representatives 1818, President of the Missouri Constitutional Convention 1820, United States Senator from Missouri 1820-1830

gent objections to a state leaving out the country north of the Missouri. The *Enquirer*, for which Benton wrote, led in the campaign against the new boundaries. It said:

"We are particularly opposed to a division by the Missouri river. We should consider such a division as a deathblow to the grandeur and importance of the State of Missouri. We deprecate the idea of making the civil divisions of the states to correspond with the natural boundaries of the country Such divisions would promote that tendency to separate which it is the business of all statesmen to counteract."

In the late autumn of 1819, *The St. Louis Enquirer* told of the rapid growth of population:

"Notwithstanding the great number of persons who are held in check by the agitation of the slave question in Congress, the emigration to Missouri is astonishing. Probably from thirty to fifty wagons daily cross the Mississippi at the different ferries, and bring in an average of four to five hundred souls a day. The emigrants are principally from Kentucky, Tennessee, Virginia and the states further south. They bring great numbers of slaves, knowing that Congress has no power to impose the agitated restriction, and that the people of Missouri will never adopt it."

A meeting at St. Ferdinand, in what is now St. Louis county, where, according to tradition, was the earliest settlement of Americans in Missouri, by two or three families from North Carolina adopted this sentiment:

"The Territory of Missouri—May she be admitted into the Union on an equal footing with the original states, or not received in any other way."

This toast, the reporter of 1819 tells, was "drank standing up—twenty-two cheers."

No wonder, Thomas Jefferson, growing old and, perhaps, somewhat pessimistic, viewed the deadlock in Congress and the defiance of the territory with dismal forebodings. He wrote to John Adams: "The Missouri question is a breaker on which we lose the Missouri country by revolt and what more God only knows."

Jefferson knew and remembered what the Congress of 1819 seemed to have forgotten, that Missouri had a claim to statehood beyond that of Illinois, or Alabama or Maine, all of which were being given precedence. It was a claim based on international treaty. When the United States acquired the great Louisiana Purchase, it was solemnly stipulated with France that the inhabitants of the vast region west of the Mississippi "shall be incorporated in the Union of the United States and admitted, as soon as possible, according to the principles of the Federal Constitution, to the enjoyment of all the rights, advantages and immunities of citizens of the United States." Sixteen years had elapsed since the United States had given that pledge by treaty to France, and Missourians were still waiting. Two years and two months after the presentation of the petition for statehood supported with the facts and argument justifying admission, Congress, in March, 1820, passed the bill permitting Missouri to frame a state constitution without restriction as to slavery, but providing that slavery should be excluded from the rest of the Louisiana Purchase territory west and north of Missouri. That was the "Missouri Compromise" which vexed American politics for thirty-seven years, only to be declared unconstitutional by the United States Supreme Court in March, 1857.

Acceptance of the Missouri Compromise came about in the early days of March, 1820, through the action of eight senators and fifteen representatives from the North in voting with the South to leave with the new state the settlement of the slavery question. Some of these northerners who yielded were denounced at mass meetings of their anti-slavery constituents. One of the senators, Lanman of Connecticut, was burned in effigy at Hartford. Benton's paper, the *St. Louis Enquirer*, commenting on the course of these northerners, used language intimating that their votes had far-reaching effect in the direction of preventing disunion:

"In all eight senators and fifteen representatives who have offered themselves as sacrifices upon the altar of public good to

save the states and to prevent the degradation of Missouri. Their generous conduct deserves a nation's gratitude, and let a grateful nation deliver it to them. Let public honors wait upon their steps, and public blessings thicken round their heads. Let fame with her brazen trumpet, from the summit of the Alleghany, proclaim their honored names thru' out the vast regions of the South and West."

In the manuscript collection of John H. Gundlach, of St. Louis, is a letter from Congressman Stokes, of North Carolina, written to John Branch, the Governor of that state. The date of the letter, February 27, 1820, shows that it was sent just at the time when a majority of Congress was deciding to accept the Missouri Compromise. The letter is far more enlightening upon the action of Congress than scores of speeches and pages of newspaper editorials which were prompted by the Missouri Question during the months it was uppermost in the public mind:

"The question of compelling the people of Missouri to form their constitution, so as to forever prevent the introduction of slavery in that state, has occupied both houses of Congress for some weeks, and has not yet been settled. You have seen, and will hereafter see, volumes of speeches on the subject, most of which (not having been listened to in either house), are intended for home consumption. As I have differed from my honorable colleagues upon some propositions for accommodating and settling, for years to come, this all-important contest, which is agitating the people of the United States in a great degree everywhere; but which, in some of the northern states, has produced a delirium and phrensy approaching to madness; I have thought it proper to state the grounds upon which my conduct has been, and probably will be, maintained and defended. Those who are opposed to this unconstitutional restriction and upon the people of Missouri cannot and do not expect that Missouri will be admitted into the Union without the restriction, unless some concession or agreement shall take place excluding slavery from a portion of the west territory beyond the Mississippi. This is not mere opinion; it has been ascertained by several votes in the House of Representatives that a considerable majority of that body are in favor of restriction as to all the country purchased from France under the name of Louisiana. It is useless to examine at this time, whether this is a correct principle or not. The majority have satisfied their own minds upon the subject, and are determined to enforce the restraint. All that we from the slaveholding states can do, at

present, is to rescue from the rapacious grasp of those conscientious fanatics, a considerable portion of Louisiana, including all the inhabited parts of that extensive country. I can see no means, either now or hereafter, of accomplishing this object but by consenting that slavery may be prohibited in the northern portion of the Louisiana Purchase. By agreeing to this conception, I believe we may secure the remaining portion of that Purchase as an asylum for slaves already too numerous to be comfortably supported in some of the southern states. With this view I have consented that slavery may be excluded, by an act of Congress, from the territory lying west of the contemplated State of Missouri, and north of the parallel of thirty-six degrees, thirty minutes of north latitute; nor do I think the Constitution violated by this act in as much as Congress are only legislating upon a territory, in which there is not one citizen of the United States settled at this time. By this prudent and proper concession we shall quiet the minds of many people who have already been excited by bad men to commit daring acts of injustice and outrage. And although I can not respect members of Congress who, in violation of their obligations to the Constitution, are endeavoring to enforce this restriction upon the free people of Missouri; yet I do and always shall have a charitable and respectful regard for the feelings and even the prejudices of that great portion of the people of the northern states who are averse to slavery in any shape; and who would join with me in pursuing and promoting any constitutional measure to get rid of the evil. These are my views and the motives which have influenced my conduct upon this very important subject; and I can safely appeal to my conscience and to my God to justify the purity of my intentions.

"I have thus taken the liberty, my dear sir, of writing to you, that it may be recorded as my deliberate opinion and referred to in case of misrepresentation hereafter."

One of the arguments advanced in favor of allowing Missouri to settle the slavery question for herself was that, as the national government had stopped the importation of slaves, a scattering of the slaves already in the country would help toward the gradual abolition, rather than toward an increase. Six days after President Monroe signed the Missouri Compromise, Jefferson wrote a letter upholding this argument. His letter of March 12, 1820, was to Hugh Nelson:

"Of one thing I am certain, that as the passage of slaves from one state to another, would not make a slave of a single human being who would not be so without it, so their diffusion over a greater

surface would make them individually happier and proportionately facilitate the accomplishment of their emancipation, by dividing the burden on a greater number of coadjutors."

Even after the stage had been set for the passage of the Missouri Compromise, it required parliamentary fine work to reach the desired result. The vote on the compromise was taken in the House on the second of March, 1820. It was 90 to 87. Passage was made possible by three members absenting themselves and four changing their votes.

Frederick W. Lehmann, late Solicitor-General of the United States, addressing the Missouri Historical Society in 1914, said the compromise "did not draw all of the representatives of the South to the support of the measure, and it was bitterly antagonized by the radical element, among whom was Randolph, who characterized the eighteen northern members supporting it, and without whose votes it must have failed, as 'doughfaces,' a name from that time applied in our politics to northern men with pro-slavery principles. On the morning following the adoption of the report of the conference committee, Randolph moved a reconsideration of the vote on the Missouri bill, but was held by the Speaker, Clay, to be out of order until the regular morning business was disposed of. While the morning business was on, Clay signed the bill, and the clerk took it at once to the Senate. When, at the close of the morning hour, Randolph again rose and moved a reconsideration, he was told that he was too late as the bill was no longer in the possession of the House. The relations between Randolph and Clay were already strained and what Randolph felt was a trick on Clay's part did not serve to improve them."

The enmity between the two statesmen grew until it led to a bloodless duel, of which Benton was a spectator and of which he wrote a fascinating description. Northern Congressmen who voted for the bill were denounced by their angry constituents and, in one or two cases, burned in effigy. President Monroe had his doubts as to the constitutionality

of the measure. Much had been brought out in the debate on that point. Mr. Lehmann further said:

"When the bill came to President Monroe for signature, he submitted to his cabinet the question whether Congress had constitutional authority to prohibit slavery in a territory. And they all, Adams, Crawford, Calhoun and Wirt, answered yes. He asked further whether the provision interdicting slavery 'forever' applied to the territorial status alone or was binding as well on the state formed out of the territory. The southern members, Crawford, Calhoun and Wirt, held that it applied only to the territorial status, while Adams held it was binding on the state. To preserve the appearance of unanimity, the question was changed to, 'Is the eighth section of the Missouri bill consistent with the Constitution?' Each of the secretaries having in mind his own construction of the bill answered yes." Monroe decided to sign.

The first newspaper "extra" issued in Missouri appeared on the streets of St. Louis March 25, 1820. It announced "the happy intelligence" that the Missouri state bill had passed Congress "without restrictions." *The St. Louis Enquirer* told, in its next regular number, how the news was obtained from Washington and how the extra was received by the Missourians. It used headlines for perhaps the first time in the history of Missouri journalism.

"GRATIFYING NEWS FROM WASHINGTON; KING AND CLINTON DEFEATED; THE SENATE TRIUMPHANT; FINAL PASSAGE OF THE MISSOURI STATE BILL WITHOUT RESTRICTIONS."

"A traveler from Cincinnati arrived in town Saturday evening (25th of March), bringing with him a copy of the *National Intelligencer* of the 4th of March, containing the proceedings of Congress to the 3rd. A handbill announcing the happy intelligence contained in the paper was immediately issued from this office amidst the ringing of the bells, the firing of cannon and the joyful congratulations of the citizens."

Congress had acted, but the bill did not receive the President's signature until March 6th. The news was three weeks in reaching St. Louis. Not satisfied with the impromptu celebration, St. Louis proceeded in a more formal manner. The two papers contained this "Notice."

"Upon the request of many citizens of the town of St. Louis, it is resolved by the board of trustees that an illumination of the town be recommended to the citizens on Thursday night, 30th inst., to commence precisely at 8 o'clock p. m. in consequence of the admission of Missouri into the Union upon an equal footing with the original states.

"A national salute under the direction of the trustees will be fired previously at 8 o'clock.

"PIERRE CHOUTEAU,
"*Chairman.*"

St. Louis at that time was incorporated as a town, governed by a board of trustees. The incorporation as a city came three years later.

In the issue of the 29th, which told of the *Enquirer's* enterprise in getting out the extra, was this congratulatory editorial in the best style of Benton:

"But the agony is over and Missouri is born into the Union, not a seven-months baby, but a man child; his birth no secret in the family, but a proud and glorious event, proclaimed to the nation with the firing of cannon, the ringing of bells and illumination of towns and cities."

In the *Enquirer* of April 1, 1820, the celebration of the 30th of March was described:

"The town was illuminated on Thursday evening, according to the notice given by the board of trustees. It was entirely general, the whole town not presenting above four or five instances of exception. To these no sort of molestation was offered, and the evening passed off without a single occurrence to interrupt the harmony of the town, or to mar the festivity of the scene. Among the names which appeared in transparencies were those of the 'eight senators' and 'fifteen representatives' from the nonslaveholding states, who supported the rights of Missouri at the risk of their own personal popularity. Mr. Lanman's name occurred most frequently. Some were in favor of burning the effigy of

an adversary senator (Mr. King) in retaliation for the indignity offered him (Mr. Lanman) at Hartford; but the idea was discouraged and it was not done. 'Our faithful delegate,' Mr. Scott, was duly noticed. To enumerate all our friends from the south and west who deserve the gratitude of Missouri would be to repeat the list of their names as published last week.

"Among the transparencies was noticed at Dr. Heely's a beautiful representation of the American Eagle, from the beak the words 'Missouri and no Restriction.' Underneath was the Irish harp and the motto 'Erin go Bragh.' "

Missourians celebrated what they firmly believed was the birth of statehood. Candles burned in nearly all of the windows in St. Louis on the night chosen for the formal ratification. The cartoonist of one hundred years ago was equal to the occasion. He executed a transparency showing a negro dancing joyously because "Congress had voted to permit the slaves to come and live in such a fine country as Missouri." As the news traveled slowly up the rivers, bonfires burned on the hilltops at night and jollifications were held in the day time. Charles J. Cabell told an old settlers' reunion at Keytesv lle in 1877 that he could not remember another day like that in his long Missouri life time.

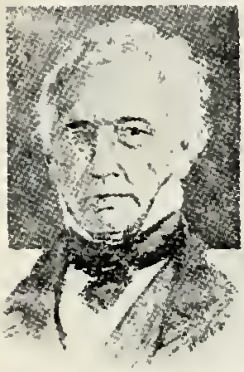
But one note of comment showed how determined were the Missourians that Congress should not continue to trifle with their rights, and that the memorial adopted by the St. Louis meeting a few weeks before was not an idle threat. In the *St. Louis Enquirer*, the paper for which Benton wrote, there appeared a paragraph on the thirty-first of March, 1820, which recalled the action of the meeting and told what would have been done by the Missourians if the passage of the compromise bill had been longer delayed:

"The people of the United States would have witnessed a specimen of Missouri feeling in the indignant contempt with which they would have trampled the odious restriction under their feet and proceeded to the formation of a republican constitution in the fullness of the people's power."

If Benton gauged the strength and extent of the Missouri sentiment at that time, Missouri may have been nearer the formation of an independent republic, to come into the Union

JOHN RICE JONES.
From Houck's *Hist. Mo.* III. 257

JOHN D. COOK.
From Houck's *Hist. Mo.* III. 269



JOHN SCOTT.
From Houck's *Hist. Mo.* III. 15

JONATHAN RAMSAY.
From Houck's *Hist. Mo.* III. 270

B. H. REEVES.
From Houck's *Hist. Mo.* III. 259.

HIRAM H. BABER.
From Houck's *Hist. Mo.* III. 270

SOME DELEGATES TO THE MISSOURI CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION 1820.

later, as Texas did, than the historians have told. Possibly Jefferson was correct in his judgment that the course of Congress threatened the loss of "the Missouri country and what more God only knows."

According to a report in the *Enquirer*, these toasts were drank at the celebration of the Fourth of July, 1820, in St. Louis:

"The State of Missouri—the last created member of the Federal Compact—may she, like the after-piece of universal creation, be the acknowledged Head of the Union! By the vice-president."

"The People of Missouri—Willing to contend for their just rights with moderation, ready to defend them at the point of the bayonet!"

"The State of Missouri—A bright link in the chain of the Union—her laws are mild, her sons brave; if any doubt it, let them come and try."

These toasts were printed in the East and prompted some criticism. *Niles' Register* said:

"Persons warmed by a luscious feast of good things ofttimes express themselves imprudently, and what they say is forgiven or forgotten as the ebulition of a moment—but when sentiments like the following are reduced to writing and deliberately printed in a public newspaper, they should not be passed over so lightly."

While the constitutional convention was working on that part of the organic act providing for the permanent capital of the state, Delegate McFerron proposed that the name be "Missouriopolis," instead of Jefferson City. This suggestion struck the classical taste of Benton as eminently fitting. The *St. Louis Enquirer* supported the proposition, mentioning several European cities which bore names of like derivation and referring to Galliopolis, Demopolis and Annapolis in the United States. The *Enquirer* said that the name offered for the capital of the new state "translated means City of Missouri:"

"Men of letters throughout Europe and America, hearing it pronounced, will know what is spoken of and where it is. Letters started from London, Paris or Boston, will arrive at their destina-

tion without mistakes, and without the circumlocution of a tedious address, without making a pilgrimage to forty places of like names, or having a treatise of geography written on their backs to keep on the right road."

Benton was not a member of the constitutional convention. He expected to be. A caucus to decide on "candidates opposed to restrictions on slavery" was held the tenth of April. It was a secret affair. Benton supposed that he would be one of the eight agreed upon. He had led the fight, as writer of the editorials in the *St. Louis Enquirer*. But when the vote was taken in the caucus the eight men selected were William Rector, David Barton, John C. Sullivan, Alexander McNair, Bernard Pratte, Edward Bates, Wilson P. Hunt and Pierre Chouteau, Jr. St. Louis county was entitled to eight members in the convention. The caucus ticket went through at the polls, with a single exception. Thomas F. Riddick was elected instead of Wilson P. Hunt.

Following the announcement of the caucus action, the absence of the name of Benton caused a good deal of talk. A call was issued upon Benton to become a candidate. It referred to the "accidental result" of the caucus:

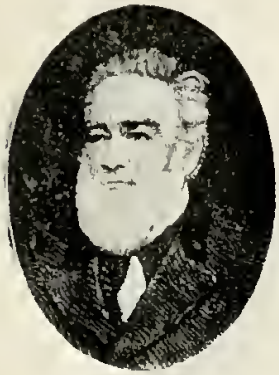
"The undersigned have long calculated on your services in the state convention, and wish to avail themselves of them. We do not consider ourselves bound by the accidental result of the late meeting of the friends of those opposed to the restriction or limitation of slavery; especially, in point of fact, the voters are not bound by it; and many others are still before the public who were not represented in that meeting; so the end in view has not been attained, and we are still subjected to the danger of division and want of concert in voting, without having our choice of candidates —under these circumstances we request you let your name be used as a candidate for the convention."

The call had 138 signatures. Benton replied, acknowledging the letter "in which you request me to let my name be used as a candidate for the convention."

"Until the 10th inst., it was my expectation that it would have been so used. On that day the friends of the candidates met to agree upon the names which should be supported. My name was not so agreed upon. You have the kindness to advert

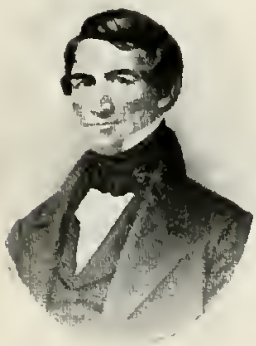
JOSEPH CHARLESS
From Houck's *Hist. Mo.* III. [illegible]

THOMAS H. BENTON.
From Houck's *Hist. Mo.* III. 258

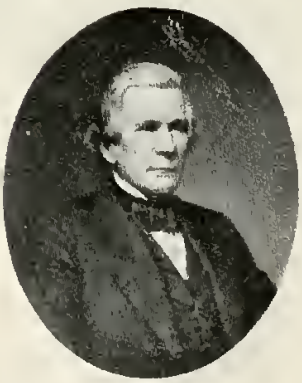


EDWARD BATES
From Houck's *Hist. Mo.* III. 18

ALEXANDER McNAIR.
From Houck's *Hist. Mo.* III. 253



PIERRE CHOUTEAU, JR.
From Houck's *Hist. Mo.* III. 254



WILLIAM G. PETTUS
From Houck's *Hist. Mo.* III. 28

SOME PROMINENT ST. LOUISANS IN 1820.

to the circumstance and to say that you do not consider yourselves bound by the accidental result of that meeting. Neither do I. But it has operated upon me with the effect of an obligation, because I could not afterwards stand a poll without dividing the strength of our own side, and endangering the success of a cause which I have long labored to promote."

The *Missouri Gazette* could not let go by the opportunity to hold up to ridicule the "co-editor" of the *Enquirer* for having been turned down by the "accidental result" of the caucus. Referring to the call upon Mr. Benton to run, the *Gazette* said:

"I should have been glad that a list had been also made of the persons who refused to sign in favor of Mr. Benton. Some say that their number and respectability would have disclosed the secret, and satisfied everyone that prudence had also some share in actuating him to decline standing the poll."

This and more the *Gazette* printed upon Benton's relations to the convention campaign. Two hours after the *Gazette* was off the press the following occurred:

"The editor of the *Missouri Gazette*, whilst on the way from his office to his house, between one and two o'clock, on Wednesday, was assailed without any previous intimation, warning or apparent quarrel by Isaac N. Henry, one of the editors of the *St. Louis Enquirer*, and received several blows with a heavy cudgel, which blows he returned with a stick disproportionately small; the combatants closed, fell and struggled for awhile. The Rev. Joseph Piggot, who was accompanying Mr. Charless and was going to dine with him, twice endeavored to part them, but was as often prevented by a certain Wharton Rector, who drew a pistol from his bosom and declared he would blow him through if he interfered. Mr. Piggot then called for help, being determined to part them; presently two men came up and the contest ended."

The *Gazette* attributed the attack to Benton and quoted him as having said there were two or three hundred citizens who "at one word would tear to pieces any person whom he would point out."

A feature of the unfriendly press propaganda in the East, aggravating to Missourians, was the repeated argument in

the newspapers that Missourians were unfit morally for statehood. Under the heading "Western Morals and Fashions," a newspaper in New York State published the following in the summer of 1820:

"The ladies as well as the gentlemen (says a letter to the editor from St. Louis) wear dirks by their sides; and dirking is very fashionable here. This fact is, of itself, a sufficient commentary on the state of society and morals in Missouri."

An alleged letter, widely printed on the Atlantic seaboard, was denounced by the *St. Louis Enquirer* which republished it with this comment in the issue of August 2, 1820:

"An infamous publication, purporting to be from a Virginian at St. Louis to his friend in Richmond, Va., is going the rounds of the free state papers. It was made in the lie manufactory of this town on the spur of the late election, and sent over to Edwardsville to be ushered into existence from the sympathetic press of that place. No Virginian ever saw it until it was in print. It is copied into this day's paper from a Philadelphia paper which took it from a New York paper; and is shown to the citizens of Missouri to let them see what infamous stories are sent abroad to blacken the character of the place and the avidity with which the filthy morsels are swallowed up by the free state editors."

From the *New York Daily Advertiser.*

"A letter from a gentleman who had lately arrived in St. Louis, to his friend in Richmond, Va., gives him an account of what he witnessed the first week, to enable him to form some idea of the state of society in that section of the country.

"He arrived in town on Wednesday, the same day Mr. Charless, the editor of the *Missouri Gazette*, and opponent of slavery, was violently assaulted by Mr. Isaac N. Henry, editor of the *St. Louis Enquirer*, a friend of slavery. The Rev. Joseph Piggott was in company with Mr. Charless, and endeavored to separate the combatants, when Mr. Wharton Rector, the friend of Henry, drew a pistol from his pocket and declared he would blow him through if he interfered. Mr. Charless is a man about fifty years, his opponents twenty and twenty-five. Mr. C. used the shillelah to great advantage; when the battle ended the amount of damage sustained fell upon Mr. Henry, whose shoulder was unjointed.

"On Sunday evening a gentleman, on returning home, found his quarters occupied by a friend, who extended his friendly visits to rather too great a length. The door being locked, it was broken

open by the owner; the visitor jumped out of the window; a battle ensued; the man was stuck with a knife.

"On Monday evening a battle royal ensued. It happened at the theater and originated in politics, although that was not the immediate origin; the causes and circumstances it is useless to mention. The result was that one of the combatants received several stabs in his back with a dirk—the other had a black eye. One of the spectators, who interfered, received a stab in his hand; another in the arm, and a third was knocked down with a porter bottle.

"On Tuesday two gentlemen engaged in the river trade, vulgarly called boatmen, fought on the subject of politics, which resulted in one of the combatants having his leg broken, and the other having his nose bit off.

"On Wednesday one of the combatants of Monday evening attacked one of the wounded, and gave him several blows; but the other, being wounded in the arm, did not return them. To finish the events of this week, a lady of color flogged her husband, a white man, which so enraged him that he fixed his gun and shot himself."

Illinois had been admitted to statehood without any question raised as to the customs and morals of the people, when Dr. Richard Lee Mason came over the national road from Vincennes to St. Louis. Dr. Mason was from Philadelphia and was coming west to settle. After visiting Kaskaskia and Alton and seeing something more of the settled part of Illinois, Dr. Mason made his home in St. Louis. He died in 1824 and his funeral was the occasion of a large procession escorted by Captain Archibald Gamble's troop. The burial of Dr. Mason was the first interment in the new Masonic graveyard on Washington avenue near Tenth street, a location which was abandoned because it was too wet. Dr. Mason wrote a journal of his trip from Philadelphia to St. Louis in the fall of 1819. In that journal he told of the dangers along the road in Illinois. After giving the names of half a dozen men, he added:

"This chain of villains extended for eighty miles through all the dreary and lonesome prairies. We were informed that when they were not engaged in robbing or murdering they were very industriously employed in manufacturing banknotes, which they im-

posed on travelers at every opportunity. For the convenience of travelers, a new road has been made through this country, instead of going by Shawneetown, and those villains have posted themselves along the road under the name of tavern keepers, watching for their prey whenever it may pass. Indeed, I conceive it impossible for any man who has cash enough to make him worth killing to travel this road alone.

"Who could believe that a human being could be so depraved as to fall upon a defenseless and unoffending traveler and murder him under the pretense of sheltering him from the storm and giving him a hearty welcome to his table? Who could believe that even devils in human shape could cut the throats of two traveling strangers to obtain two watches, $80 and a pair of saddlebags? I shudder at the blackness of the crime. It occurred only yesterday and we are at this moment near the spot where the horrid deed was committed. Two other murders have lately been committed near this place. A stranger was found hung on a tree and a traveler was murdered near Shawneetown by the same men whose names have been mentioned."

Dr. Mason visited Kaskaskia, then the capital of the new state of Illinois. He told his impressions of the people he found there:

"The inhabitants are all generals, colonels, majors, land speculators, or adventurers, with now and then a robber or a cutthroat. I have to keep my long knife sharp and my eyes open. Went to church at night. A fellow tried to pick my pocket. Had my hand on my long knife.

"Illinois is the hiding place of villains from every part of the United States, and, indeed, from every quarter of the globe. A majority of the settlers have been discharged from penitentiaries and gaols, or have been the victims of misfortune or imprudence. Many of those will reform, but many, very many, are made fit for robbery and murder."

When the Missouri Compromise act was nearing final passage in the early days of March, 1820, the House, which had yielded only after prolonged debate and delay to the compromise, deliberately voted down the proposition, the last stand of the free state members to require that the constitution Missouri might adopt be submitted to Congress for approval. This action seems to have sustained the contention

of the Missourians that when their constitution was framed and the state government was formed, Missouri was a state in the Union. The official proceedings of the House on this point read:

"Mr. Taylor then renewed the motion which he had made unsuccessfully to committee, to amend the last section of the bill, by striking out the words 'and the said state, when formed, shall be admitted into the Union on an equal footing with the original states,' and inserting in lieu thereof the following: 'And if the same (the constitution) shall be approved by Congress, the said territory shall be admitted into the Union as a state, upon an equal footing with the original states.'

"The question was briefly supported by the mover, and was opposed by Messrs. Scott, Lowndes, Mercer, Floid and Hendricks; and

"The question being taken thereon, it was decided in the negative, by Yeas 49 and Nays 125."

There was no doubt in the minds of Missourians that statehood began in the summer of 1820. The constitution was signed on the nineteenth of July. It opened with:

"We, the people of Missouri, inhabiting the limits hereinafter designated, by our representatives in convention assembled at St. Louis on Monday, the 12th day of June, 1820, do mutually agree to form and establish a free and independent republick; by the name of the State of Missouri, and for the government thereof do ordain and establish this constitution."

According to the *Enquirer*, the promulgation of the constitution was made an impressive public event:

"The constitution of the State of Missouri was signed at noonday on Wednesday, the 9th instant, amidst a great concourse of citizens, and under a national salute of twenty-four guns, fired by the St. Louis Guards.

"The entire instrument is published in this day's paper, to the exclusion of other matter, and we trust will be joyfully received by the people as the proof that Missouri is a sovereign state and as a pledge that she will remain so."

A few days later, McNair, in announcing himself as candidate for governor, addressed his "Fellow Citizens, of the new State of Missouri."

McNair was elected Governor by 6,576 votes against 2,656 for Clark. The Governor appeared before the general assembly September 19, 1820, and delivered his inaugural. In the course of it he said:

"I congratulate you, gentlemen, in the happy change which has just taken place in our political affairs. From the dependent condition of a territorial government, we have passed into a sovereign and independent state. We have formed for ourselves a constitution, which, though perhaps not free from the imperfections incident to all human institutions, does honor to the character and intelligence of our infant state, and gives us every reason to expect that we shall, without further difficulty, be admitted into the federal union."

So well satisfied was the Governor that Missouri had become a state and would be immediately recognized as in the Union, that his principal recommendation in his address was that the General Assembly proceed to pass the legislation necessary for participation in the presidential election. He said:

"It is deemed advisable to remind you that the election of president and vice-president is approaching, and that it will be necessary to make provision as soon as possible for the election of three electors in this state, in order that we may have a voice in filling those highly important offices."

One of the earliest laws passed by the General Assembly provided that the presidential electors should be chosen by the Assembly.

The first section of the act of March 6, 1820, for the admission of Missouri provided "that the inhabitants of that portion of Missouri included within the boundaries hereinafter designated, be, and they are hereby, authorized to form for themselves a constitution and state government, and to assume such name as they shall deem proper; and the said state, when formed, shall be admitted into the Union, upon an equal footing with the original states in all respects whatsoever."

ALEXANDER McNAIR

(Courtesy St. Louis Catholic Historical Society.)

The act set forth the boundaries of the state, the representation of the several counties in a constitutional convention and the time of holding such convention. It further declared: "That, in case a constitution and state government shall be formed for the people of said Territory of Missouri, the said convention, or representatives, as soon thereafter as may be, shall cause a true and attested copy of said constitution, or frame of state government, as shall be formed or provided, to be transmitted to Congress."

There was one condition to guide the action of Missouri and that was, "Provided that the same, whenever formed, shall be Republican, and not repugnant to the Constitution of the United States." This gave the free state men their opportunity to raise an issue against the formality of admission to the Union. Section 26 of the Missouri constitution, referring to the Legislature, read: "It shall be their duty as soon as may be to pass such laws as may be necessary to prevent free negroes and mulattoes from coming to and settling in this state under any pretext whatever." The free state men claimed this was in violation of the Constitution of the United States.

Under the caption, "Imprudence—or Worse," *Niles' Register* took up the intimations that Missourians proposed to stand on their rights and commented in the ssue of August 26, 1820:

"The *St. Louis Enquirer*, intimating that the restrictionists intend to renew their designs at the next session of Congress, says: Missouri will then appear 'as a sovereign state, according to the law of Congress, and not as a territorial orphan'; that her people will, in that case, 'give fresh proof to the world that they know their rights and are able to defend them.' What signifies such language as this? All things considered, we wish that the Missouri question may be suffered to rest where it is, as the lesser evil, but, if Congress wishes to take it up again, and refuses to admit the territory under the constitution which its convention has formed and is without power to enforce its determination, it is high time, indeed, that a new organization of affairs should take place."

Before the constitution of Missouri reached Congress, *Niles' Register* pointed out that the clause directing the legis-

lature to pass laws "to prevent free negroes and mulattoes from coming into and settling in the state, on any pretence whatever" would block admission into the Union. The *Register* cited the provision in the Constitution of the United States, "that the citizens of each state shall be entitled to all privileges and immunities of citizens in the several states." The *Register* continued:

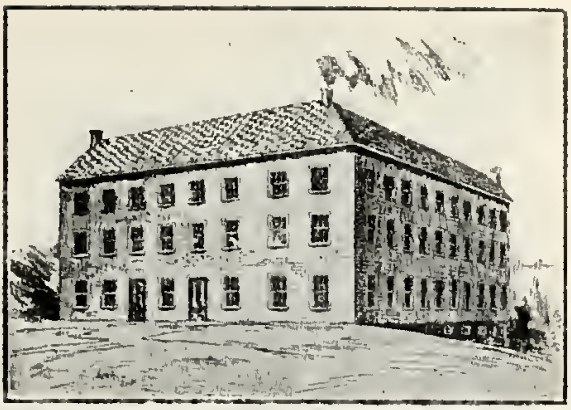
"This is a very plain, simple and imperative sentence. Free blacks and mulattoes are 'citizens' in all the states, I believe, east of the state of Delaware, as well as in the states northwest of the river Ohio, and they can not be dispossessed of their right to locate where they please."

The *Register* said that if Missouri did pass such laws as its constitution demanded, they would be declared unconstitutional by the United States Supreme Court, and thus disposed of. But it made the point that Congress could not now consistently approve a state constitution which contained a provision "in evident opposition to a striking provision of the Constitution under which they, themselves, directly act." The *Register's* prediction was verified by the course of Congress in insisting upon the so-called "solemn public act."

That Congress had no right to impose upon Missouri any restrictions as to slavery seems to have been the conviction of Missourians generally. All through 1819, while the deadlock prevailed in Congress, there were expressions of this conviction in a variety of forms. The *Gazette*, which was much more conservative than the *Enquirer* for which Benton wrote, declared its position in these words:

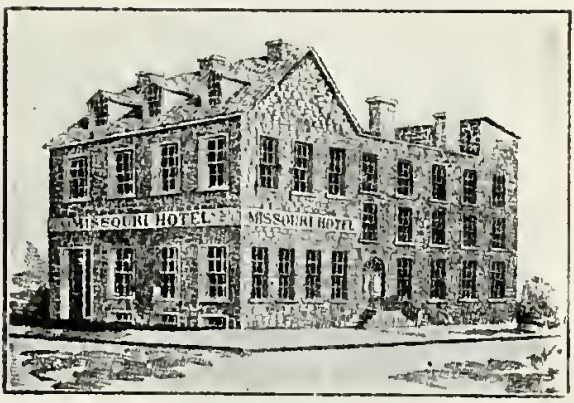
"Our fellow citizens of the United States are assured that the people of Missouri understand the extent of the powers of Congress over this country, and their own rights to self-government as will be shown hereafter."

In September, 1820, when the state government was about to be organized, Joseph Charless, retiring from the owner-



"MANSION HOUSE" HOTEL

Where the First Constitutional Convention of Missouri met. Courtesy of Hon. Cornelius Roach



THE "MISSOURI HOTEL"

Where the First State Legislature of Missouri met. Courtesy of Hon. Cornelius Roach

ship of the *Gazette*, which he had established and kept going twelve years, said, in his valedictory:

"Missouri has become a free and independent state, and the people, assuming the government themselves, have taught aristocrats a plain lesson of truth and have placed in the government of the state, 'the men of the people'."

Mr. Charless, at the same time, took occasion to vindicate the position of the *Gazette* throughout the travail of statehood:

"It has been said that the *Gazette* advocated the restriction of Missouri by Congress. The base fabricator of this charge is defied to prove it. Examine the files and they will be found to pursue the uniform course. Open to all decent communications, the editor has never hesitated to state his opposition to the interference of Congress, but still felt desirous that some limitation should be put by the people to the importation of slaves."

Missourians held sturdily to the belief that statehood had been fully established in 1820. When he returned to Washington in the fall of that year, John Scott, who had been a territorial delegate in the previous session of Congress, insisted on being addressed as a Representative in Congress, by virtue of the election which Missouri had held under the new State Constitution. The *Missouri Gazette*, which had been conservative, much more so than the *Enquirer* for which Benton wrote the editorials, made this comment in January, 1821, on the action of the House of Representatives which was delaying the proclamation of admission:

"Congress may look out of the window, if they choose, and say to a territory, 'if you wish to become a member of the Union, put on the garments you would wear, and if we like them, we will open the door of the Union and admit you.' By this overture Congress have reserved to themselves the power of further act as necessary to admission.

"But if they should say, as they have to Missouri, 'The door is open to you; if you wish to become one of the sisterhood of states, put on your garments and enter'—Missouri having done so, she is installed with the rights of a member of the sisterhood. Their Constitution embraces her. Congress can not expel her. If her garments have any flounces or furbelows which the Consti-

tution of the sisterhood does not permit, the only consequence is that she is not allowed to use them.

"That this is the true construction of the act of Congress and the act of our state there can be no doubt. Missouri is a state of the Union, equal in sovereignty to her sister states; the denial of any of the rights of sovereignty, and especially a participation in the councils of the nation, is a violation of the Constitution."

In his painstaking investigation of the records, Senator Cockrell found that while the credentials of Senators Barton and Benton were not presented in the Senate until 1821, these Senators were "certified to have attended, Barton from November 14, 1820, and Benton from November 18, 1820, each to March 3, 1821, and they were paid their regular per diem salary and mileage, just as other senators were."

Dating back the salaries of the Senators was only one of several acts by the United States Government which treated Missouri as a state in 1820. William Clark had been Governor of Missouri Territory by appointment. Washington stopped Governor Clark's salary when the state government went into operation. The territorial government was left in the air. John Scott addressed this letter to the Secretary of State, John Quincy Adams:

"Governor William Clark of Missouri desires to know what eye of the general government he now occupies. The law authorizing the people within certain lines specified, in the then Missouri territory, to form a constitution and state government, made no disposition as to the remainder of the territory. He advises me that he is still possessed of the public acts and documents, and that an immense tract of country remains unprovided for, in which there are several large tracts of land to which the Indian title has been extinguished. He drew for his pay as governor, but his drafts were only paid up to the 26th of September, the time when the state government went into operation. It is now necessary for him to know whether the government still considers him in office, within the State of Missouri, or whether in office as to that portion of the country out of the lines of the state, or both? And also that he have some discretion as to the disposition he is to make of the public acts, records, and documents which would properly belong to the state. An early reply will oblige him and your obedient respectful servant."

After Benton had been elected to the Senate, the editorials of the *St. Louis Enquirer* underwent some change. While the two houses of Congress were still divided on the question of admission because of the clauses in the Missouri constitution prohibiting the admission of free negroes into Missouri, and while Benton was waiting to take his seat, in the winter of 1821, the *Enquirer* gave Missourians this advice:

"This paper has labored for a long time to awaken the people to the criminal designs of the men who wish to expel Missouri from the Union. This audacious undertaking is now verging to a crisis. What shall Missouri do if rejected? Fall back into the territorial grade? We hope not. Set up for herself? We hope not. The former would be to succumb to the Catalines of the North; the latter would be to promote their views. The restrictionists wish to divide the Union; and if Missouri would attempt to break off, it would be into their hand; their object would be accomplished and the blame thrown upon her. But let Missouri continue her efforts to enter the Union; preserve all her relations with the general government as far as her amphibious condition will permit it to be done; be calm and dignified in asserting her rights, and a reaction may be produced which will prostrate those Hartford convention men who now predominate in the North, and give the victory to the friends of the Union and to the republicans of the Jeffersonian school. Eventually, Missouri must succeed, and good may grow out of evil; the men who have raised this portentous storm may yet perish in it. Let Missouri preserve all her friends; do nothing to mortify them, or to please her enemies, and the sober reason of the people must ultimately resume its empire and consign to infamy the men who have sought their own aggrandisement upon the ruins of their country."

In other, and fewer words, what Senator Benton advised for Missouri in its anomalous condition of statehood outside of the Union, was "watchful waiting."

Notwithstanding the hitch at Washington over admission, Missouri continued to assert statehood. The circuit court for the county of St. Louis began its first session on the eighteenth of December, 1820. The lawyers presented and discussed various questions of law raised by the strange situation. The court decided that—

"The state government was not only theoretically formed but in full and constitutional operation, as regarded the constitution of the United States and that of the State of Missouri."

All of the winter of 1820-21 the controversy in Congress over Missouri's status went on. There were members who maintained that Missouri was already in the Union and that nothing further was necessary. The time came for the counting of the electoral votes—the seventeenth of February. To avoid raising of any issue as to Missouri's right to vote for President and Vice-President, the Senate, where there was a majority in favor of Missouri, adopted this form to be used in the announcement of the electoral vote:

"*Resolved*, That if any objection be made to the votes of Missouri, and the counting, or omitting to count which shall not essentially change the result of the election; in that case they shall be reported by the president of the Senate in the following manner: Were the votes of Missouri to be counted, the result would be for A. B. for President of the United States —— votes; if not counted, for A. B. for President of the United States —— votes; but in either event A. B. is elected President of the United States; and in the same manner for Vice-President."

After much debate, Mr. Clay succeeded in getting this resolution through the House on the very day that the votes were to be counted.

The House resolved to "receive the Senate standing and uncovered"—so the formal proceedings read. The joint session was opened; the announcement of the returns from the several states went on until Missouri was reached, whereupon Mr. Livermore, of New Hampshire, arose and said, "Mr. President and Mr. Speaker, I object to receiving any votes for President and Vice-President from Missouri, because Missouri is not a state in the Union."

That started trouble. The Senate withdrew and the House wrangled. Mr. Floyd, of Virginia, offered a resolution "That Missouri is one of the states of this Union, and

her votes for President and Vice-President ought to be received."

The debate continued for an hour. *Niles' Register* said of the turmoil, "It is impossible to give such an account as ought to be given." Mr. Clay at last got the upper hand of the warring factions and the Senate was invited to come back. The official proceedings were—

"The votes of Missouri were read, and the result of all the votes having been read—

"The president of the Senate announced that the total number of votes for James Monroe, as President of the United States, was 231, and, if the votes of Missouri were not counted, was 228; that in either event James Monroe had a majority of the whole number of votes given; and in the same form announced that Daniel D. Tompkins had a majority of the whole number of votes for Vice-President of the United States.

"The president then proclaimed that James Monroe is elected President of the United States for four years, commencing on the fourth day of March next; and that Daniel D. Tompkins is elected Vice-President of the United States for four years from the fourth day of March next.

"While this proclamation was making, two members of the House of Representatives claimed the floor, to enquire whether the votes of Missouri were or were not counted, apparently with a view to founding some proposition on the answer.

"Here arose a scene of some confusion, which resulted in the gentlemen being declared out of order, and required by the Speaker of the House to resume their seats.

"The president of the Senate having finished the annunciation, the Senate retired, leaving Mr. Randolph on the floor attempting to be heard by the chair.

"The House being called to order—

"Mr. Randolph, after a few remarks, suggested a motion respecting the votes from Missouri, which he reduced to writing, as follows:

" 1. *Resolved*, That the electoral votes of the state of Missouri have this day been counted, and do constitute a part of the majority of 231 votes given for President, and of 218 votes given for Vice-President.

" 2. *Resolved*, That the whole number of electors appointed, and of votes given for President and Vice-President has not been announced by the presiding officer of the Senate and House of

Representatives, agreeably to the Constitution of the United States, and that therefore the proceeding has been irregular and illegal.

"Whilst writing these resolves—

"A motion for adjournment was made.

"Here arose another scene of unusual character, a gentleman claiming to have possession of the floor before the motion for adjournment was made.

"The Speaker decided to the contrary, however, and the question on adjournment was decided, by yeas and nays.

"For the adjournment, 95.

"Against, 60.

"So the yeas had it; and

"The House adjourned."

After the contest over the Missouri electoral vote, Mr. Clay produced a second Missouri Compromise to complete the admission of Missouri. This was known as the "Clay Formula." This required Missouri, as a further condition to admission, to pass a "solemn act," that the "restrictive clause" excluding free negroes and mulattoes from settling in the state should not be construed to affect any citizen of any other state, in the rights guaranteed under the Constitution of the United States. Missourians thought this was ridiculous.

In his address before the Missouri Historical Society, Frederick W. Lehman said the Legislature "passed what it called a solemn public act by which it declared in effect that the fundamental condition was contained in the constitution of the state: that it was a piece of impertinence on the part of Congress to require this express assent; that it made no difference whether the assent was given or withheld and so the state solemnly gave it. Free persons of color, citizens of other states, were not forbidden entry to Missouri. But such conditions were imposed upon their living here, that few, if any, cared to come."

The preamble of the "solemn public act" in its entirety, as adopted at a special session of the Legislature in June, 1821, was a wonderful document, charged with satire. It was sent to President Monroe who issued his proclamation

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TEMPORARY CAPITOL OF THE STATE OF MISSOURI AT ST. CHARLES

In use from 1821 to 1826. Courtesy of Hon. Cornelius Roach.

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of August 10, 1821, declaring the admission of Missouri "complete."

In a variety of official acts, the national government continued to recognize Missouri as a state from September, 1820, but in a condition of transit into the Union. Before the action of Congress on the constitution of Missouri, a bill was introduced "to provide for the due execution of the laws of the United States in the State of Missouri." Missouri was referred to as a "state" even in the resolution making admission dependent on the passage of "a solemn public act which shall declare the assent of the said state to the said fundamental condition." No fewer than four times in the resolution which paved the way for admission, was Missouri referred to as "said state."

While the resolution calling for the "solemn public act" was pending in the House, Mr. Adams, of Massachusetts, opposed it "on the ground of the defect of power of Congress of the United States to authorize or require the legislature of a state, once admitted to the Union, to do the act proposed by the resolution to be demanded of the legislature of Missouri." The resolution was passed by a vote of 87 to 81. It went through the Senate by a vote of 28 to 14.

John Quincy Adams, secretary of state, transmitted the resolution to "His Excellency, Alexander McNair, Governor of Missouri," and referred to it as "the resolution of Congress for admitting the State of Missouri into the Union." The department of state had cut off the territorial government of Missouri in September, 1820.

And when President Monroe issued his proclamation of the tenth of August, 1821, he concluded in this significant form:

"The admission of the said State of Missouri into this Union is declared to be complete."

Missouri in 1820.

BY JONAS VILES.

In 1820, the year of the first Missouri Compromise and of the organization of the state government, Missouri, constituting as she did the extreme western outpost of settlement, was essentially a frontier community. But the institution of slavery, which had existed here since the earliest French settlements, made the social and economic conditions resemble more particularly those of Kentucky and Tennessee at an earlier time and, to some degree, those of Alabama and Mississippi of the same date. In this brief paper the general aspects of a western state will be largely taken for granted and attention devoted for the most part to what was more particularly and exclusively Missourian.

The advantages of the new state in geographical location, important as they were in its later history, or even the variety of resources within its boundaries, are too well known to demand extended description. Located opposite the mouth of the Ohio, in 1820 still the great highway for the westward movement of population, fronting on the Mississippi, the main artery of the central valley, and including the lower course of the Missouri, the gateway for years to come to the Northwest and even the Southwest, the economic future of the state was assured. In Missouri itself the most noticeable topographical feature was the great dome-like Ozark uplift. With its deeply eroded flanks and relatively smooth central portion of thin and poor soils it formed an obstacle around which settlement flowed. In the rest of the state, except in the lead district, settlement was as yet determined by accessibility (which in 1820 meant waterways and river valleys), smoothness or roughness of the surface, and variations in the soil. Of very slight importance, as yet, was the distinction, so vital in a state like Illinois, between wooded area and prairie; practically all the settled area was well timbered.

If one should trace on the map the frontier line of 1820—the line of actual settlement, beyond which there were only nomadic hunters and Indian traders—the area enclosed would be a long narrow wedge following the Missouri with its apex perhaps as far west as the present town of Lexington, with a broad but shallow base on the Mississippi, stretching from around Hannibal to the southern boundary of the state. Describing it in terms of the present counties, on the north the line would run only a few miles from the Mississippi well down into Lincoln county, then running westward roughly parallel to the Missouri to include the southern halves of Montgomery, Warren and Callaway, the larger part of Boone, all of Howard and part of Chariton. Beyond the Grand river the line dipped close to the Missouri. On the south also the line followed back near the river to the eastern part of Saline county, then swung out to include the La Mine and Blackwater settlements in Cooper, and then abruptly back nearly to the Missouri, which it followed closely to perhaps the centre of Franklin county. Thence the frontier ran parallel to the Mississippi to the southern boundary, including two or three tiers of the present counties.

The 66,586 people who lived within this boundary, made up of about 56,000 whites and some 10,200 negro slaves, were distributed very unevenly over this settled area and represented settlements ranging over a period of at least seventy-five years. The relative density of population—the sections most compactly settled—were well indicated by the county boundaries as determined in 1820. Along the Mississippi from Pike to Cape Girardeau the counties had already substantially their present boundaries, tho Ste. Genevieve included part of St. Francois and Cape Girardeau included Bollinger. Back of these counties south of the Missouri were three counties—Franklin on the Missouri, and Washington and Madison, representing the lead district, covering substantially six of the modern counties. All southeast of Cape Girardeau was New Madrid, swampy and thoroly discredited by the earthquake of 1811. The remainder of the state south of the Osage river was divided into the enormous

counties of Gasconade and Wayne and an entirely unorganized strip thirty miles wide, all three stretching to the western boundary.

Along the Missouri, altho Montgomery included the present Warren, three, Callaway, Boone and Howard had substantially their present boundaries. Cole (except for the later Moniteau), Cooper and Saline had their present frontage on the Missouri but extended south to the Osage. The remainder of the state from the Osage around to the Mississippi was divided into four counties, which in 1821 had only ten per cent. of the total population.

The bulk of the population, then, was to be found along the Mississippi and in a great island along the Missouri in the central part of the state—the Booneslick country. As a matter of fact, in the sections southeast of the Missouri, the frontier line had not changed materially since 1804, tho, of course, this section had steadily filled up in the meantime. The present Perry and Cape Girardeau were well filled with American farmers even before 1804; Ste. Genevieve, the oldest section, was still largely French.

The new sections, those absorbing the bulk of the wave of immigration which came after 1816, were the northeast, just beginning to develop by 1820 and above all the Booneslick country. Beginnings of settlement had been made here as early as 1810, in the present Howard county where the river bluffs break down and the bottoms broaden out, but were severely checked by the Indians during the war of 1812. After 1814 the settlement went on with increasing rapidity. For the moment the Booneslick was the El Dorado of the immigrants following the Ohio westward, the tangible manifestation of cheap land and boundless opportunity. From the Old West, the back country from Pennsylvania to the Carolinas, and more especially from Kentucky and Tennessee there came a flood of immigrants. Only a fraction actually reached the promised land, yet enough to increase the number of counties from one (Howard) in 1816 to nine in 1820. For weeks at a time over a hundred wagons a week went thru

St. Charles westward. In 1820 this central section included fully a third of the total white population; combined with the northeast the two newer sections made up over two-fifths.

While a majority of Missourians in 1820 were no doubt of the log cabin pioneer type, living for the most part off their farms and as yet with no great surplus of products for sale or exchange, intermingled with them in the older sections and in much of the Booneslick country were farmers of more accumulated wealth. In the southeast these were mainly Americans who had come in before the Purchase, acquired large land holdings from the easy-going Spanish governors and profited greatly from the filling up of their section. Others had prospered in lead mining. In the newer sections this class was composed of men from Kentucky and Tennessee who had taken advantage of the rising land values there and moved to Missouri with some money and their slaves. Finally, to these must be added the French land owners and merchants in Ste. Genevieve and St. Louis.

It was this more well-to-do class as a whole which owned the ten thousand and more negro slaves, who composed over fifteen per cent. of the total population. On the whole, these slaves were distributed much more evenly than one would expect, varying from about ten per cent. of the total population in Franklin, a county of broken surface, poor soils, and log cabins, to nearly twenty per cent. in the old French county of Ste. Genevieve. But the proportion—around seventeen per cent.—was about as high in the older portions of the Booneslick as in St. Louis. In general, there was surprisingly little difference in the percentage of total white and total slave population in any particular county. But the indirect evidence makes it clear, as one would expect, that the slaves in every county were most numerous in the older, more thickly settled portion.

While there are no statistics on the size of slave holdings of the individual owners, all the evidence points to the conclusion that in 1820 they were small; that the majority of

slaves were personal servants, or used in general farming and clearing under the direct supervision of the master. Tobacco growing on a small scale had begun in Howard county by 1820, but hemp, the nearest to a staple crop ever developed in Missouri, belonged to the next decade. An appreciable number of slaves were used as roustabouts in the river towns and a few in the lead district, but by and large, the ownership of slaves seems to have been a mark of greater wealth and higher social position, rather than the basis for a distinct economic system or special products. Indeed, to great degree, this was true thruout the whole history of the state.

At least six-sevenths of the men of Missouri were farmers, raising corn, wheat and cattle. A certain amount of these products, especially cured meats, were shipped down the Mississippi, but the country was too young and the difficulties of transportation too serious for Missouri to be as yet an important exporter of foodstuffs. The salt creeks and springs with which the country was unusually well supplied more than satisfied the local demand and were the basis for an important incidental industry. But the most important exports were lead and furs.

The lead was produced from the shallow surface workings in the Meramec and St. Francois valleys, in Washington, Madison and Ste. Genevieve counties. The methods of mining were extreme y primitive; much of it was done by farmers in the seasons when agricultural work was slack. Potosi, where Moses Austin had settled in 1799 and erected the first furnace, was the most important smelting center. The pig lead was carried by wagon to the town of Ste. Genevieve or to Herculaneum, where Austin and others had built shot towers underneath the bluffs. All told, the lead industry in its various branches, gave employment to perhaps eleven hundred people for at least part of the year. The total product was around 2,500 tons of a value of over $300,000.

The romance of western history centers about the Indians and the fur trade. In Missouri, however, the Indians, except for a few years in the War of 1812, were a negligible factor. But St. Louis, founded in 1764 as a headquarters

post for the Missouri river fur trade, is today one of the greatest fur markets in the world. Thruout the French period the trade had pushed up the lower Missouri and its tributaries, but the expedition of Lewis and Clerk revealed the marvelous opportunities in the Rocky Mountain district. The outstanding figure in the attempts of the St. Louis merchants to exploit this trade was the Spaniard, Manuel Lisa—"Uncle Manuel"—an inspiring and untiring leader in the field but a contentious partner when at home. Altho the opportunities were well recognized by Astor and the St. Louis merchants who backed Lisa, the hostility of the Indians on the upper Missour prevented any real development of the Rocky Mountain fur trade. This was left to William H. Ashley in the next decade. The great quantities of furs which passed thru St. Louis before 1820, enriching the Chouteaus, the Prattes and their associates, still came from the lower Missouri. The engages in the fur trade, largely French, and the boatmen on the Mississippi were no doubt the most picturesque elements in the whole population.

As in all frontier communities the towns were few, small and primitive. St. Louis, with a population of perhaps 4,000, was the largest, as the most important trading center and the seat of government. Altho the French were by 1820 largely outnumbered by the Americans, still French was commonly heard on the streets and the *Gazette* printed some advertisements in that language. The French merchants and landholders, who had adjusted themselves to the new order and taken advantage of the rising land values, had a leading position in the business of the town. The river trade brought the adventurous from all thru the central valley; the long uncertainty as to Spanish land titles attracted an unusual number of able and ambitious young lawyers; altogether, St. Louis was a rather cosmopolitan little town.

Ste. Genevieve, the oldest settlement in Missouri, was probably second in population, of uncertain size but probably between 1,500 and 2,000. It still retained, almost unchanged, its original French appearance and characteristics, with its houses of logs set on end strung along a single street. Most

of its people, beside farming in the fields about the town, were interested directly or indirectly in lead mining. The only other town of over 1,000 inhabitants was Franklin, opposite the present Boonville. Founded in 1817, it was the trading center of the Booneslick country and in 1820 was growing very rapidly. (Already it boasted a fire department and a newspaper.) But a few years later the uncertain Missouri shifted its course and gradually destroyed the town, only later to shift back to the southern bluffs and rebuild the bottoms on its site.

St. Charles, another of the French towns and the home of many of the voyageurs, was becoming predominantly American and depending on the agricultural settlements of which it was the trading point; it had in 1820 between 550 and 1,000 inhabitants. Potosi, in the lead country; Cape Girardeau, the river port of the southeast, and Jackson, the county seat of Cape Girardeau, were the only other towns which could boast as many as 500.

As all thru the West, transportation was the overshadowing economic problem. The rivers offered an excellent outlet to those who lived near their banks; until the coming of the steamboats, they were very unsatisfactory highways into the country. The first steamboat reached St. Louis in 1816, two got up the Missouri as far as Franklin in 1819, but in 1820 the steamboat traffic, especially on the Missouri, had hardly begun. There were a few trunk line roads or trails, notably the Boone's Lick Trail from St. Charles to Franklin. It ran well back from the river thru the present county seats of the intervening counties. The bulk of the great immigration to the Booneslick followed this trail, which also influenced the earlier settlements in Montgomery and Callaway. The Kings Highway from St. Louis thru Ste. Genevieve to New Madrid dated from the Spanish period. All the roads were in reality simply cleared trails, tho perhaps not so primitive as a contract for a road from Potosi to the Osage would imply. This "road" was to be twelve feet wide with no stump left over eight inches high! At all events, land cartage for any considerable distance, except of rather

valuable commodities such as lead, was out of the question. It was pre-eminently an age of river towns and river settlements.

More interesting and much more difficult to discover, than the numbers of this rapidly increasing population, than where they lived or how they made their living, were their social conditions. What sort of people were they? How far were they interested in the less material things in life? What was their political training; how much did education and religion mean to them? In population and material development Missouri was clearly ready for statehood, but were the people politically, intellectually and morally prepared for self-government?

First of all, in ideas and ideals the people were essentially homogeneous. The French were fast passing off the stage as a factor in the state's development. Already in the minority in 1804, and living for the most part in a few hamlets and villages, they still maintained their customs and language and easy going habits of life in Ste. Genevieve and to some degree in St. Louis, but were in a hopeless minority in the state at large. Individuals adjusted themselves to new conditions and played a prominent part, but rather as Americans than Frenchmen. The interests of the Americans who came before the Purchase were so identical with those of the French, particularly as to land titles, that any racial friction was impossible. Still the older French families maintained a certain social exclusiveness for a generation more and gave perhaps a certain coloring to some communities which in all essentials were American.

Of the Americans, the overwhelming majority came from the Piedmont and the valleys from Pennsylvania southward, that great nursery and training school of the older or so-called southern type of frontiersman. Many of them had stopped a longer or shorter time in Kentucky or Tennessee; of those coming after 1816, a great many represented the second generation from the original home. These, as we have seen, commonly brought with them some little property—slaves, stock, furniture. But there was no such glaring con-

trast of the tidewater planter with his field gang going into the wilderness side by side with the mountaineer with his axe and rifle, as might be seen at this same time in Alabama and Mississippi. Yet a very considerable element among the newcomers, re-enforced by many of the French and the Americans of the Spanish period, were small slaveholders with more of the comforts and conveniences of life than go with typical frontier conditions. After all, these differences of wealth and social standing were not very important as long as the abundance of good land made it possible for any one with courage and ability to lift himself to the top.

It must be frankly admitted that Missourians were not free from the faults of the frontiersman. With all its stimulus to the more primitive virtues of courage and loyalty, the frontier life with its constant struggle with the wilderness and the red man too often led to a lower, simpler type of society. The pioneer was an extreme individualist, impatient of restraint, and prone to take the law into his own hands. The absence in Missouri of any serious trouble with the Indians and the rapidity with which any given section emerged from the earlier pioneer stages, no doubt somewhat weakened these ruder traits. But intemperance, the commonest vice of the frontiersman, was common. In 1820 Missouri was by no means free from the brutal, rough and tumble fight, with nothing barred, nor from the professional bad man or bully. Among the more well-to-do the duel was the accepted method of settling personal disputes. Missouri has a long list of famous duels both before and after 1820; the Benton-Lucas duel of 1817, in which Benton killed his professional and political rival, Charles Lucas, was by far the best known. Yet it would seem that there was much in Benton's contention that the duel, repugnant as it is to present day standards, was at least one step in advance from the ordinary brawl. At all events, human life was quite as safe in Missouri as anywhere along the frontier.

The two forces tending to weld together the pioneers, with their extreme individualism, into some social organiza-

tion and group consciousness were religion and politics. The Catholic church in Missouri in 1820 was almost entirely confined to the French. Before the Purchase the Spanish law required the acceptance of the Catholic religion by all emigrants, but this apparently was waived by the authorities for the first generation of American settlers. Public Protestant worship was, of course, out of the question and baptism or marriage except by the Catholic priest was illegal. Occasionally, itinerant preachers from east of the Mississippi circulated quietly thru the American settlements, but, in many cases, the settlers crossed the river for baptism or marriage.

After the Purchase in 1806, the two great frontier sects, the Baptists and the Methodists, organized their first churches, both, as one would expect, in the most purely American section, the fertile uplands in the present Cape Girardeau county. For ten years we have only scattered references to little church groups here and there; on the Meramec, and in the Booneslick where there seems to have been a Baptist church as early as 1810. The great influx of population after the war of 1812 attracted the attention of the national church organizations to the field. Missionary preachers were sent to Missouri and more permanent organization perfected. For example, the Baptists sent out John Mason Peck in 1817; in 1816 and 1818 the Baptists were organized into two associations, north and south of the Missouri. In the latter year the Missouri conference of the Methodists was organized. The Presbyterians and Episcopalians appeared somewhat later. In 1816 the first Presbyterian church was organized by a missionary preacher; in the following year the Missouri presbytery was founded, largely thru the efforts of Timothy Flint. The first Episcopal church was organized in St. Louis in 1819, but hardly permanently established before 1825.

The churches in 1820 were still few in number, small in membership and widely scattered; they were served very largely by itinerant preachers. Spending their time and strength in constant travel thru the wilderness, with all the hardships this involved, and all with the most pitiable finan-

cial support, these "circuit riders" were true heroes of the frontier. To many of the Missourians in 1820, these preachers must have furnished the most important, almost the only bond with their fellows and the outside world. Their ministrations seemed to have been eagerly welcomed and appreciated. If most Missourians seldom attended church service and only a few were church members, it was from lack of opportunity rather than inclination. Their interest in religion was deep and sincere.

The educational opportunities, as well as the religious, were still very limited. Under the Spanish the schools in the French villages were closely connected with the church, and several of the American missionaries in the later period established schools in St. Louis and taught in them. By 1820 every little town had its teacher, usually a man of some intellectual interests who had difficulty in fitting himself into the frontier life. They seldom stayed long in any one town. Pupils were received at fixed rates, publicly announced. In 1815 one teacher at St. Louis advertised that he followed the Lancastrian system, while another at Ste. Genevieve professed the principles of Pestalozzi. The most hopeful sign for the future of education was the chartering of several academies or seminaries, with permanent quarters and some guarantee of steady financial support from the leading men of the community. These academies, however, charged regular fees for instruction.

At St. Louis a real public school system had been planned. Congress in 1812 had granted the town the old Spanish common field for the support of schools and in 1817 the first Board of Trustees was appointed to administer this grant. But it was many years before the surveys were completed and the funds available. The idea that it was the function of the state to furnish education free was not fully accepted even by the Convention of 1820. The Constitution provides for the preservation of the Congressional land grant for schools and that as far as practicable at least one school shall be established in each township "where the poor shall be taught

gratis." In 1820 there was a chance for every boy at least in the towns to get the rudiments of an education—for a price—and in a few of the larger centers an opportunity for slightly more advanced training. In education, as in religion, the interest seems to have been great, but Missouri was still too close to the wilderness for adequate opportunities to have developed.

There seem to have been an unusually large number of men of education in Missouri. The missionary ministers were for the most part men of training from the Atlantic seaboard; two of them, Peck and Flint, wrote valuable accounts of their experiences. Several of the physicians came from the same section and rose to high places in politics and society. The territorial judges were for the most part men of unusual ability and education, while in the group of young lawyers in St. Louis were several college graduates. We hear of several private libraries, especially among the lawyers, and two attempts to found a public library were made in St. Louis before one was actually organized in 1820. In the same year the first book store was opened. On the whole, it would seem that in education and intellectual interests Missouri was rather more advanced than the stage of economic development would lead one to expect.

Whatever may be true of them today, in the West the establishment of newspapers marks a distinct social and political advance. The *Gazette*, which as the *St. Louis Republic* closed its continuous career this last winter, was established in St. Louis in 1808, the first newspaper west of the Mississippi. It held its own against several short-lived rivals, the most important of which was the *Enquirer*, started in 1819, of which Benton was for a time the editor, and to which he was a constant contributor. In 1819 the *Missouri Herald* was established at Jackson and the *Missouri Intelligencer* at Franklin, and in 1820 the *Missourian* at St. Charles. With the undeveloped national postal service, long before the day of the telegraph, the eastern news in these papers was often weeks late, especially in the winter months, but eventually they gave some knowledge of what was going on in the world out-

side. As in all the frontier press, editorials tended to be personal and the editors had to be ready to meet personal violence from their indignant victims. The editors were inevitably drawn into politics if for no other reason than because the public printing was indispensable to their financial existence. Today we can hardly realize how indispensable newspaper publicity was to political organization or community movements of any sort. The coming of the newspapers made possible something like an organized public opinion. Without them, the solidarity of the opposition to Congressional attempts at restriction in 1820 would have been less complete and effective.

To Missourians, as to each successive frontier section, admission to the Union as a state and the elimination of the Territorial Governor and judges appointed from Washington was the political goal. By 1820 they had passed thru all the preliminary stages of training for statehood. First a District of Indiana Territory in 1804, then in 1805 the Territory of Louisiana with all power in the hands of the appointed Governor and judges, in 1812 she became the Territory of Missouri with an elective lower house and the right to send a delegate to Congress, and in 1816 reached the highest rank in Territorial Government with an elective Legislature. A year later the first petition for admission to the Union was in circulation.

During the territorial period the question of land titles furnished the most important relations with the Federal Government and was the occasion for several memorials to Congress. If the lure of the West all thru our history has been the opportunity to the emigrant for self-advancement, cheap land has been the means to that end. The land situation was far from satisfactory in Missouri. The last Spanish Governor, a native son, had paid little attention to the Spanish law in his land grants, and the settlers had been even more neglectful in perfecting their titles. Congress, alarmed at the stories of wholesale fraud, after the Purchase refused to recognize the majority of these grants, which were technically at least imperfect and incomplete. Successive statutes were more and

more liberal, but the last general confirmation of Spanish grants was not made until 1836. The confusion was increased by the well meant action of Congress after the New Madrid earthquake, permitting the sufferers to locate an amount of land equal in area to their damaged farms anywhere on the public domain. The certificates of this permission were eagerly bought up by the land speculators and then sold the actual settlers. The situation was much better after 1816, after the national survey kept pace with settlement, and after land offices were established in 1818 in Franklin, St. Louis and Jackson. But one of the arguments for statehood was the greater opportunity of securing a more liberal land policy from the Federal Government.

The constant friction between the appointed Territorial Governor and the local leader, which was so noticeable in many of the earlier territories, was hardly known in Missouri. The majority of the governors identified themselves with the territory and supported its interests and desires, so that there was the minimum of jealousy and hostility toward the Governor, appointed from Washington, with an absolute veto on legislation and control of the patronage. This is particularly true of the last Governor, from 1813 to 1820, William Clark, of the Lewis and Clark Expedition. An indefatigable and successful maker of Indian treaties, he shared the frontiersman view that the Indian was an obstacle to be removed. He was interested in the fur trade, and, himself a speculator in land, was heartily in favor of a generous policy as to the Spanish land grants. He was on the friendliest official and personal terms with the powerful land-holding lawyer group which controlled St. Louis and the older sections. In fact, he ran an excellent race for State Governor in 1820 and owed his defeat in part to his unavoidable absence from the state during the campaign. The very efficient territorial secretary, Frederic Bates, was elected the second Governor of the state in 1824.

In local politics, in the Territorial Legislature and the election of Congressional delegates, there was some sectional

rivalry between St. Louis and St. Charles in the north and St. Genevieve and Cape Girardeau in the south. The lead country was commonly allied with the latter, but after 1820 the Booneslick, in alliance with St. Louis, was the more powerful. Naturally, opposition to the most liberal policy as to the Spanish grants was fatal to political advancement, as in the case of J. B. C. Lucas. He was a graduate of the University of Law in Caen, Normandy, a friend of Gallatin and one of the ablest men in the territory. As a member of the first Board of Land Commissioners he seems to have insisted on the strict enforcement of the law and to have become convinced that many of the claims were fraudulent. Altho active in politics and ambitious for public office, he was uniformly unsuccessful. On the other hand, there seems good reason to believe the tradition that Benton secured the one additional vote necessary for his first election as United States Senator in 1820 from a French member of the Legislature, in spite of his personal animosity toward Benton, because of the latter's well known liberal views on land titles. It is at least interesting that Benton, the great champion of cheap land, began his legal career in St. Louis as a representative of Spanish land claimants and won his first election thru his land policy. However, in general politics in Missouri were primarily personal as they were all thru the frontier; the candidates relied more on their loyal friends than on platforms or issues.

The majority of the men prominent in politics were lawyers, business men or large land holders. For example, of the forty-one members of the Constitutional Convention of 1820, nine were lawyers, eleven business men—merchants or interested in lead mining—and fourteen were landholders or farmers. But most of the lawyers and all the business men were also land holders, most of them speculators, and some of them the greatest land owners in the state. All but four of the delegates were at least comfortably off, while fourteen would be counted men of wealth according to frontier standards. These same men were very powerful both before and after 1820; sixteen of them had sat in the Terri-

torial Legislature and twenty-four sat in the General Assembly of the state. For ten years they furnished all the Congressmen, but Benton, who, tho not a delegate, was an important member of this ruling group. He early revolted from it and supported Jackson in 1825, but it was well into the thirties before he became the dominant figure in Missouri politics, as the representative of more distinctly western elements and interests. Certainly in 1820 the state was led by the more conservative elements, and the excellent Constitution they drew up was evidence of their ability.

To us, just now, the chief occupation of Missourians of this period would seem to have been providing occasions for Centennial celebrations today, but they themselves were probably too much engrossed with the struggle for admission to the Union and the organization of a state government to think much of posterity. There are an unusual number of dates worth commemorating, due to the long drawn out struggle over admission. The end of the first stage was marked by the enactment of the first Missouri Compromise on March 6, 1820, which enabled the territory of Missouri to draw up a state constitution without any restriction as to slavery. The attempt in Congress to impose such a restriction had aroused an almost unanimous resistance in Missouri; even the minority which disliked slavery resented pretty generally the interference of Congress. The arguments put forward in Missouri were largely based on the constitutional objections to restriction, but much of the excitement came from the typical western hostility to outside dictation or control. A mass meeting in St. Louis had even gone so far as to declare that if Congress continued its refusal to grant admission on an equal footing with the original states, the people had the right to draw up a constitution and organize a state government on their own authority.

A state government was organized in the summer of 1820, but under the Congressional authority of the First Compromise. The Constitutional Convention completed its work and proclaimed the first constitution the fundamental law of the state on July 19, 1820; the first state election was

held on August 28; Governor McNair was inaugurated and the "state" government in operation on September 19. But the new contest at Washington over the free negro clauses in the Constitution led to the Second Compromise, adopted March 2, 1821, and the admission of Missouri to the Union by Presidential proclamation on August 10.

Thruout the long contest there was one point on which Missourians and all parties in Congress seemed agreed, that in population, in development, both material and intellectual, and in political experience and ability, Missouri had reached a point justifying her admission to the Union as a state. By the close of 1820 she had a complete "state" government in operation, entirely extra-constitutional it is true, but accepted without question by her people. For generations afterward it was a matter of state pride and patriotism to claim the date 1820 as the beginning of statehood; to this day the State seal bears the date MDCCCXX.

A Century of Journalism in Missouri

BY WILLIAM VINCENT BYARS.

Between 1820 and 1830, the people of Missouri organized a system of free co-operation, adequate for the needs of progress in the first ten years of the political existence of their commonwealth. It was even more fully adequate for their future, assuring progress for ten centuries, more certainly than for ten years under its own requirements of principle. First and final among these requirements, the love of freedom and of equal justice for all who worked together, was assumed as existing then, and always to exist, as the essential of "enlightenment." Conscious of contradictions through which they were warned that the best in their great beginnings and greater hopes might be defeated, they still framed a commonwealth, fit for the highest work of a free and enlightened people in their generation and in all generations to come.

For enlightenment, to save them and their posterity from calamities they knew to be threatened by their own contradictions, they looked to the church, the school and the press. The county newspaper was thought of as not less necessary than the county courthouse.[1]

The "Missouri Press" of 1820 included three newspapers, which may be considered as typical of the press of town and country during the succeeding century. Two out of the three published by men who devoted their lives to their calling, represented the tradition of enlightenment through "the printer" back to Gutenberg. In mechanical equipment, they had made little advance since the fifteenth century.

[1]See *Pennsylvania Archives, first Series*; *Virginia State Papers;* files of the *Kentucky Gazette*, Mercantile Library, St. Louis; files of the *Missouri Gazette*, Missouri Historical Society; Morse, *Geography and Gazetteer*, connecting the pioneer movement Westward, 1780-1820. The authorities show that in the pioneer Western community, the church usually appeared before the courthouse, with public spirit then directed to equipping the community with a schoolmaster and a "printer." Development from the first and rudest stage was expected to begin with the first newspaper.

Of the *Missouri Gazette*, it is said that "the oldest newspaper in St. Louis was published in the beginning at an expense of about $20 a week." As it was printed on a Ramage press, "ink was applied to the type by balls, after taking it from a stand near by, and going over the printing surface in a series of pats." (Hyde and Conard, Encyclopedia of the History of St. Louis. Scharf, History of St. Louis.)

As the city newspaper of the twentieth century had this beginning for its mechanical progress, the "country press," represented in 1820 by the Franklin "*Intelligencer*,"[2] had with equal disadvantages, the same opportunity for distributing enlightenment "by going over the surface in a series of pats." As first printed by Nathaniel Patton on the Ramage press, presented by his successor, Colonel William F. Switzler, to the St. Louis Mercantile Library, the *Intelligencer*, developing through the Columbia *Patriot* into Switzler's Columbia *Statesman*, represented the printer's traditions which from Gutenberg and Aldus had reached Missouri in unbroken succession, through Caxton to Benjamin Franklin, of the *Pennsylvania Gazette*, and through Franklin to Joseph Charless, of the *Missouri Gazette*.

If we are tempted through pride in the triumphs of modern invention, to forget that in all masterwork for enlightenment the power of personality remains, and must always remain, paramount, we may think of Aldus, unbuckling his sword and rolling back his sleeves to "go over the surface" of one of his masterpieces "in the series of pats" which were

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[2]Switzler, *History of Missouri*, 193: "The first newspaper established west of St. Louis was the *Missouri Intelligencer*, which was established in Franklin by Nathaniel Patton in April, 1819, where it continued to be published until the removal of the seat of justice to Fayette in 1823, when it was removed to that place. In 1835, Mr. Patton moved the printing materials to Columbia, where he commenced the publication of the *Patriot*, which was succeeded in 1843 by the *Missouri Statesman*, by William F. Switzler and John B. Williams. The press—a small hand-press of wooden frame, iron bed, platen and joints, known among the craft as the Ramage—on which the *Intelligencer* was printed, was presented some years ago to the Mercantile Library Association of St. Louis by William F. Switzler, where it can be seen. Some of the walnut printer-stands used in the *Intelligencer* office in 1819, and with Mr. Patton's name upon them, are still (1879) in daily use in the *Statesman* office at Columbia."

still demanded from Nathaniel Patton when he printed the first number of his *Intelligencer* on his Ramage press in the Missouri woods in April, 1819. If we expect modern progress to do more to illustrate the sense of fitness, through craftsmanship expressed in machinery, than has been done by the paramount power of personality, applied through pats with the inkballs, we may compare a modern magazine with an Aldine Virgil, or we may place any masterpiece of the latest improved presses side by side with the sheet of "Mezarin Bible," on which Gutenberg printed the first Psalm.[3]

From 1808 when he founded the *Missouri Gazette*, until 1820, when he was ready to leave the succession to his son, Joseph Charless had always thought of himself as "the printer." So Franklin had done in all the work through the *Pennsylvania Gazette*, which made him incomparably the greatest American editor of the eighteenth century, if not of any other. This tradition had moved west, first with the "Conestoga wagon" to Pittsburg, and then by keelboat and packhorse to Lexington, Kentucky.[4] To St. Louis, it came by keelboat down the Ohio and up the Mississippi, as Charless brought from Philadelphia not merely the "outfit" for his paper, but also the name, and with the name, the tradition of what "the printer" ought to mean in the life of his community, of his country, and of the world.

If we assume from any standpoint of superiority that we can afford to look down upon this tradition, we are at once "put to the question." If we wish to know why and how St. Louis and not Ste. Genevieve, or some other town of acknowledged merit, became the "leading city of the Mississippi

[3]At the Arts and Crafts Exposition, St. Louis, 1919, the series of volumes exhibited by the Franklin club, illustrated printing from Gutenberg and Aldus to date. One of its greatest triumphs for modern printing was the facsimile of the Gutenberg Bible—wonderful because through machinery, it so nearly imitated the "handicraft" of its original. The first printers thought their own work wonderful, because they so nearly imitated what they knew to be the still superior excellence of the best manuscript books which they used as models in making their type and in their "illuminations."

[4]See Rank's *Lexington* and the files of the *Kentucky Gazette*. Between "Limestone" and Lexington, the type for the first issue of any newspaper published west of Pittsburg, was so badly "pied" that the "printer" was obliged to explain his difficulties to his patrons.

Valley," we must go to the files of the *Missouri Gazette*, before we can even begin to learn the reality. We must ask "the printer," Joseph Charless, what St. Louis and his work meant to him, when magnates who wished to dominate the village threatened to "buy another printer."[5]

Changing the standpoint from the Mississippi to the valley of the Missouri, it is only by beginning with the files of the *Missouri Statesman* and its predecessors, that we can begin to learn why and how Columbia became the seat of the University of Missouri, and in other ways the "intellectual center" through which it is hoped to make the future better than the past. It is only through such work as that done by men at Patton's walnut type-cases in the office of the *Statesman*, and by Patton himself with the inkballs of his Ramage press, that we can hope to make even a fair beginning of comprehension for the life and work of the past, as still vital in the present, for the future. So we may think of Franklin, as "the printer," dining his too-peremptory advertising patrons and toasting them in water-gruel, while his best wine filled their glasses, raised expectantly, as he explained to them that a printer who had learned to live on gruel in educating his mind for his work, could always afford independence in its use for his patrons and his community. At last we have learned enough of the meaning of life in history to know that if we begin with the files of Franklin's *Pennsylvania Gazette*, and follow them far enough after 1750, we may begin to understand American life and American institutions, beginning between 1750 and 1760, to connect between the "Forks of the Ohio," and the Mississippi.[6]

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[5]Scharf, *History of St. Louis*, article, Press, Volume I. The standard of the newspaper printed on the handpress was necessarily "qualitative," under restrictions which called for leaving out everything but the best and putting the best into the smallest space. When the largest possible newspaper, with everything possible in it, is realized by invention, the standard may then be called "quantitative."

[6]*Pennsylvania Archives, first series; Virginia State Papers;* files of *Pennsylvania Gazette*, Ridgway Library, Philadelphia; *Etting Papers*, Historical Society of Pennsylvania; *Gratz Papers*, Missouri Historical Society; *Croghan's Journal; Morgan's Journal and Letters*, Illinois Historical Collections; *St. Louis, The Fourth City*, Walter B. Stevens.

Supposing we have mastered and comprehended all that can be learned from books of the life of Missouri in its first century as a state of the Union, the final lesson we have learned is that, to enter into this life in sympathy with its realities, we must seek these realities, as nearly as we can "at first hand"—beginning over again from the start with the first files of the first Missouri newspapers, and following them forward, as week by week and year by year, they record the best with pride and suggest always what they can not suppress, of all that contradicts it. As church and school succeed in all that was hoped from them, it is only through the faded pages of these old papers, that these high successes are recorded as facts. If we could imagine the failure of all agencies of liberating enlightenment at any crisis, it must still be to the files of the newspaper that we must turn to learn the worst in the stern realities of facts, which the historian, writing from "State Papers" only, may find glozed over in a few conventional phrases. Hence, now at last, we begin to go back to newspaper files to learn the meaning of "American history."[7] We may find "State Papers" dealing in a few obscure generalizations, with tragedies affecting the lives of millions. We may find historians writing from them and theorizing without enlightening us. Then, from the advertising pages of the files of some old newspaper, we

[7]Files of Missouri newspaper in the Library of Congress include the following, founded prior to 1830: *Missouri Gazette*, St. Louis, 1819-22, founded 1808, continued as the *Missouri Republican* and *St. Louis Republic* to 1919; *St. Louis Enquirer*, weekly and semi-weekly, March 17, 1819, to July 15, 1825; *Missouri Intelligencer*, Franklin, from January 15, 1821, to December 21, 1826, continued at Columbia as *The Missouri Statesman*, established, 1843; *The Missourian*, January 3, 1820, to October 24, 1822, St. Charles; *The Missouri Herald*, 1819-20, continued as *The Independent Patriot*, 1821-26; *The St. Louis Beacon*, 1829-32; *The Western Monitor*, Fayette, 1829-30; *The Jeffersonian*, "Jefferson," January 1, 1830, continued as *The Jeffersonian Republican*, 1831-40. The dates, referring to files in the Library of Congress, are of the earliest and latest preserved, without being always continuous. Between 1830 and 1840, files are preserved of later issues of survivors among these, and of the following: *St. Louis Free Press*, 1833; *Farmers and Mechanics Advocate*, St. Louis, 1834-35; *Missouri Argus*, St. Louis, 1839-40; *Southern Advocate*, "Jackson" (?), 1838. (Check List of American Newspapers in the Library of Congress, Slauson). Unfortunately for the historian of popular life, newspaper files may be hopelessly lost except as the towns of their publication became cities, in which they survived or left direct successors.

may have a searchlight turned upon our minds, until they may threaten our own prejudices with the compulsion of unwelcome knowledge.[8] We can not fail to be thus enlightened by the advertising pages of *The Pennsylvania Gazette*, or any other colonial newspaper. Without gloss, except for immediate effect, they show the impulses of life, which in other pages are reported as facts, or defined as aspirations. So in the Charless *Gazette* or the Switzler *Statesman*, we may find aspiration always defining itself in the presence of facts, reported for all they may mean, now and hereafter, at their worst and best. In the best county newspapers of which the *Statesman* became typical under Switzler's editorship, we can find always the impulses of Missouri life in aspirations for improvement, challenging us still for realization. These, always present, if undefined, in the life of the people, it has always been the responsibility of the "county press" to represent, if not to realize. From the beginning and for a hundred years, the men to whom the publication of the "home papers" of Missouri has been truly a "calling" in life, have given their communities an always present and immediately available method of expressing the sympathetic interests of life, which alone make it possible for people of all kinds to live and work together in mutual helpfulness—free to develop, as they ought, each his or her own personal character. The highest aspiration of Missouri institutions, as framed in 1820, was that of liberation for the development of this highest personal character in the greatest possible number of

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[8]Compare files of the *Pennsylvania Gazette*, *Virginia Gazette* and *Missouri Gazette*, 1750-1810. A schoolmaster, bought as a "bond-servant," is advertised for sale in the *Virginia Gazette;* advertisements, offering rewards for white run-a-ways, "bound to service," are frequent in the *Pennsylvania Gazette*, even after the Battle of Lexington; descriptions of scars from branding irons on the persons of fugitives explain much that State Papers omit in subsequent history. See the files of *The Missouri Republican*, March, 1860, advertising connection with San Francisco in eight days, by the St. Joseph "pony express." Apparently "all business," the advertisements go deep into politics. Compare the advertising pages of leading daily papers, 1914-1920, as the beginning of a new period, with "full-page" advertisements, advocating or opposing war. While these are important in their bearing on life, advertisements, with no ulterior purpose, published as part of the regular routine, may finally become much more so as they illustrate habits.

Missourians. If this is not taken for granted, in spite of all contradicting it then and now, we can never understand the "Missouri institutions" of which the county press, as pre-eminently the "home press" of Missouri, is one of the first and greatest—ranking in actual closeness of sympathetic contact with the life of the people, above any institution, however necessary, which involves as a necessity of its success the exercise of compulsory power. We may smile when we read the florid compliment paid by the editor of his "home paper" to the youth, leaving home to conquer the world, but as to the youth himself and those who loved him, nothing could be more real than the promise of his future, we may find the best work done for many communities as far west as the Pacific, explained in its beginnings of aspiration by such "items" in Missouri county papers. It belonged, as it must always belong, to the routine of the calling of the editor of the home paper to record all that makes success and happiness for the single home and that joins home to home in such common sympathies as we may feel only in the actual realities of "life and death" below the surface of the type-faces which print the column of birth and death notices. But whether he met the demands of his calling a hundred years ago in a series of pats on the surface of his type with an inkball, or last year with a steam-press and a typesetting machine, the man whose calling in Missouri has been to represent the life of his community through his own control of its home-paper, has been bound by his responsibility through the demands of his mere routine work to the best that human nature can do in practical reality for the "brotherhood of man." Except as this begins at home, and develops its practical realities at home, it may be an ideal, but it lies beyond the routine of life. It may inspire eloquence, and it usually does, but in Missouri, we may usually distrust it, as when in Pike county it appeared, July 10, 1841, in the prospectus of Mr. George B. Price's "Olive Branch." When he promised a newspaper, free from what we may easily imagine as the most flagrant failures of all other newspapers, the ideal he defined was freedom from the passions of politics and the desire for dom-

ination, with reading matter devoted to informing and educating the general mind "in virtue and intelligence upon the broad principles of Christian charity." We may understand at once how the Pike county historian concludes that "such services in a mercenary age, are not well calculated to command much remuneration."[9] The men whose calling it has been to edit the "home paper" in Missouri counties, have not been saints, by profession or otherwise, as a rule. With their "professional interests," as concerned in the county and State printing, and such like matters of "remuneration," we may be concerned only when we consider professions of devotion to certain political principles, to which we may be in whole or part, devoted or opposed. But as newspaper men, in the newspaper business, their business was not politics, and it is in their business routine, "outside of politics," that we may praise them most, if we wish to praise them at all. We need not praise them, or defend them against those who blame, when in studying the life of the people, as they have known and recorded it, we find the results of their routine vital, full of the life of the past, which has entered the present so fully that nothing of what is now occurring is intelligible until it is understood.[10]

To understand life and growth, as it follows its lines of least resistance until it finds that what is best is invariably easiest, we may return to 1820, when in organizing for the future of the new state, the people of Missouri instinctively conformed to the laws of the solar system, as it gave them their lives of least resistance, physically, along the water-

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[9]*History of Pike County, Missouri, Mills and Co., 1883*, page 422. It is added, however, that with "agriculture recognized as a handmaid of religion and morality," the "Olive Branch" was a financial success—perhaps beyond reasonable expectation.

[10]See Missouri county histories. With all their manifest refusal to accept any "critical standard," they are the only printed books which give the data for the life of the people, as under the standards of Taine and Green, history must represent it to be worthy of the name. Including, of course, the histories of Missouri cities and towns, these volumes are based in all that makes them most vital, on the files of Missouri newspapers. The date of the first newspaper file available invariably decides the point at which the "historical imagination" comes under control of facts. It is to these local histories that the reader must turn for the names, now forgotten, of many newspapers, once important.

fronts of the Mississippi and Missouri rivers. This "common sense," supported then by all we know now of principle in every physical science, is decisive in the history of their newspapers, as in everything else, until it is changed by increasing knowledge of the use to which universal principles can be put in life. The principle of political organization of 1820 was to give every county a waterfront on the two great rivers, as far as possible. For twenty years following, the people of every new county used their common sense in seeing that they were not cut off from navigable streams which had so long "decided destiny." But in 1850, there is a change shown in the common sense of Pike county, recorded by its home papers in 1848 and 1849.[11] As the *Salt River Journal*

[11]Since the course of history, represented by the county papers of Missouri during a century can be suggested only through typical examples, the leadership attributed to Pike county during the first "Overland movement" gives a special historical interest to the data of its press in this order from "The History of Pike County," Mills and Co., 1883:

Salt River Journal, files of December, 1839, M. J. Noyes, publisher; succeeded by F. H. Jones and A. H. Buckner. Continued as *The Radical* and as the *Democratic Banner* under Colonel N. P. Minor.

The Olive Branch, files of 1841, published at Bowling Green by George B. Price.

Bowling Green Journal, files of 1845-48, published by Jackson and Wells, continued by Watson and Bonham.

Louisiana Weekly Record, files for 1850-52, A. J. Howe, editor, continued by Philander Draper.

Louisiana Journal, successor to the *American Union*, established in 1854; continued as the *Louisiana Times*, edited by T. J. Fluman; continued after 1859, by Reed and Clements, as the *Louisiana Journal*, supporting "Constitutional Union" in 1860 and 1864; office mobbed and type scattered in the street, May 24, 1864, while its editor, A. J. Reid, was advocating the election of McClellan, as the "Constitutional Union" candidate to succeed Lincoln; continued after 1865 by James L. Hessner and other editors, with Parsons and Hoss, "practical printers," succeeding in 1881.

The True Flag, by Mayhall and Hawkins, files of 1864; *The Pike County Post*, established 1871, L. R. Brown and D. Sheckles; consolidated with the *Franklin Observer* as *The Post-Observer; Pike County Express*, Curryville, 1875, A. W. Robinson, editor; *The Pike Union*, Clarksville, E. W. Herndon, editor, 1861-65, succeeded by the *Monitor and Sentinel; Riverside Press*, 1872, sold to Champ Clark, 1879, continued after 1880 by Jamison and Barre.

The Louisiana Republican, established in 1882, as *The Pike County Republican* by W. T. Lambert, continued by I. N. Bryson.

The Frankfort Chronicle, established in 1878, by W. E. Jones.

The Curryville Courier, established in 1882 by James B. Simpson, succeeding the *Pike County Express*, removed from Curryville to Bowling Green and continued as *The Bowling Green Times*.

To the history represented by these titles, add that of three decades for the "modern period" in the eventful journalism of this typical Missouri county.

recorded Pike county history in 1839, every intelligent editor was expected to look forward to a "continent spanned by railroads." In 1849, Benton had introduced the bill for a "central National road" from the Mississippi to the Pacific ocean. Pike county common sense was thus in a transition state, when in May, 1850, the editor attended the meeting to organize the Pike county "overland movement" by wagon train to the Pacific coast under a "constitution and by-laws for mutual government." There is no change in the instinct of organizing under executive officers, chosen by ballot and removable for cause. There was no change, either, in the common sense of those who held that, with modern inventions or without them, Missouri and Pike county in Missouri offered all any wholly rational person could ask or expect for making the best of life. When John and William Todd, James and Franklin McPike, and others after them, straggled home again, without the "gold of California" in any considerable quantity, they were welcomed as restored to reason. But between 1820 and 1850, Missourians, many of whom never returned, had followed their own streams to the "Great Divide" and crossing it, had been pioneers in the foundation of every American state, now in existence west of the north and south line represented by the "Great Bend" in the Missouri river. Between 1850 and 1860, the "Great West" originated the tradition or superstition that Pike county was primarily responsible for this. In Bret Harte's California, all Missourians are assumed to be from Pike county, unless acquitted on their own objections. As we can not write the history of Missouri without writing that of the pioneer period in the "Great West," we are thus inhibited from studying Missouri life in Missouri newspapers of this period without taking into account the conditions which suggest the reality back of this tradition. Considering it only as newspapers in Missouri are affected, this reality is unmistakable. It is that of the first great successes in the practical use of "solar force," through inventions, constantly improving during the century we are considering until the "spark from the cat's back," which Franklin had identified with universal solar

forces in the lightning, carried from Washington into the newspaper offices of San Francisco, the news of the surrender at Appomattox.

"The year 1849 is the date of the advent of the telegraph to St. Louis, and for a considerable period following the news feature was very meager."[12] But the first line of type printed west of the Mississippi from telegraphic copy, involved a revolution in the press of Missouri, with re-classification necessary from that date. This had already been anticipated in St. Louis in a way which connects incidentally with Pike county. Under this change as Missouri papers are to be re-classified into "dailies" and "weeklies," the *Missouri Republican* had become a daily, September 20, 1836. "In the winter of 1837, negotiations were opened with Colonel A. B. Chambers, proprietor of the *Salt River Journal*, published at Bowling Green, Mo., for the sale of the *Republican*, and soon afterwards the sale was consummated, the purchasers being A. B. Chambers, Oliver Harris and George Knapp. The new proprietors, however, did not take charge until the first of July, and in the meantime Thursday, April 20, a new power press had been received. The first issue of the paper under the new management—the firm being known as Chambers, Harris and Knapp, appeared on the 3d of July, 1837. In the same number, Edward Charless (son of "the printer" of the *Missouri Gazette*) announced his retirement from editorial life." (Scharf, St. Louis, I, 909.)

With the first newspaper telegram and the first "power press," St. Louis is no longer in its own opinion of itself, or in fact, the "pioneer outpost" of civilization in the west. As it becomes a "field for metropolitan journalism," attracting from Pike county, Buchanan county and elsewhere, those who aspired for eminence in journalism, the place it had filled between 1808 and 1820 was not left vacant. On the Missouri river, Lafayette, Jackson, Clay and Buchanan counties turned

[12]Hyde and Conard, *St. Louis*, p. 1630. In December, 1846, the *Missouri Republican* claimed as "the most magnificent enterprise of the age," its own success in getting the President's message from Washington to St. Louis "by express" in three days. In the "latter part of December, 1847," the telegraph reached "the east bank of the Mississippi." Scharf, I, 913.

their faces towards the Pacific between 1830 and 1850, as fully as St. Louis, St. Genevieve and St. Charles counties had done between 1800 and 1820.

The changes through invention, affecting life as a whole, preceded those in newspaper equipment. In 1850, the family life of Pike county and every other Missouri county on the Mississippi was as deeply unsettled by the transcontinental movement as was the family-life of the "outposts" in western Missouri between 1830 and 1845, when the "Conestoga wagon" of 1760 had become the "prairie schooner" of the Santa Fe and Oregon trails. As the colonial life of the Missouri family survived with least change in the Florissant valley until within living memory, the family names on Florissant tombs dating back of 1830, may be those of fathers and mothers whose sons fill unmarked graves somewhere between the Grande and the Columbia. Florissant, as the nineteenth century closed, was unique in Missouri. When it surrendered the responsibilities of pioneering, which its young men had met with the "pirogue," the packhorse and the prairie schooner, it lapsed into settled life and remained settled until modernized by subjection to the aeroplane. If we think of Florissant, still speaking "Colonial French" until it saw the aeroplanes, pioneering the "air service" of the coming world-war, while circling above the grave of Father De Smet, that contrast may suggest the change in habits of thought affecting what had been the "common sense" of Pike county, as represented in the *Salt River Journal*, when first founded as a home paper for Pike county.[13]

Taking life as we find it; considering newspapers in Missouri only for what they mean in life; making no special plea for the "former times as better than these," or for the future as likely to be improved over the present by our un-

[13]Between 1850 and 1890, the Florissant Valley offered the life of Normandy in contrast to that of Pike county or any other Missouri county. Until connected with St. Louis, by electric railway, Florissant village never had a "boom" and never wanted one. As late as 1890, a minority in some Ozark counties protested through their "home papers" that they preferred quality of population to quantity, but if in the twenty-first century we actually realize the meaning of settled life, it is to Florissant that the historian is likely to turn for the first illustration during the nineteenth century.

rest, we may find in the pages of any Missouri daily paper of 1860 or 1920, full and convincing evidence of the greatest change in human habits since that forced by the first use of the alphabet in written books. If we compare the *St. Joseph Gazette*, of 1845, the *Pennsylvania Gazette*, of 1760, or the *Missouri Gazette*, under Joseph Charless, with any daily paper since telegrams have been printed from type by a steam press, we may gain in a few hours, data for thought during the rest of our lives, if we expect to spend them in explaining "our times" either to ourselves, or any one else. We may conclude that in 1920, no one living can understand the life, represented in any single issue of a Missouri daily newspaper, with combinations for cable service intended to cover both hemispheres. We may decide that the increase beyond measure of seemingly detached incidents demands from our minds a strain for comprehension, no mind could endure without the complete focus which would exclude every other interest in life. We may attribute this power of focus to the editor, and argue in his behalf against all who may contend that in the nature of things, the editor who is most concerned in "getting out" such a newspaper, is by that token, likely to know less, day by day, of what it must mean to life, than do those who must become conscious of its effects through feeling them. If we must leave this increase of bewildering diversification, with no conclusion drawn, we can not avoid it as a fact in the life of the present and of the century of Missouri journalism during the period when "journalism" must be considered from the files, of daily newspapers.

When we take the *St. Joseph Gazette*, of 1860, as a type of the earliest dailies west of St. Louis, the "Daily News History of Buchanan county," gives 1857 as the year in which it first appeared as a daily, being then under control of P. S. Pfouts and J. H. R. Cundiff. This antedates by a year the appearance of the *Kansas City Journal* as a daily under the management of R. T. Van Horn and D. K. Abiel, in 1858. (Conard, Encyclopedia of Missouri.) As rivals for leadership in the West, St. Joseph and Kansas City were still frontier

towns, with no connections west by either railroad or telegraph when these beginnings were made. In April, 1860, the *Gazette* had the benefit of connection opened to and from the Pacific coast by mail in eight days, when by the Panama route, mail from New York to San Francisco required twenty-two days. This belongs to the history of the "pony express" when with transcontinental postage of $2.50 for each half-ounce between St. Joseph and San Francisco, "special editions of eastern newspapers were printed on tissue paper to enable them to reach subscribers on the Pacific coast." While this could not have added much to circulation, "post haste" as a reality of political system belongs to the history of news in St. Joseph for the last time in Missouri, if not in the modern world. Starting from Saint Joseph in 1861, the young riders of the express carried Lincoln's inaugural to San Francisco, 1,950 miles, across desert and mountains, in 185 hours. As this virtually closes the history of long-distance relay-riding at top-speed for political purposes, begun under Hamurabi in Babylon "in the time of Abraham," there is no one to dispute St. Joseph's claim that it is "a result without a parallel in history." (Buchanan county and St. Joseph, 94.)

Perhaps there could have been no more fitting climax for the romance of personal character, pitted against the worst difficulties of nature, with its impulses reflected in Missouri newspapers during the period of actual pioneering, and operating as a tradition, influencing the generation during which Missouri ceased to be thought of as a "Border State." The newspapers of Kansas City and St. Joseph, however, were still thought of politically as belonging to "the border" even in 1880. As it is primarily for purposes of political history that Missouri dailies, supposed to be most important in that connection, are collected by the Congressional Library, we find St. Joseph represented in its published lists by the *Gazette*; the *Herald*, established in 1862; the *Daily News*, with files beginning in 1899; and by the *Gazette-Herald*, after the consolidation of the two papers in 1900.

Kansas City is represented by files of the *Journal*, established in 1854; the *Times*, established in 1869; the *Star*,

established in 1875; and the *World*, which between 1894 and 1897, represented the Scripps League, as a pioneer of the "newspaper chain," and the "syndicate," first introduced through the *St. Louis Chronicle*, "established, July 31, 1880, by J. E. Scripps, of the *Detroit Tribune*, who was then forming a chain, or circuit of afternoon papers, known as the Scripps League."[14] The *Chronicle* belongs by absorption to the history of the afternoon *Star*, when with the *Post-Dispatch*, *Times* and *Star*, published in the afternoon, St. Louis was left in 1919, with the *Globe-Democrat* and *Westliche Post*, as its only morning dailies, after a like tendency to afternoon reading had already appeared in Kansas City.

Thru modern inventions, represented by "plate matter," syndicate articles, color pages and "comic" or magazine supplements, supplied from two or three great cities, the character of the daily press throughout the country has been radically changed since 1880. In noting the change, we need

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[14]Encyclopedia of St. Louis, Hyde and Conard, p. 1635. When the *Daily News* historian of Buchanan county says that "the history of Buchanan county is dotted with the graves of many newspaper ventures," this applies equally to Missouri at large, and more especially to St. Louis and Kansas City. The directory of the dead newspapers of the state, many of great historical interest would be even more extensive than that of the survivors. The following from Slauson's list of files in the Library of Congress, represent only a minority of the dailies, published in St. Louis since 1840:

Missouri Republican, March 1, 1841, to May 30, 1888, 34 volumes (continued as *St. Louis Republic* to 1919.)

St. Louis Daily Intelligencer, formerly *St. Louis Daily New Era*, two volumes, 1850-51. *Daily New Era*, one volume, 1849.

Daily Missourian, May 1 to 19, 1845.

St. Louis Reveille, November-December, 1844.

St. Louis Daily Union, 1846-49.

Daily Missouri Democrat, established 1852; six volumes, 1855-65; consolidated with the *St. Louis Daily Globe*, six volumes, 1872-75; continued as the "*Globe-Democrat*, established, 1852."

St. Louis Dispatch, one volume, 1865-66; consolidated with the *St. Louis Post*, and continued as "the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, established 1851."

St. Louis Journal, 1875-77; consolidated with the *Daily Times*, as the *Times Journal*; continued as the *St. Louis Times*, five volumes, 1877-79; absorbed by the *Missouri Republican*.

St. Louis Evening Pilot, 1855-56. *Daily Evening News*, 1865-66.

The list of dailies outside of St. Louis, Kansas City and St. Joseph, is represented by a single item, *The Sedalia Capital*, established 1871, five volumes, 1898-1900." As amended for 1920, the list ought to include files of every daily and weekly paper in the state, and for the centennial year at least, a complete file of every other Missouri periodical.

not now stop to decide how far in any city, quality is necessarily sacrified to quantity by any daily newspaper, which devotes space not thus occupied to satisfying the local demands of its patrons, including its local advertisers. It is only to be noted in comparing 1880 and 1920, that with a chain of daily papers, thus organized between Maine and Texas, New York and California, local character and whatever quality belongs to it, is necessarily sacrified. The daily papers of the great cities under this system give the public the cheapest reading matter, in the greatest variety, often if not usually below cost, except as the cost is met by the increase in their advertising pages, through which alone it is possible for the greatest and most expensive among them to survive or make a profit. When this makes the advertising department supremely important, the public in 1920 no longer expects the newspaper of forty-eight pages to represent individual character or to be controlled by the personal brains and, if possible, the personal conscience of an uncommercial editor-in-chief, as certainly was expected from many newspapers of eight pages in 1880. Noting the increase in the number of daily newspapers, published in Missouri, from forty-two in 1880 to seventy-six in 1919,[15] we may only hope

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[15]Ayer's *American Newspaper Annual*, 1880, 1919. The following summaries from Ayer, 1880 and 1919, are statistically gratifying:

1880—"There are 114 counties in Missouri. Newspapers are published in all. There are 471 papers which insert advertisements in the state, of which 42 are daily, 5 tri-weekly, 8 semi-weekly, 371 weekly, 40 monthly, 3 bi-monthly and 1 quarterly."

1919—"The number of newspapers and periodicals published in Missouri, is 887, including 76 daily, 1 three times a week; 16 semi-weekly, 606 weekly, 8 fortnightly, 23 semi-monthly, 95 monthly, 1 every six weeks, 5 bi-monthly and 6 quarterly. The places of publication are 434, of which 115 are county seats."

Missouri towns and cities, equipped with daily papers in 1919, were Aurora, Brookfield, Butler, Cameron, Cape Girardeau, Carrollton, Carthage, Charleston, Chillicothe, Columbia, Excelsior Springs, Fulton, Hannibal, Independence, Jefferson City, Joplin, Kansas City, Kirksville, Lamar, Lexington, Louisiana, Macon, Marshall, Maryville, Mexico, Moberly, Monett, Neosho, Nevada, Poplar Bluff, Rich Hill, St. Charles, St. Joseph, St. Louis, Sedalia, Springfield, Trenton, Warrensburg, Webb City and West Plains. When these are re-inforced by weekly newspapers in 434 towns, of which 115 are county seats, there is certainly no ground for complaining of a lack of brains, adequate to represent the people of the state at their best. In this respect, the "periodical literature" of the state is typically represented no doubt by William Marion

always increasing opportunities for their editors in representing and improving the life of the State through such personal quality as "the printer" of 1820 expressed in the "series of pats" with his inkballs on his Ramage press, in printing his four pages.

In "campaign years," the press of Missouri is still, as it has been since 1820, "nothing if not political," but Missouri "home papers" become human again as soon as possible after the campaign. This has always been so with them, as a matter of instinct, if not as a rule of reason in survival. Illustrating the exceptions to the rule, we may begin with the *St. Louis Enquirer*, as edited by Thomas H. Benton, 1817-20. It was never part of Benton's purpose to become "the printer" for St. Louis, even if he and his supporters could have driven out Charless. When he survived as United States Senator, the failure of the *Enquirer* to survive with him concerned him little if at all. This is equally true of B. Gratz Brown and Frank P. Blair as Missouri journalists, becoming such first as proteges and political pupils of Benton. They purposed to become statesmen, not newspaper men under Benton when, after thirty years in the Senate, he made his death-struggle for survival, beginning in the decade between 1850 and 1860. With Blair and Brown, carrying forward the same issues, adapted to changed conditions between 1860 and 1870, we may follow the history of "political journalism" until, from the fierceness of struggle at its crisis, we may know that it left "the alarm bell in the night" still ringing, as audibly as when it first awakened Thomas Jefferson, and left him shuddering at the thought that "God is just." If Queen Elizabeth had shuddered when she knighted John Hawkins for his services to the empire in founding the

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Reedy of St. Louis, and Walter Williams, of Columbia. Except in trade publications, and periodicals devoted to special interests, the history of "periodicals" published in Missouri since 1820, ends almost invariably in an obituary if they are devoted to literature and "culture" aside from the routine of common life. "Foreign language papers," numbering 19 in 1880, have increased somewhat since. They did notable work in helping to "Americanize" the refugees from Russia and other European countries during the twentieth century war-period, which began to involve the world, following the war between the South African republics and the British empire.

British-African slave-trade, there might have been fewer shipwrecks among Missouri newspapers, whose editors failed to find the line of least resistance in morals, applied to politics between 1820 and 1919, when the state was left to celebrate its hundredth year without a "century-old" newspaper in St. Louis. When the paper founded by Charless in 1808, expired in 1919, it was certainly not because of failure to represent the twentieth century.

I think no one now should attempt to pass final judgment on newspapers of the period since 1910, when intellectual and physical forces, cumulative for much more than a century, reached crisis, which as it is prolonged, must put to crucial test the fitness of every Missouri newspaper and newspaper-worker to represent the principles of liberation and of safety for the freest expression of what is best in the life of the State. We can know now only that, as it is involved less and less by the contradictions of every form of "involuntary servitude," the press, developing the best of 1820, may develop from the best of 1920, usefulness in honest, free and willing service beyond any record of the past.

For the greatest practical successes of service to life, newspaper work may demand imperatively the constant sacrifice of egotism by a will trained through individuality, expressing anonymously through all routine, the always present sense of personal responsibility for the results of "every idle word." If none may claim to be able to meet this test, none may dare claim openly exemption from it, under any system of education in journalism. As it has been a factor in the newspaper work of Missouri for a century, some—perhaps many—who have served best, may have wholly sacrificed reputation to its demands. But as the "profession" forced this demand on the consciousness of all who have professed "journalism" as a calling, it would be wholly unjust to assume that those who have become best known, have been less deserving because of their reputation. Perhaps better known and better loved by Missourians of his generation than any other Missouri newspaperman in any generation of the cen-

tury, Major John N. Edwards may serve as an example of others who deserved love through the personal qualities which never fail to command it. Then we need not appeal from his own final judgment that he was unequal to his responsibilities, when through his association with Morrison Munford, of the *Kansas City Times*, we consider his work in comparison with that of Walter B. Stevens, in association with Joseph B. McCullagh, of the *St. Louis Globe-Democrat*.[16] With the close of the period of pioneering, and the Civil war period, the press of the State entered a third period of constructive work for development, which attracted a great army of "home-seekers" to Missouri and the West. Such field-work as was done by Stevens during this period, belonged to the routine of newspaper duty. He and his associates in it may never have expected praise because of it from any historian, but as its results appear in a quarter of a century of Missouri history, perhaps there is no period to which the State might more willingly return.

In "St. Louis, The Fourth City," Stevens writes that "booming, in the sense in which it has come into universal use, originated with McCullagh. The first application of it, according to an authority as well known as the 'Century Dictionary,' was in the *Globe-Democrat*, in 1878." It would be rash to undertake to guess how many millions in population or hundreds of millions in "increased values," Missouri and the West owe to the expert work of "booming" of which McCullagh and Munford, in their several ways, were exponents. The modern expert in "promotion and publicity" has much to learn from them, as in "off years," they diverted their attention largely from problems of political control to "up-building" the West and Southwest. It was their best work. We need expect nothing better of its kind. Its inevitable

[16]In the "political journalism of Missouri during the second half of the nineteenth century, the names of Van Horn, Munford and Nelson; Knapp, Houser, McKee and Pulitzer; Schurz, Daenzer and Preetorius; Hyde, Jones and Francis must always be indexed by every historian of "metropolitan journalism." If such newspaper men as Henry King and Daniel M. Grissom, are indexed less frequently, it may be a tribute to merit, capable of continuous expression without "recognition."

reaction, checking unmixed satisfaction, may invoke the sense of humor, as when after a "period of depression," accompanied by drought in the "short-grass country," a disappointed boomer, leaving with his family, summed the situation in the epigram on the tailboard of his wagon: "Trusted, busted, dusted." But if the law that the "angle of reflexion equals the angle of incidence" must remain always in force, such "field work" as that of Stevens remains a model for those who seek the maximum of progress at the minimum expense of reaction. Elsewhere in his history of the St. Louis press (St. Louis, The Fourth City, 229), Stevens writes that "the late Charles A. Dana, who created the *New York Sun*, said Joseph B. McCullagh was the best reporter he had ever known." To those who know what the "best reporting" means, this implies that Dana did not know Walter B. Stevens, as a representative of the high art of stating facts in their connection with each other and with life. In this he has had no superior among Missouri newspaper men in a generation, which included Frank R. O'Niel among other master-craftsmen. In contrast with these, deserving all the thanks the love of the "good loser" can give the typical representative of a "lost cause," we have John N. Edwards, to whom the facts of life as he saw and felt it, were so repellant that he could not bear to report them at all. Out of the maze of romance his genius substituted for realities, his eloquence expressed itself in dreams, which even when most inconsistent with facts, may be most attractive to students of history in the future, as they were to those of his own generation whose deepest feelings were left otherwise unexpressed. We may idealize the intolerable and endure it. As a "prose-poet," Major Edwards had the worst in the politics of the Civil war period forced on him, and what he could not otherwise endure, he idealized.

But as life in the realities of its facts challenges the brain and conscience of every newspaper craftsman to fit himself for his work, "state facts" is the answer Charles A. Dana gave those who asked his rule of success and test of fitness.

There is one thing more, which the highest successes of enlightenment during a hundred years in Missouri journalism, make the supreme responsibility of newspaper editors to the reality of life, past, present and future. It is so to know and so to explain the facts of past and present, that through politics and business, through religion and science, through every form of influence or control over mind or body, Missourians may know how at all times to express the same good will, the same common sense, the same sympathy they know so well how to show their "next-door neighbors," that it still accounts, as it has always accounted, for the best in the newspapers which have best represented them.

A Century of Missouri Literature

BY ALEXANDER NICOLAS DeMENIL.

As this is the first *resume* of the literature of the State of Missouri, I am perforce compelled to be the sole arbiter of such divisions into periods and classifications, and rules of limitations, omissions, etc., as are, in my judgment, most practical, correct, and just—premising, however, that the space I am allowed is entirely too limited for a fully comprehensive and satisfactory paper. Furthermore, I am under the necessity of frequently being compelled to abbreviate criticism and omit phases of elucidation that would, at times, make more clear my meaning and conclusions.

My first difficulty faces me at the very start: There is no generally accepted definition of the term, "A Missouri Author." It is variously held that: (1) Birth in the state is sufficient. (2) A few years' residence only is necessary. (3) The books of an author be published while he was, or is, a resident of the state. I do not accept mere birth, or temporary residence, as all sufficient; to birth should be added a reasonable number of years of actual residence; or, without birth there should be a longer period of residence than in any other state in the Union. In other words, broadly—I hold that a Missouri author is one that the State of Missouri has, or has had, a larger claim upon than any other state in the Union.

I take no account of books of Legal Enactments; Statutes, Legislative Journals, Directories, Messages, etc. They are not literature.

Although he published the majority of his books prior to July 19, 1820, HENRY M. BRACKENRIDGE is virtually our first author and our first period begins with him:

HENRY MARIE BRACKENRIDGE was the still more distinguished son of a distinguished father—Hugh Henry Brackenridge, the author of "Bunker Hill," "Modern Chiv-

alry," and other works. He was born in Pittsburg, May 11, 1786. His education was begun at an early age by his father, and at seven years of age he was sent to a French school at the old Missouri village of Sainte Genevieve, which was then in Upper Louisiana. Here he learned French so rapidly that in six months' time he had forgotten what English he knew. At ten years of age he returned to Pittsburg, where his education was resumed at his father's house by his father and the tutors who were under his direction during the next five years.

When he was fifteen years of age, his father received the appointment of judge of the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania and young Brackenridge was placed for two years in the office of the clerk of the court as a preparation for the subsequent study of law. At twenty-one, he removed to Baltimore, Maryland, to engage in practice, but failing to secure clients, he shortly took up his residence in Somerset, a small town where there was but one lawyer. While he succeeded fairly well, he still had time, he tells us in his "Recollections of Persons and Places in the West," for the reading of the great English historians, and the study of German and Italian.

In 1810, Brackenridge revisited Ste. Genevieve, and then St. Louis, where he lingered during the sittings of the courts, and finally concluded to remain and collect material for a history of the country. He contributed articles to *The Missouri Gazette* (late *The St. Louis Republic*), which were afterwards used as the basis of his work "Views of Louisiana," published in Pittsburg in 1812. While in St. Louis he also studied Spanish.

In the fall of 1811, he removed to New Orleans, making the trip on a keel-boat, and was shortly afterwards appointed Deputy Attorney-General for the Territory of Orleans, which subsequently became the State of Louisiana. The following year he was appointed District Judge. His leisure time he devoted to the study of Spanish law and Spanish literature. In 1814, he once more took up his residence in Baltimore, where he wrote a "History of the Late War between the United States and Great Britain," which had just ended. In 1816,

appeared his delightful "Journal of a Voyage up the River Missouri, Performed in 1811" (Baltimore). His next literary work was a pamphlet of one hundred pages in favor of the acknowledgment of the independence of the South American Republics. In 1817, he was appointed secretary to the Government Commissioners to the South American Republics.

In 1818 he published, "A Voyage to South America" (in two volumes), the result of his observations and inquiries during his trip to South America. Humboldt says that these volumes contain "an extraordinary mass of information replete with philosophic views." Having returned to Baltimore, he resumed the practice of the law, and served two terms in the Legislature of Maryland. His want of sufficient clients to net him a reasonable income for his daily existence, induced him to return to St. Louis in the fall of 1820, but in April, 1821, he took passage for New Orleans, intending to finally settle in that city. However, meeting General Andrew Jackson on the boat, he landed with him in Florida as his secretary, negotiator and counselor, General Jackson having been appointed Governor in Florida. In these capacities, his knowledge of Spanish and the French laws and languages was invaluable. In May, 1821, he was appointed United States Judge for the Western District of Florida, which office he held until 1832, when, failing at reappointment, he removed with his wife, a wealthy Philadelphia lady, to Pittsburg. Here he engaged actively in politics and devoted much of his time to literature, writing frequently for the reviews and the papers, and publishing a number of pamphlets. In 1834, appeared his "Recollections of Persons and Places in the West," his principal work; a second and enlarged edition was published in Philadelphia in 1868.

In 1840, Brackenridge was elected to the lower house of Congress, but never took his seat. Why, we know not. In 1841, President Harrison appointed him a commissioner under the Mexican Treaty; in 1844, he served a term in the Pennsylvania State Legislature. In 1842, he published

"An Essay on Trusts and Trustees." His "Eulogy on Jefferson and Adams," which was so admired by William Wirt, and his "History of the Western Insurrection," have never appeared in book form. He died in Pittsburg on January 18, 1871. He always recurred lovingly to his early life in French Missouri towns. (See "Recollections of Persons and Places in the West".)

After Brackenridge, there is a lapse of many years in our Missouri literature. I mean after the works of Brackenridge that belong, strictly speaking, to the territorial and early state days of Missouri. His later books have a flavor of modernism. The subject matter, and the mode of treatment, were not the same in the forties and fifties as they were in the tens, twenties and thirties. Virtually, a second period in our state literature may be said to have begun with Edmund Flagg, Father de Smet, Sol Smith and James D. Nourse, whose first books were published either in the early thirties or the first years of the forties.

EDMUND FLAGG began his literary career at an early age. He was born in Wincasset, Maine, November 24, 1815, and graduated from Bowdoin College in 1835. The same year he went to Louisville, Kentucky, where he taught the classics and wrote for *The Louisville Journal*, which was under the editorial control of George D. Prentice. In 1836, he removed to St. Louis, and studied law under Hamilton R. Gamble, afterwards one of the judges of the Supreme Court of Missouri, and finally, Governor of the state. He was admitted to the bar in 1837.

In 1838, while editing *The St. Louis Daily Commercial Bulletin*, Flagg published "The Far West," in two volumes (New York), which is a journal of his wanderings over the prairies of Illinois and Missouri. The same year, he returned to Louisville and became connected with Prentice's *Louisville Literary News Letter*. In 1840, he formed a law partnership with the brilliant advocate, Sargent D. Prentice, and removed to Vicksburg, Mississippi. His legal career there was of short duration, for, in 1842, he was editing *The Gazette*

at Marietta, Ohio. The same year, he published in New York, two novels, "Carrero: or The Prime Minister," and "Francois of Valois." In 1844-45, he returned to St. Louis, where he assumed the editorial charge of *The Evening Gazette*, and shortly after, during many years, the position of reporter of the courts of St. Louis County. About this time, the plays, "Blanche of Valois" and "The Howard Queen," both from his pen, were played successfully in the theatres of New York, Cincinnati, St. Louis, Louisville and New Orleans, but were never issued in book form, to the best of my belief.

Flagg wrote a long paper on "The Spirit of the Age," which he delivered as a public lecture in 1844 and 1845 in several western cities to large audiences. This lecture was favorably received by many papers. I can find no evidence of its ever having been published; extracts appeared in the press at that time.

In 1848, he was secretary to the American Minister to Berlin, and in 1850, he was again practicing law in St. Louis. The same year, President Tyler appointed him American Consul at Venice. In 1852, he published a history of that city in two volumes under the title of, "Venice, the City of the Sea" (New York); whole pages of this volume are prose poems; the period he covers is from 1797 to 1849. In 1853, he was under Secretary Marcy in the Bureau of the Department of State at Washington, and in 1856-57, as Chief of Statistics, he published his "Report on the Commercial Relations of the United States with all Foreign Nations" (Washington). M. Rouher, the famous French Minister of Commerce, has pronounced these two large volumes as unsurpassed by any similar work ever printed, an opinion which has been indorsed by several European commercial authorities. In the latter part of the sixties he published "North Italy, since 1849," which continues his "Venice, the City of the Sea." "De Molai, the Last of the Military Templars," a novel, his last work, was issued in 1888. He died in Highland View, Virginia, November 1, 1890.

In *The St. Louis Daily People's Organ*, November 5, 1844, the opening chapters of an historical novelette, "The

Duchess of Ferrara," by Flagg, appear. The story was continued daily and concluded in the issue of November 15th. It has never been published in book form.

FATHER DE SMET (Peter John De Smet), the famous Catholic missionary, was born in Termonde, Belgium, January 30, 1801, and died in St. Louis in 1872. During nearly fifty years of his life, Father De Smet was identified with the life and growth of St. Louis. In 1821, he came to the United States and entered the Jesuit Novitiate in Whitemarsh, Maryland, and in May, 1823, he went to Florissant to complete his theological course. In 1828, he was ordained, and removed to St. Louis, which was ever afterward his home. In 1838, he went among the Pottowattomies to establish a mission. From that time until the year of his death, the amount of good he accomplished among the various Indian tribes can never be over-estimated. He was a noble, enthusiastic, and self-sacrificing man, who bore sickness, suffering, and privation heroically for the cause of religion and humanity.

Father De Smet was the author of several books, originally written in French, but many of them have been translated into English. Some have been translated into German, Italian, and Flemish. A partial list follows: "Letters and Sketches; with a Narrative of a Year's Residence among the Indian Tribes of the Rocky Mountains" (Philadelphia: 1843); "Oregon Missions and Travels over the Rocky Mountains, 1845-46" (New York: 1847); "Missions de l'Amerique du Nord" (St. Louis: 1849); "Residence among the Indians of the Rocky Mountains" (Philadelphia: 1843); "New Indian Sketches" (New York: 1865); "Western Missions and Missionaries" (New York: 1857); "Voyages dans l'Amerique Septentrionale, Oregon" (3rd ed. Bruxelles et Paris: 1874).

Father De Smet was below the ordinary height, and somewhat heavily built; he had light eyes and dark brown hair. There was a kindly and benevolent expression about his face. I have heard Senator Vest speak of him and his work among the Indians in the most eulogistic terms. He frequently

served the Government as interpreter, and in other capacities, in its dealings with various Indian tribes.

SOL SMITH, otherwise Solomon Franklin Smith (his signature on "state occasions"), the well-known Western actor, wrote pleasantly and entertainingly about actors, actresses, the drama, and the American stage of anywhere from sixty-odd to nearly one hundred years ago, and at the same time furnished some very useful information as to its more practical and every-day aspect. He published "The Theatrical Apprenticeship and Anecdotical Recollections of Sol Smith, Commedian, Attorney-at-Law, etc.," in 1845 (Philadelphia). In 1854, his second book appeared under the title of, "The Theatrical Journey-Work and Anecdotical Recollections of Sol Smith, Commedian, Attorney-at-Law, etc." (Philadelphia: 1854); and "Theatrical Management in the West and South for Thirty Years: interspersed with Anecdotical Sketches, Autobiographically Given; by Sol Smith, Retired Actor," etc. (New York: 1868) completes the list of his books.

Sol Smith was born in Norwich, New York, April 20, 1801. He had very little schooling, and early in life became a clerk in Albany, New York. Three years later he removed to Louisville, Kentucky, where he apprenticed himself to a printer

In 1820, he abandoned printing and became a member of a local dramatic company, but at the end of the season, he went to Cincinnati, then the metropolis of the West, and studied law. The years 1822 and 1823 must have been very busy ones to him, as he published, edited, and printed *The Independent Press*, and at the same time managed the Globe Theater. Towards the end of 1823, he organized a dramatic company, of which he was the comedian, and traveled in the West and the South. He had found his true sphere—he was eminently successful in comedy parts; he "made a hit" as Mawworm in "The Hypocrite," Sheepface in "The Village Lawyer," and in other roles. He became a power in the theatrical world and accumulated a handsome fortune.

Drifting South, he edited *The Mercantile Advertiser*, of Mobile, Alabama, in 1837-38. At the time of his death February 14th, 1869, I have heard old citizens of St. Louis say that he was much in that city in the latter part of the thirties. The encyclopedias state that he took up his residence in St. Louis in 1852. This is incorrect. Beginning with June 6, 1842, he was manager of Smith and Ludlow's Theater, St. Louis (*vide* advertisement in *The Missouri Republican* and *The People's Organ* of June 7, 1842), and continued in that position for a number of years. His card as a candidate for recorder appears in the *Organ* from March 12 to April 9, 1845. (He did not receive the nomination of his party.) In 1853, he retired from the stage and kept up a sort of desultory law practice for some years thereafter. I find many uncollected articles of his in *The New York Spirit of the Times*, *The St. Louis Daily Reveille*, *The St. Louis People's Organ*, *The Cincinnati Independent Press*, and other papers published in the forties, fifties and early sixties.

JAMES DUNCAN NOURSE was born in Bardstown, Kentucky, in 1816. He was editor of three different papers at different times while a resident of Bardstown. He removed to St. Louis, and in 1854, at the time of his death (by cholera), he was the editor of *The St. Louis Daily Intelligencer*. In his youth he studied both medicine and law, but abandoned them for journalism and literature. He is best remembered for two novels, "Leavenworth" (Louisville: 1848), and "The Forest Knight" (Philadelphia: 1846). The latter is a story of the prairies; Grisworld in his "Prose Writers of America," pronounce it a notable work. In "Leavenworth," we have intimate pictures of early western life in the settlements, among the squatters, on the steamboats, etc. Many of them are of historical value today. It is a story of the Mississippi and the prairies; it has no love episodes. His other books are: "The Philosophy of History" ("a clever little treatise," Tuckerman says in his "Sketch of American Literature"); and "Remarks on the Past and its Legacies to American Society; or God in History,"—an admirable

and ably written work. (Louisville and London: 1852.) Forty years ago, I frequently heard old St. Louis journalists speak very eulogistically of Nourse's ability as a newspaper editor and writer.

LOUIS RICHARD CORTAMBERT was possibly the greatest writer in French who has lived in the United States. He was born in France in 1808, and emigrated to the United States early in life. He located in St. Louis in the early thirties, and a few years later married a daughter of A. P. Chouteau. He was highly educated, a profound thinker, and an able writer. His principal defect lies in his sacrificing description and analysis too much to poetry and philosophy. He was a social republican and one of the early abolitionists. His beliefs in many respects resembled Thoreau's. He wrote as he believed, and boasted that his pen was not for sale. From 1855 to (about) 1858, he edited *La Revue de l'Quest*, a St. Louis weekly, and from 1864 to 1881, *Le Messager Franco-Americain*, a New York daily newspaper.

Cortambert published several of his books in Paris. The historian, Henri Martin, wrote a preface to his "Histoire Universelle Selon la Science Moderne" (Paris: 1879), and Victor Hugo praised his "Religion du Progress" (New York: 1884). Among his other works are: "Voyage aux Pays des Osages" (Paris: 1847); "Les Trois Epoques du Catholicism" (Paris: 1849); "Le Catechisme Rationaliste" (St. Louis: 1855); jointly with F. de Tranaldos, he wrote: "Le General Grant: Esquisse Biographique" (New York: 1868), and "L'Histoire de la Guerre Civile Americaine" (Paris: 1867). He frequently lectured in French in New York and in Canada. He died in Bloomfield, New Jersey, March 28, 1881. I remember him from my boyhood as a tall, ordinarily built, solemn, dignified man; he had a full brown beard, light blue eyes, and was generally dressed in black. He always seemed to be in a meditative mood, even while on the streets. He was a handsome man, but his solemnity repelled in spite of his courteousness. He was the brother of Eugene Cortam-

bert, the noted French geographer, and the uncle of Richard Cortambert, the promising young author who died in his early thirties.

HUGH A. GARLAND'S "Life of John Randolph, of Roanoke," in two volumes (New York: 1850), has since its publication gone through many editions and is still to be found on the catologue of an eastern publishing house as late as the present year. In the latter part of the forties, and the early part of the fifties, Garland was a well-known member of the St. Louis bar, and his "John Randolph" is one of the best—and probably the most accurate—of the many "lives" of that great and eccentric American statesman ever published.

Hugh A. Garland was born in Nelson County, Virginia, in 1805. After his graduation from Hampden-Sidney College, he became professor of Greek in that learned institution, and a few years later married a Miss Anna P. Burwell. In 1830, he attended the law department of the University of Virginia, and in 1831 he began practicing in Boydtown. From 1833 to 1838 he represented the Mecklenburg district in the Virginia State Legislature with noted distinction. He next was elected Clerk of the House of Representatives, Twenty-sixth Congress. On the second day of December, 1839, when the House met for the first time, there were present one hundred and nineteen Democrats and one hundred and eighteen Whigs, besides five Whigs from New Jersey whose seats were contested by their Democratic opponents; Garland, although they had certificates of election, did not call the names of the five in calling the roll, insisting that it was not his place to pass in judgment upon the question of who had been elected from New Jersey. Pandemonium reigned in the House until John Quincy Adams was elected chairman *pro tempore* on December 5.

In 1840, he retired to the country, in his native state, and devoted much of his time to literary studies. In 1845 having lost his property through unwise speculation, he removed to St. Louis, and resumed the practice of law.

Besides his life of John Randolph, of Roanoke, Garland is the author of two other works of which the authoritative encyclopaedists are totally ignorant. "Opochancanough, The Massacre of Jamestown, Virginia, 1622. A Tragedy in Five Acts. By Hugh A. Garland, Esq., St. Louis: 1853," and a "Life of Thomas Jefferson" (New York), which was in the press at the time of his death in 1854.

His "Life" of Jefferson is inferior to his other biography; one reason for this is that he did not have the use and advantage of private documents and letters, as was the case in his "John Randolph." Garland was a scholar, but not a poet. His "Opochancanough" is a failure. The Indian is poor material for the tragic. Cooper has made him heroic in fiction, but every dramatist who has made him pace the stage in tragedy has scored a failure. Besides, Garland's lines are often harsh and stilted; they jar on the ear—he is reckless in his meter. Such lines as the following are of frequent recurrence:

"Will grace each town in Powhattan's great Empire,
The expedition that your wisdom has planned," etc.

Garland's reputation rests on his "Life of John Randolph, of Roanoke." Whoever has read these two volumes, can never forget the strong and rugged personality of Randolph, and the analytical acumen of his biographer.

The encyclopaedists killed Garland off in 1850; nevertheless, he managed to live until October 14, 1854. His descendants are residing (March 30, 1920,) at Wilmington Delaware. His grandson, who bears his name in full, informs me that he has in his possession a voluminous, but incomplete MS. of his grandfather—being a history of slavery in all counties from the earliest times, down to the day that the pen dropped from the hands of the talented biographer of John Randolph, of Roanoke.

THOMAS HART BENTON, Missouri's greatest son, whose public career in the United States Senate during thirty years, forms so notable a part of the history of Missouri

THOMAS H. BENTON

in the National Congress, was a close and enthusiastic student, ambitious to be known for erudition. Brackenridge tells us in his "Recollections of Persons and Places in the West," that he found in St. Louis, that Benton was taking lessons in French from Herr Shewe* and given much to the midnight lamp.

Benton was born near Hillsborough, North Carolina, March 14, 1782. His father died when he was only eight years old, and his early education was not all it should have been. His mother removing to Tennessee, to occupy a tract of land (of little value) belonging to the estate left by her husband, young Benton began the study of law. After being admitted to practice, he opened an office and soon acquired a reputation as a promising young lawyer—which brought him a goodly patronage. He was elected to the Tennessee State Legislature and served one term, during which he advocated and secured the passage of an enactment giving slaves the benefit of trial by jury. About this time, he formed the friendship of Andrew Jackson, who, when he became a major-general during the War of 1812, made Benton one of his aides-de-camp. Benton afterwards became colonel of a volunteer regiment.

In 1815, Colonel Benton removed to St. Louis, where he engaged in the practice of law. He soon took active part in politics, and began the publication of a daily newspaper, *The Missouri Enquirer*. So pronounced was his influence in politics that when Missouri was admitted to the Union in 1821, he was chosen as one of her National Senators. During the succeeding thirty years, he was one of the giant figures of the country. The peer of his associates, Webster, Clay, Calhoun—he has left a name that will endure as long as the memory of those historic days shall continue part and parcel of the heritage of every true American.

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*This was the same Herr Shewe who, according to Brackenridge, was "a scholar, a chemist, a painter, a divine, a philosopher, a professor of languages," etc.; he was a Prussian by birth and had six diplomas, "von from de Elezias Acatemy from Paris, von from de College aus Berlin," etc. And this prodigy of learning was content to reside in the little town of St. Louis in those primitive days.

I will pass over the succeeding years of Senator Benton's life. The ingratitude of his adopted state is not a thing that Missourians can recall with pride. He may have been an egotist; he may have been autocratic in his ways; at times domineering and boastful—but the great Commonwealth of Missouri was infinitely safer in his hands than it proved to be, after his downfall, in the hands of the pigmies who hurled the giant from his pedestal.

Senator Benton wielded an able pen, as is shown in his "Thirty Years' View; or, a History of the Working of the American Government for Thirty Years from 1820 to 1850" (New York: 1855-56). Sixty-five thousand copies of each of these two volumes were sold within thirty days of their publication, and later editions have appeared. William Cullen Bryant considered it one of the greatest works in American literature. His other published works were: "An Historical and Legal Examination of that part of the Decision of the Supreme Court of the United States in the Dred Scott Case," etc. (New York: 1857), and "An Abridgment of the Debates of Congress from 1789 to 1856," etc. In sixteen volumes. (New York: 1867).

Some thirty years ago, I saw a good-sized pamphlet in a private library (since destroyed by fire) which is never mentioned by writers on Senator Benton. I made a copy of the title page at the time; here it is: "Selections of Editorial Articles from the St. Louis *Enquirer* on the Subjects of Texas and Oregon, with a speech on the occupancy of the Columbia River. St. Louis: 1844." Another overlooked pamphlet of his is "Three Speeches of the Honorable Thomas Hart Benton, Senator from the State of Missouri; Two Delivered in the Senate of the United States, and One at Boonville, Indiana, on the Subject of the Annexation of Texas to the United States." (New York: 1844).

Benton had positive beliefs and convictions; he was a fearless and indefatigable supporter of his opinions; he had a wonderfully logical mind and was far-seeing as to future possibilities. Alike Edward Everett, his fame as a statesman and an orator so absolutely overshadowed his literary achieve-

ments, that he is seldom considered as a *litterateur*, although his books are virtually the parliamentary history of thirty years of the great epoch of statesmanship of the United States. And several of these books will live forever in American literature.

Senator Benton died in Washington, April 10, 1858. He is buried in St. Louis.

SALLIE ROCHESTER FORD descended from the Rochesters of England, her ancestry dating back to the time of "the venerable Bede," the historian, when the name was Hoefcaster. She was born in Rochester Springs, Boyle County, Kentucky, in 1828, and married the Reverend S. H. Ford, D. D., LL. D., on March 7, 1855. She is the authoress of: "Grace Truman" (New York: 1867); "Mary Bunyan" (New York: 1859); "Evangel Wiseman" (Philadelphia: 1887); "Ernest Quest" (New York: 1878); "The Inebriates" (St. Louis: 1880); "Raids and Romance of Morgan and His Men" (Mobile, Alabama: 1863); and "The Life of Rochester Ford" (St. Louis: 1908). Mrs. Ford died in St. Louis in February, 1910.

She was a resident of St. Louis from 1871 to the day of her death. She assisted her husband in the editing and publishing of *The Christian Repository*, a Baptist monthly, during almost one-half a century. She had a wide reputation as a denominational writer; her "Grace Truman" attaining a phenomenal sale.

Her husband, the Reverend Samuel Howard Ford, was born in Missouri, in 1823, and was educated in the University of Missouri; he held pastorates in Memphis, Tennessee, Mobile, Alabama, and St. Louis, in which city he took up his residence in 1887. His books are: "The Origin of the Baptists" and "Servetus," both published in Memphis; "A Brief Baptist History" (St. Louis: 1886); "A Complete Ecclesiastical History" (St. Louis: 1889); "The Great Pyramids of Egypt" (St. Louis: 1882); and "What Baptists Baptize For" (St. Louis: 1887). He died a few years before his wife.

BISHOP ENOCH M. MARVIN, D. D., LL. D., of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, of St. Louis, was born in Warren County, Missouri, in 1823. In 1842, he entered the itinerant ministry, Missouri conference. During the Civil War, he was in Texas; in 1866, he was elected to the Episcopal office; in 1876, he went to Japan and China on a clerical mission; in August, 1877, he returned to the United States. He published a number of religious books: "Series of Lectures on Transubstantiation" (1860); "The Work of Christ" (1867); "The Life of the Reverend William Goff Caples" (1871); "To the East by Way of the West" (1878); "Doctrinal Integrity of Methodism" (1878); "Sermons" (1881)—all published in St. Louis; and "Sermons" (Nashville, Tennessee: 1876). He died in St. Louis, December 3, 1877. The Reverend Thomas N. Finney published "Life of Enoch M. Marvin," and the Reverend David Rice McAnally, "The Life and Labors of Bishop E. M. Marvin."

THE TAFELS, father and son, deserve well at the hands of scholars. The father, Johann Frederick Leonard Tafel, Ph. D., was born in Sulzbach, Wurtemberg, Germany, February 6, 1800; he graduated at the University of Tubingen, in 1820, and taught in the gymnasiums of Ulm and Stuttgard and the Academy of Shorndorf, before coming to the United States in 1853. Beginning with that year, and until 1856, he taught languages at Urbana University, Ohio, and from 1857, and during many years, he was connected with the St Louis University. In 1836, he wrote and published a book at Ulm, "Hamilton and Seine Gegner," being a defense of the Hamiltonian system of teaching, besides several textbooks in accordance with Hamilton's interlinear method in Latin, Greek, French, Spanish, English and Italian.

Other European publications of his were: Translations into German of Livy (Stuttgard: 1823), Xenophon's "Anabasis," Cassius Dio's "Roman History;" Sir Walter Scott's "Waverly," "Quentin Durward," "Ivanhoe," "Kenilworth," "The Astrologer," "The Antiquary," and "The Abbot;" Cooper's "Last of the Mohicans;" Dickens' "Pictures from

Italy" and "Dombey and Son;" Thackeray's "Pendennis" and "The Mysteries of London" (from the French). His theological works, in German, are: "Staat und Christenthum" (Tubingen: 1851), and "Der Christ und der Atheist' (Philadelphia: 1836). His last book was, "A New Complete English-German and German-English Pocket Dictionary" (Philadelphia: 1870). At different times while residing in Germany, he edited the *Ausland*, the *Reichstag Zeitung*, and the *Beobachter*.

RUDOLPH LEONARD TAFEL, Ph. D., the son of Johann Tafel, was born in Ulm, Germany, November 24, 1831, and emigrated to the United States in 1847. He was Professor of Modern Languages and Comparative Philosophy in Washington University from 1862 until 1868 or 1869. With his father he wrote, "Latin Pronunciation of the Latin Alphabet" (Philadelphia: 1860)—this was the first American publication of the Tafels. It was followed by "Investigation into the Laws of English Orthography and Pronunciation" (New York: 1862), and "Emanuel Swedenborg as a Philosopher and a Man of Science" (Chicago: 1867). He translated the "Lettres" of Le Bois de Guays into German (Baltimore: 1860), and was a contributor to the "Bibliotheca Sacra."

In 1869, Professor Tafel took up his residence in England (London), where he became a Swedenborgian minister, and published his late books: "The Issues of Modern Thought," "Authority in the New Church," "Our Heavenward Journey," and "The Preaching Gift, and Other Subjects," he also translated and edited Swedenborg's "The Brain considered Anatomically, Physilogically and Philosophically." Both the Tafels are dead.

We have now reached the period of the Civil War of 1861-65. I will be guided by the judgments of Edmund and Clarence Stedman ("Americal Anthology"), Professor F. V. N. Painter ("Introduction to American Literature"), Professor Fred Louis Pattee ("A History of American Literature"), and many other authorities, and begin a new, our third, period, with the year 1861.

THEODORE S. CASE was born January 25, 1832, in Butts County, Georgia. He graduated at Marietta College, Ohio, in 1851. In 1853, he was admitted to the practice of medicine, and took up his residence in Kansas City. In 1860, he edited *The Medical and Surgical Review.* In 1861, he enlisted in the Union Army as a private, and in 1862 he was commissioned a captain in the commissary department. During the Civil War of 1861-65, he published a "Quartermaster's Guide" (about in 1862).

After the war, he devoted his remaining years to the advancement of Kansas City in a commercial, financial, industrial, and educational way. He edited *The Western* (the second year the title was changed to *The Kansas City Review of Science and Industry*) from 1877 to 1886, and published: "Advantages of Kansas City" (Kansas City: 1887); "A History of Kansas City" (Syracuse, New York: 1888); Information for Investors in Kansas City Property and Securities" (Kansas City: 1889); and the local utilitarian books. He died February 16, 1900. He did a great deal towards the advancement of Kansas City.

PETER RICHARD KENRICK, the well-remembered and highly esteemed Roman Catholic Archbishop of St. Louis published a number of works on religious topics: "The Holy House of Loretto" (Philadelphia: 1875); "The New Month of May" (Philadelphia); "Anglican Ordinations," in which he deals learnedly upon a matter which had for some time been agitating the religious world, notably in England; and, "Concio in Concilio Vaticano Habendo." He was born in Dublin, Ireland, August 17, 1806, and was ordained in 1830; he came to the United States in 1833, and was first, assistant, and then, pastor, of the Cathedral of Philadelphia. In 1835, he took charge of the *Catholic Herald.* In 1841, he was appointed coadjutor to Bishop Rosati of St. Louis; he was consecrated Bishop of Drasa "in partibus infedelium," on November 30, and succeeded Bishop Rosati as bishop of St. Louis on September 25, 1843. The diocese was in a

bad financial condition, but with good business tact, he paid off the debts, and placed it on a firm footing.

In 1847, he became the first archbishop of St. Louis. In the Vatican Council he opposed the dogma of papal infalibility, but accepted the decision of the council when promulgated.

Archbishop Kenrick had the reputation of being the ablest theologian in the Catholic church in the United States. He died March 4, 1896. He was the brother of Archbishop Francis Patrick Kenrick. A number of his published pamphlets have never been collected in book form. Among his translations was the treatise of the Abbi A. Soriguet on "Sacred Cosmogony," which he published anonymously in St. Louis in 1862.

NATHANIEL HOLMES—a serious scholar who wrote on serious subjects only—was born in Peterboro, New Hampshire, July 2, 1814. In 1825 he studied Latin at Chester Academy; a few years later he attended school at Peterboro; in 1839, he graduated at the Academy of New Ipswick, and in 1837, at Harvard College. He was admitted to the bar in Boston in 1839. In 1841 he opened a law office in St. Louis, and continued in practice until 1865. In June of that year, he was appointed one of the judges of the Supreme Court of Missouri. In 1868, he resigned this postion to accept a professorship in Harvard Law School. In 1871, he returned to St. Louis, and resumed the practice of law. In 1883, he removed to Cambridge, Massachusetts, where he spent his time in reading and study; he died in Cambridge on February 26, 1901. His remains are interred at Peterboro, New Hampshire.

Judge Holmes was one of the founders of the St. Louis Academy of Science in 1856 (an institution which is still flourishing), and during a number of years—from 1870 until the day of his death—was a Fellow of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences. He published three works, in two volumes: (New York: 1866), in which, following in the footsteps of Delia Bacon, he undertook to prove that Lord

Bacon wrote the plays that are credited to Shakespeare. The theory was not a new one, but Judge Holmes' arguments are far more logical and plausible than those advanced by any other supporter of Lord Bacon's claims, even to this day. While Ignatius Donelly, Doctor Orville W. Owen and others ransacked the Shakespeare folios for hidden ciphers, internal evidence, etc., Judge Holmes (true to his legal training) argues the question and seeks to produce only such plausible, logical evidence as is in favor of his client. "The Authorship of Shakespeare" is by far the most intellectual work in the Shakespeare-Bacon controversial literature. Its appearance created a literary sensation in the East and in England.

He next published, "Realistic Idealism in Philosophy Itself," in two volumes (Boston: 1888). I have heard him insist that this is his ablest work. His last contribution to literature was a large volume on "The Philosophy of the Universe" (I can not ascertain the date of its publication).

A tall, silent, gloomy man, dressed in severe black, he was a brave young lawyer, indeed, who could stand up before Judge Holmes in court and argue his client's case without trepidation and fear!

F. LOUIS SOLDAN conducted a small German-English school of his own before becoming a teacher in the public schools of St. Louis. He also studied law, 1869-70, but did not finish his last year's course at the St. Louis Law School. He was the author of: "Amerikanisches Lesebuch," etc. (St. Louis: 1868), an excellent "reader" for the most advanced classes of German schools in the United States; "An Essay on the Darwinian Theory," and "Grubes' Method of Teaching Arithmetic." He also edited, "Ahn's Praktischer Lehrgang," etc. (St. Louis: 1866).

In 1871, he was principal of the Normal School, and in 1877 of the High School. From 1895, to the time of his death, March 27, 1908, he was Superintendent of the Public Schools of St. Louis. He was born in Frankford-on-the-Main, Germany, October 20, 1842, and emigrated to the United States in 1862.

MAJOR JOHN N. EDWARDS, the Confederate soldier and well-known Kansas City journalist, wrote of "Shelby and his Men" (Cincinnati: 1867); "Noted Guerillas" (St. Louis: 1877); and, "Shelby's Expedition to Mexico" (Kansas City: 1872). After his death, Mary Virginia Edwards, compiled a work entitled, "John N. Edwards," which contains among other things, "his most notable and interesting newspaper articles, together with some unpublished poems and many private letters; also a reprint of "Shelby's Expedition to Mexico."

JOHN NEWMAN EDWARDS was born at Front Royal, Virginia, January 4, 1838. His ancestors were among the early colonists of Virginia. He received a common school education in Warren County, and later studied Latin and Greek. He learned type-setting early in life, and about the middle of the fifties he removed to Lexington, Missouri, where he worked as a printer. In 1861, he enlisted in General Joseph O. Shelby's Confederate brigade, and rose to the grade of major during the war (1861-65). He served during the entire war and was wounded in the attack on Cape Girardeau. The war over, he passed over into Mexico with Shelby and the remnants of his command, and served with the French army for more than one year. In 1867, he returned to the United States, and served as a reporter on *The Missouri Republican*; in 1868, with Colonel John C. Moore, he established *The Kansas City Times*; in 1873, he was back to St. Louis; during that year and until some time in the eighties, he was connected with a number of St. Louis, Sedalia, and St. Joseph newspapers; at the time of his death, at Jefferson City, on May 4, 1889, he had editorial charge of *The Kansas City Times*. He was much beloved throughout the State of Missouri. He was a peerless soldier, a loyal comrade, and an able writer. His "Shelby" books are very interesting reading.

LOGAN URIAH REAVIS (and not Uric, as is generally stated) was born in Sangamon Bottom, Mason County,

Illinois, March 26, 1831. He received a common school education, then taught school for four years. He next removed to Beardstown, and became connected with the *Gazette.* Shortly after, he bought out his associate and changed the name of the paper to *The Central Illinoian*; in 1866, he sold it and removed to St. Louis.

In St. Louis, in 1883, he began the publication of a weekly, *The American Tribune*, which appeared regularly during a few months, and after several suspensions and temporary resumptions of publication, was finally abandoned. Reavis was haunted with the idea that St. Louis was destined to become the capitol of the United States, and that he was foreordained to bring about the removal from Washington; so he spent several years publishing books and pamphlets on the subject, and lecturing pretty much anywhere where anybody would listen to him—even in England, where he made two lecturing tours. Another hobby of Reavis' was his intense admiration of Horace Greeley, which he carried even to the extent of out-Heroding Greeley's slovenly appearance. With his flaming beard, his baggish clothes, his dirty shirts, his hairy chest, and his lameness, he was a noted character on the streets of St. Louis in the seventies and eighties. His loud assertive ways, furthermore made him many enemies.

He published: "The New Republic," (St. Louis: 1857); "St. Louis, the Future Great City of the World" (St. Louis: 1867); "A Change of National Empire, or Arguments for the Removal of the National Capitol from Washington to the Mississippi Valley" (St. Louis: 1869)—this book won him the sobriquet of the "Capitol Mover," which ever afterwards clung to him; "A Representative Life of Horace Greeley" (New York: 1872)—the best of his works; it is generally believed to have been largely the work of the former David H. McAdam, an able writer on the local press; "Thoughts for Young Men and Women of America" (St. Louis: 1873); "The Commonwealth, or Empire State" (London: 1880); "The Handwriting on the Wall" (St. Louis: 1888); "Isthmian Passage" (St. Louis: 1882); "Alexander Hamilton" (St.

Louis: 1886); "Commercial Destiny of the Mississippi Valley" (St. Louis: 1878), and "Manhood of America" (London: 1880).

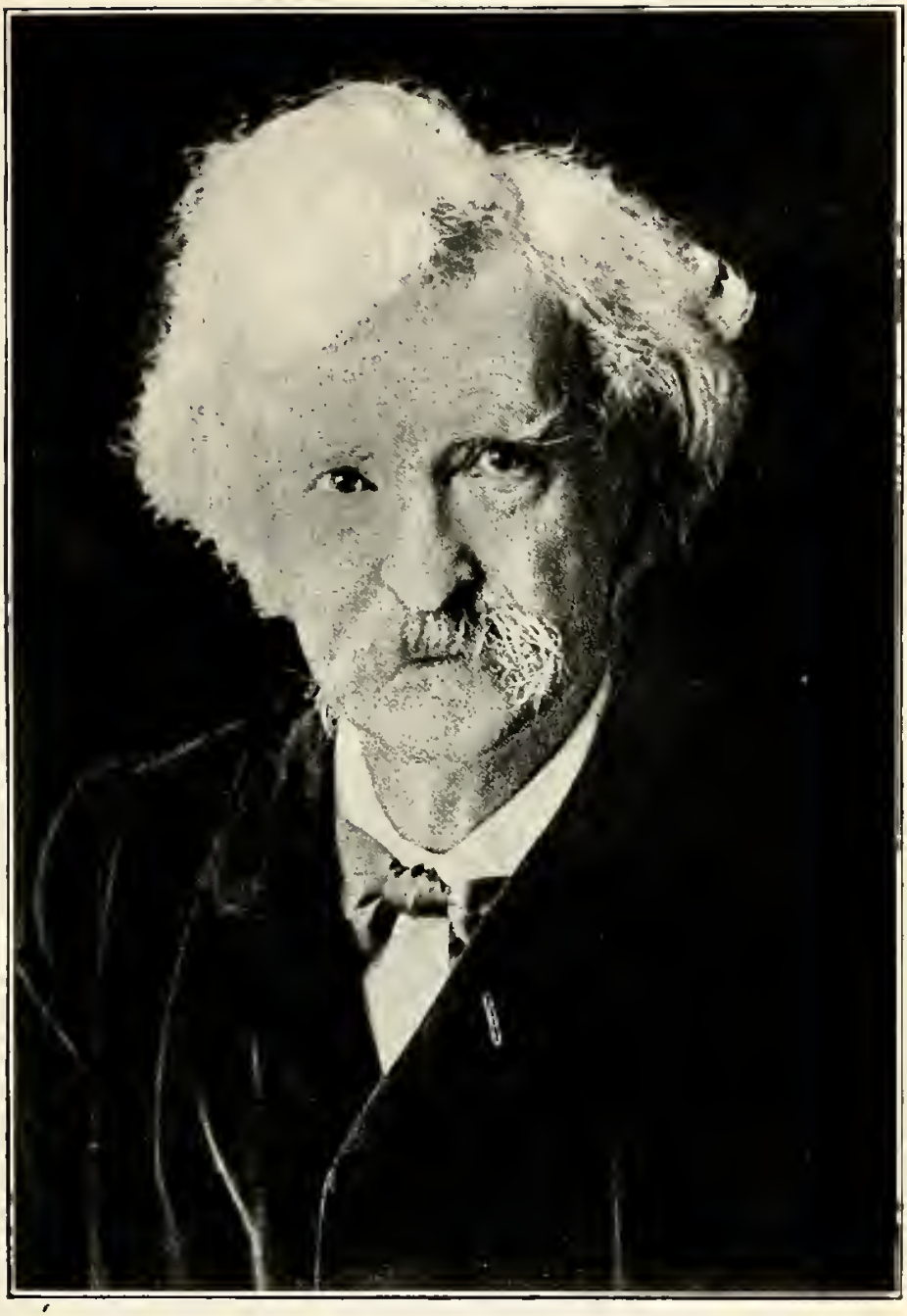
ADOLPH ERNEST KROEGER produced quite a variety and number of works which taken altogether, cover a wide field. He was a scholar and a man of many interests, as the bare enumeration of some of his books amply proves. He is the author of: "The Minnesingers of Germany" (New York: 1871)—accepted by Longfellow as a standard (*vide* his "Poets and Poetry of Northern Europe"); "Our Forms of Government;" "Problems of the Future;" "Fichtes' Critique of the Philosophical System;" and translations of Fichtes' "Science of Knowledge" (Philadelphia: 1868); "Science of Rights" (Philadelphia: 1868); and "Fichtes' Science of Ethics" (London: 1897). One of his strongest books is the "Future of the American Republic."

The "Science of Rights" is, or should be, of special interest to Americans as it deals with the fundamental principles of law and politics, and in the "Appendix" it discusses the woman question, all the phases of which are thoroughly investigated in an earnest philosophical spirit.

Adolph Ernest Kroeger was born in Schwabstadt, Duchy of Schleswig, December 28, 1837. His father, who was a Lutheran minister, emigrated to the United States with his family in 1848, and eleven years later, removed from Iowa to St. Louis. In 1861, he was adjutant on General Fremont's staff; in 1863, assistant treasurer of St. Louis and treasurer in 1870. His subsequent life may be said to have been devoted to literary pursuits. He was an indefatigable student of philosophy and higher literature. Personally he was of (about) average height and build, and of a nervous disposition; he had blue eyes and brown hair. A large number of critical papers contributed by him to the Sunday numbers of *The Missouri Republican*, *The Western*, and *The Journal of Speculative Philosophy*, have never been collected in book-form. He died March 8, 1882.

SAMUEL LANGHORN CLEMENS (Mark Twain) did some of his earliest literary work in St. Louis. He was at that time connected with the traffic business of the Mississippi—having worked as a pilot until 1861. This period of his life is graphically described in "Old Times on the Mississippi." He was born in Florida, Missouri, November 30, 1835. In May, 1902, he revisited the scenes of his youth and his early struggles. He paid several visits to St. Louis after his permanent removal to the East. In June, 1902, the city of St. Louis named its harbor boat the "Mark Twain" in his honor. It was a sight long to be remembered to have seen the genial old white-haired gentleman ascend to the pilot house, take the wheel in hand, and steer a boat up the Mississippi once more after a lapse of forty years!

In his youthful days, we are told that Clemens "could not be persuaded to go to school." After his father's death, which occurred when he was twelve years of age, he became an apprentice in a printing establishment. At fifteen he ran away from home and wandered about in the East, living the life of a tramp printer until he was twenty He then came back West and became a pilot on the Mississippi river. Shortly after the breaking out of the Civil War, he joined the Confederate forces in Missouri. He was shortly taken prisoner, but he soon escaped and made his way to California. From there in 1867, he published his "Jumping Frog of Calaveras." Next, he traveled in Europe and the Holy Land, and in 1869, as the result of his journey, gave the world his "Innocents Abroad;" "Roughing It" (1871); "The Gilded Age," written jointly with Charles Dudley Warner (1873); "Old Times on the Mississippi" (1875); "The Adventures of Tom Sawyer" (1876); "A Tramp Abroad" (1880); "The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn" (1884); "A Yankee at the Court of King Arthur" (1889); "Following the Equator" (1897); "Merry Tales" (1892); "A Dog's Tale" (1903); "Captain Stormfield's Visit to Heaven" (1908); and other works. In 1902 he wrote a series of articles on Christian Science for *The North American Review.*



MARK TWAIN

It had always seemed to me impossible that a writer who violated nearly all the canons of literary art, and whose themes where so thoroughly commonplace, should become so extensively known and so widely popular as Mark Twain has become. Of course, his fame is of today, but it is wonderful that it is so wide-spread and hearty. He deals of the every-day and ordinary; he is often coarse (as in "The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn"), irreverent, if not blasphemous (as in "The Innocents Abroad"), and unnatural and straining after effect (as in "The Adventures of Tom Sawyer"). He has not one tithe of the refinement of Lowell, the delicacy of Irving, or the spontaneous geniality of Holmes; and yet in public estimation, he is greater, or at least, he is more popular, than all three combined!

As a humorist, he paints no typical character—he describes individuals whose peculiarities, and the unexpected conditions in which they are placed, awake our risibilities for the time being, and leave no lasting impression. As a novelist, what could possibly be more wretchedly untrue to history and to human nature than his "Personal Recollections of Joan of Arc"—a twentieth century Joan, labeled fifteenth century? "Mark Twain" lacks the education absolutely necessary to a great writer; he lacks the refinement which would render it impossible for him to create such coarse characters as Huckleberry Finn; furthermore, he is absolutely unconscious of almost all canons of literary art. "He amuses us—he makes us laugh. There is enough sorrow in the world," said a lady to me lately. Possibly, that is the main secret of his extraordinary popularity. He wrote best of what he had seen, or experienced, or was told; no novelist surpasses him in his delineations of boy character; and some of his grotesque pictures are *sui generis*; but he was sadly deficient in the constructive faculty. He wrote for the uncritical masses—sufficient that he is their idol. He died April 21, 1910, at his country home near Redding, Connecticut.

PROFESSOR JOHN H. TICE, for many years teacher, and, in the fifties, the Superintendent of the Public Schools

of St. Louis, was the author of "Relations Between Matter and Force;" "Over the Plains and on the Mountains; or Kansas, Colorado, and the Rocky Mountains Agriculturally, Mineralogically, Aesthetically Described" (St. Louis: 1872); 'Elements of Meteorology. Part II" (St. Louis: 1875); "Contributions to Meteorology" (St. Louis: 1874); and, "A New System of Meteorology" (St. Louis: 1878). He was the first "weather prophet," and during a number of years issued his annual "Meteorological Almanach" (1873-84). In 1854 and 1855, he edited *The Teacher and Western Educational Magazine*. Professor Tice died November 30, 1883, at Cheltenham, St. Louis County (now St. Louis city), aged seventy-four years and nearly nine months.

GEORGE W. WARDER who spent the most of his life in Kansas City, and who died in New York two or three years ago, is the author of: "Poetic Fragments" (St. Louis: 1873); "Eden Dell, and Other Poems" (Kansas City: 1878); "Fantasma, and Other Poems" (Kansas City: 1879); "College Poems," "Utopian Dreams and Lotus Leaves" (London: 1885); "After Which all Things" (New York: 1893); "The Conflict between Man and Mammon" (Kansas City: 1898); "Invisible Light" (New York: 1899); "The New Cosmogony" (New York: 1899), etc.

Warder was born in Richmond, Missouri, in 185–, and was educated principally at the University of Missouri. During several years he taught school and practiced law; he finally removed to Kansas City, where he turned his attention to real estate and acquired a fortune—which he subsequently lost in unwise speculations.

WILLIAM TORREY HARRIS was born in North Killingly, Connecticut, September 10, 1835. His early education was received in the common schools and in sundry academies with a little more than two years at Yale. He did not graduate at any one of these institutions. Later in life, however, Yale conferred on him the degree of A. M. (1869) and LL. D. (1895); Brown University, the degree of Ph. D.

(1893); and the University of Missouri (1870), the University of Pennsylvania (1894), and Princeton University (1896), the degree of LL. D.

Doctor Harris resided in St. Louis from 1857 to 1880. During these twenty-three years he was respectively teacher, principal, Assistant Superintendent of Public Schools, holding the last-named position from 1867 to 1880. He was the center of those cultivated minds who assembled in the sixties and seventies at ex-Lieutenant-Governor Brockmeyer's house and at other places, and who promised for a time to make St. Louis a center of Hegelian philosophy. In 1880, he was compelled by failing health to resign the position of Superintendent of the Public Schools; on his retirement, he was presented by the citizens of St. Louis, in recognition of his faithful and distinguished services, with a gold medal that cost $300, and a purse of $1,000. He then visited Europe, representing the United States Bureau of Education at the International Congress of Educators which was held at Brussels. Returning to the United States, he accepted a position as lecturer in the summer Concord School of Philosophy. In winter, during many years, he lectured and taught in St. Louis. In 1889, he again represented the United States Bureau of Education at the Paris Exposition, and on September 12th of that year, he was appointed national Commissioner of Education, which office he held until 1907, when he resigned on account of heart failure of which he died on November 5, 1909.

In 1866, he founded the Philosophical Society of St. Louis, and in 1867, began the publication of *The Journal of Speculative Philosophy*, the first publication of its kind in the world. The *Journal* made a profound sensation in this country, and was hailed with approbation in England. That such a work should come from St. Louis was probably the largest item in the list of surprises. The *Journal* was continued until his death. From a business tandpoint, it was badly managed and was a financial loss to its publisher.

Doctor Harris was assistant editor of "Johnson's Cyclopedia" and contributed some forty articles to the depart-

ments of philosophy and psychology. In conjunction with Baily and Rickoff he prepared Appleton's "School Readers," and with Duane Doty, he drew up the first formulated "Statements of the Theory of American Education." He had also priorly written an "Introduction to the Study of Philosophy," and published "Hegel's First Principles" (St. Louis: 1874); "The Method of Study in Social Science" (St. Louis: 1879); "Hegel's Logic," "How to Teach Natural History" (Syracuse, New York: 1887); "The Genesis of the Categories of the Mind;" "How to Teach Science in Public Schools" (1895); "The Spiritual Sense of Dante's Divina Commedia" (New York: 1889); and, "Psychologic Foundations of Education" (1898). With F. B. Sanborn he published, in two volumes, "A. Bronson Alcott, his Life and Philosophy." It was simply a matter of course that he should have devoted much thought and study to Dante's immortal work, and that he should have divined its inmost significance—at least, should have discovered a spiritual sense which should seem the true and vital heart of the "Divina Commedia."

His record of indefatigable devotion to the subject of intellectual enlightenment so constant, so untiring, so steadily maintained, often hampered as he was by physical discouragements, is in itself a monument of which any human being might be proud. Doctor Harris was one of the most learned and profound scholars of the United States. He did not follow in the beaten paths made by others; he was an original thinker who had the courage of his convictions. He was conservatively progressive and a practical reformer in educational methods.

JOHN HENTON CARTER (Commodore Rollingpin) was a writer of dialect verse and local stories, which have found some favor. "The Man at the Wheel" (St. Louis: 1899), is a series of short sketches or stories, giving the experience of an old Mississippi river pilot; "The Ozark Post Office" (St. Louis: 1899) is a more ambitious effort. The story is placed in southwest Missouri during the time of the Civil war, and the years of reconstruction that followed. The

characters are fairly drawn, and the language is homely and to the point. The locale is a small country town, and a farm among the Ozark Valleys. "Thomas Rutherton" is another work by the same author, as also "The Impression Club" (New York: 1899); "The Mississippi Bedouins" (1900); "Log of Commodore Rollingpin" (New York: 1874). "Duck Creek Ballads" and "Buffets and Rewards" (1900).

About in 1860, Carter began the publication of "Commodore Rollingpin's Almanac," which had a large circulation on account of its humorous sayings. It appeared annually during about twenty-five or thirty years. At different periods of his life, he was connected with *The St. Louis Dispatch*, the old *St. Louis Times*, *The New York World*, and other newspapers. Prior to his newspaper career he was a pastry cook on the Mississippi river steamboats. His books are all addressed to the uncritical class. He was eccentric as to his clothes; at times appearing on the streets in the garb of an elegant gentleman, and at other times looking like a tramp. The largest part of his life was spent in St. Louis. He died in Marietta, Ohio, May 4, 1882.

BENTON JACQUES SNIDER, the classic scholar and Shakespearian critic, was born at Mount Gilead, Ohio, January 9, 1841. He graduated at Oberlin College in 1862. In 1864, 1865 and part of 1866, he taught English literature at the Christian Brothers' College, St. Louis, and shortly after taught in the St. Louis High School. In the latter part of the 'sixties and in the 'seventies, he was a prominent member of several literary and philosophical societies, and during several years of its existence was a lecturer at the School of Philosophy of Concord, Massachusetts. He contributed frequently to *The Journal of Speculative Philosophy*, *The Western*, and other periodicals of a high class. During his leisure hours, he conducted classes for both sexes in Roman and Greek history, Homer, Herodotus, Shakespeare and Goethe. Professor Snider has done more for the cause of higher education in St. Louis than anyone who has ever resided in that city, with the exception of Professor Harris.

About the middle of the 'seventies, our author spent nearly three years in European travel, visiting principally the classic grounds of the past. He has resided in St. Louis since 1864, with the exception of fifteen years spent in Chicago. He has an only daughter who is married and lives in Pittsburg, Pennsylvania. He is the author of a number of literature noted for their analytical insight, classic diction, and philosophical acumen. While the literary art is not of the highest, it is, nevertheless, of a high grade. Absorbed as he is in the contemplation of the central idea, he sometimes loses sight of the minor—though not always entirely unim portant details. He does not write for the popular masses, but for the educated few. Popular applause, to him, has no seductive side. "His best poetry," the late Judge Gabriel Woerner, a ripe scholar, once said to me, "has not been in book form, but only in printed slips for distribution among his intimate friends. The finest specimens of his poetic powers are contained in his 'Soul's Journey' (in three parts), 'The Triumph of Death,' 'The Triumph of the Image,' and The 'Triumph of Reason'."

His published works are: "A System of Shakespeare's Dramas" (1877); "Delphic Days" (1880); "Agamemnon's Daughter" (1885); "An Epigrammatic Voyage" (1886); "A Commentary on Goethe's Faust" (1886); "A Commentary on Shakespeare's Tragedies" (1887); "The Freeburgers; a Novel" (1890); "Homer in Chios: and Epopee" (1891); "Johnny Appleseed" and "World's Fair Studies" (1894); "The American State," "Psychosis;" "Froebel's Mother Play-Songs;" "The Psychology of Froebel's Play-Gifts;" "The Life of Frederick Froebel;" "Psychology and the Psychosis;" "Ancient European Philosophy" (St. Louis: 1903); "Modern European Philosophy" (St. Louis: 1904); "Feeling" (1906); "The Bicosmos;" "Cosmos and Diacosomos" (1909); "Lincoln in the Black Hawk War;" "A Winter of Books"—an autobiography, and others.

"An Epigrammatic Voyage" is a book of poetical musings written during Professor Snider's travels among the classic authors—a logbook, in fact. His pages are the moonlight

of poesy, their luster is the borrowed light of classic themes. While betraying an unusual fondness for things Olympian and Pompeiian, he criticizes himself by saying that on the cairn of stones reared by former poets—

"On the pile I throw down my pebbles, each one is scribbled
With some legend faint, visible scarce to the crowd.'

"A Walk in Hellas" (1882), to me, is the most delightful of his books, because he is upon the classic ground so dear to him; it infects the reader with that enthusiastic adoration of the beautiful which is his divine gift from the Muses.

He loves to haunt the Homeric landscapes; he delights to drink the literary vinta e grown in Greek sunshine. Not caring for popular applause, he must seek his eward in the odors of Hymettus and the pelucid shores of Calypso.

In 1889, Professor Snider published, "The Will and its World" (St. Louis), which is a valuable addition to education. It is not an argument, but an unfolding of the fact that the will is free. It is a most admirable book on pedagogy in making clear both the processes by which the supreme good—a good will—must be attained if it is ever realized, and also those by which evil becomes dominant in the soul of man and the method of its own self-annulment.

In his latest book, "The St. Louis Movement" (1920), he gives us an insight into the forward movement of 1865-80, in philosophy, literature, art, etc., which for a short period made St. Louis an intellectual center. He has published forty-eight books, so far; they are nearly all St. Louis imprints.

MRS. ELIZABETH MERIWETHER, whose maiden name was Avery, was born in Bolivar, Tennessee, in 1824; she was married in 1852, came to St. Louis in 1885, and died there in 1916. She is the authoress of the following novels: "The Master of Red Leaf" (1877); "Black and White;" "The Ku-Klux Klan" (1878); "Love at Seventeen and Love at Thirty-seven" (1880); "The Sowing of the Swords" (1909); "My First and Last Love" (1880); two more serious

books by Mrs. Meriwether are "Facts and Falsehoods" (1890)—about the Civil War of 1861-65—and "Recollections of Ninety Years" (1916).

LEE MERIWETHER, son of Mrs. Elizabeth Meriwether, was born in Columbus, Mississippi, December 25, 1862 and educated in Memphis, Tennessee. He is a lawyer by profession, is married, and has resided in St. Louis since 1883. He has traveled extensively in Europe. He was Labor Commissioner of Missouri, 1889-91, and 1895-96, and special assistant to the American Ambassador in France, 1916, 1917 and 1918. Nearly all of his books are of practical value, the results of his experiences and observations; the list includes "A Tramp Trip" (1887); 'Miss Chunk" (1899); "Afloat and Ashore in the Mediterranean" (1892); "A Lord's Courtship" (1900); "Seeing Europe by Automobile" (1911); and, "War Diary of a Diplomat" (1919). Mr. Meriwether is prominent in St. Louis activities.

THE REV. MOSHEIM RHODES, D. D., was a minister of the Lutheran church and the author of a considerable number of religious books of a practical nature. I will instance only: "Life Thoughts for Young Men" (Philadelphia: 1879); "Expository Lectures on Philippians" (Philadelphia: 1882); "Life Thoughts for Young Women" (Philadelphia: 1883); "Luther and The Reformation" (St. Louis: 1883); "My Duty to the Church" (Philadelphia: about 1880); "Recognition in Heaven" (Philadelphia: 1881); "The Throne of Grace" (Philadelphia: 1889); "The True Glory of Young Men" (St. Louis: 1882); Vital Questions Pertaining to Christian Belief" (Philadelphia: 1887); and, "Words of Counsel to Young Christians (St. Louis: no date).

WILLIAM McKENDREE BRYANT during many years a teacher in the St. Louis public schools, was the author of a variety of works dealing with the philosophy of art and literature. His first book was, "The Philosophy of Art" (New York: 1879), which was a Hegel translation; it was

succeeded by original books and booklets: "The Philosophy of Landscape Painting" (St. Louis: 1882); Goethe as a Representative of the Modern Art Spirit" (St. Louis: 1889); "World Energy and its Self-Conservation" (Chicago: 1890); "Eternity" (Chicago: 1892); "Ethics and the 'New Education' " (Chicago: 1894); "Syllabus of Psychology" (Chicago: 1892); "Syllabus of Ethics" (Chicago: 1894); "Hegel's Educational Ideas" (Chicago: 1896); "Life, Death and Immortality" (New York: 1896); and "Historical Presuppositions and Foreshadowings of Dante's Divine Comedy" (no place, no date).

Professor Bryant was born in Lake County, Indiana, in 1843. He attended a small school held in an old log country house, and received additional instructions at home from his older brother and sister. In 1861, he enlisted in the Union Army, in an Iowa regiment. He is written of by the Adjutant-General of Iowa, 1864, as, "Brave, dignified and honorable, he possesses the highest qualities of a soldier and gentleman." After the Civil War, he attended the Wesleyan University at Delaware, Ohio, graduated in 1869, and entered the ministry. In 1873, he removed to St. Louis, where he taught regularly in the public schools until 1881, and during the succeeding ten years, he conducted special classes in ethics and psychology in the High School. He then retired to devote his time to the study of philosophy. Through his influence, the St. Louis Society of Pedagogy was developed into a school of higher education in 1894. Some time in the eighties, Professor Bryant removed to Webster Groves, Missouri, and some years later—about the beginning of the present century—to Waynesville, North Carolina, where he died in 1919.

The amount of literary work that MR. JAMES W. BUEL can do in a given time is simply marvelous. Possibly, no living author has more books to his credit than he has. His works are sold by subscription only, and have an astonishing circulation. They have also netted him a large fortune. He was born in Golconda, Illinois, October 22, 1849. He is the

son of Alexander Hal and Sarah Jones Buel. He was brought up in a country town and followed the trade of a tanner until he was thirteen years of age, in the meantime attending a country school. He taught school in 1867, and in 1869, won a scholarship (by competitive examination) in the University of Illinois, which he attended for two years, at the same time being its librarian. He left college before graduating, and started a country newspaper in Spring Hill, Kansas. Subsequently, he was engaged in journalism in Kansas City and St. Louis. In 1901 he married Annie E. Hill of Minneapolis.

Mr. Buel began writing books in 1878, and has followed the literary profession ever since. In 1882, fortified with letters from Mr. Frelinghuysen, the then Secretary of State he made an extensive tour of Russia and Siberia, visiting the prisons and convict mines of the latter, as far east as Irkeetok, and north to Leneseisk. He afterwards made many trips to Europe in quest of information for his historical works. His principal acknowledged publications are: "Heroes of the Plains" (1881); "Metropolitan Life Unveiled" (1881); "Exile Life in Siberia' (1882); "The World's Wonders" (1884); "Sea and Land" (1885); "The Beautiful Story" (1887); "Heroes of the Dark Continent' (1889); "Around the World with the Great Voyagers" (1890); "The Living World" and "The Story of Man" (1891); "Columbus and Columbia" and "The Magic City" (1893); "Manua' of Self Help" and "America's Wonderlands" (1894); "Beautiful Paris" (1895); "Roses and Thorns of Paris and London" (1897); 'The Great Operas" (1899); "Great Achievements of the Century," "Hero Tales," and "McKinley and his Times" (1900); "Library of American History," 6 volumes (1901); and "The Louisiana Territory and Exposition," 10 volumes (1904). These books have, nearly all, been issued from St. Louis.

Besides the books just enumerated he has collaborated with the Honorable James G. Blaine, the Reverend T. DeWitt Talmage, and John Clark Ridpath in the production of other works which do not bear his name. On account of

failing health, he removed to California about twelve years ago. His residence at present is at Los Angeles.

About twenty-five years ago, I wrote to EUGENE FIELD for some data about himself as I was writing a biographical sketch of him for a magazine that I was then editing. In response he sent me a small pamphlet which he evidently had had printed to meet just such enquiries as mine. I can do no better than to let parts of that pamphlet, his "Auto-Analysis," speak for him:

"I was born in St. Louis, Missouri, September 3, 1850, the second son of Roswell Martin and Frances (Reed) Field, both natives of Windham County, Vermont. Upon the death of my mother (1856) I was put in the care of my (paternal) cousin, Miss Mary Field French, at Amherst, Mass."

In 1865, he attended the private school of the Reverend James Tufts, at Monson, Massachusetts. In 1868, we find him at Williams College. In 1869 (the year of his father's death, at St. Louis), he entered Knox College, at Galesburg, Illinois, and in 1870, The University of Missouri. In 1872, he visited Europe, "spending six months and my patrimony in France, Italy, Ireland and England," he tells us. In May, 1873, he became a reporter on *The St. Louis Evening Journal*, and in October he married Julia Sutherland Comstock, of St. Joseph, Missouri. Five sons and three daughters were born to them.

Ill health led him to visit Europe again in 1889; he passed fourteen months in England, Germany, Holland and Belgium.

"My newspaper connections have been as follows: 1875-76, city editor of the St. Joseph (Mo.) *Gazette;* 1876-80, editorial writer on the *St. Louis Journal* and *St. Louis Times-Journal;* 1880-81, managing editor of the *Denver Tribune.* Since 1883 I have been a contributor to the *Chicago Record* (formerly *Morning News*).

"I wrote and published my first bit of verse in 1879; it was entitled "Christmas Treasurers." Just ten years later I began suddenly to write verse frequently; meanwhile (1883-89), I had labored diligently at writing stories and tales. Most of these I revised half a dozen times. One, "The Were-Wolf," as yet unpublished, I have rewritten eight times during the last eight years.

"My publications have been chronologically, as follows:

" 1. "The Tribune Primer," Denver, 1882. "The Model Primer," illustrated by Hopkin, Brooklyn, 1882. (A pirate edition).

" 2. "Culture's Garland," Boston, 1887.

" 3. "A Little Book of Western Verse," Chicago, 1892.

" 4. "A Little Book of Profitable Tales," Chicago, 1889. (Large paper, privately printed and limited.)

" 5. "A Little Book of Western Verse," New York, 1892.

" 5. "With Trumpet and Drum," New York, 1892.

" 6. "Second Book of Verse," New York, 1893.

" 7. "Echoes from the Sabine Farm," translation of Horace, Chicago, 1893, in Collaboration With My Brother, Roswell Martin Field.

" 8. Introduction to Stone's First Editions of American Authors, Cambridge, 1893.

" 9. "The Holy Cross and Other Tales," Cambridge, 1893."

His favorite hymn was "Bounding Billows," and his favorite poems Koerner's "Battle Prayer," Wordsworth's "We are Seven," Newman's "Lead Kindly Light," Luther's hymns, Schiller's "The Drive," Horace's "Tom Bandusioe" and Burn's "Cotter's Saturday Night." He disliked Dante and Byron. In fiction, Cervantes' "Don Quixote", Bunyan's "Pilgrim's Progress" and Hawthorne's "Scarlet Letter" were his favorites. But to continue our quotations:

"I should have liked to have known Jeremiah the prophet, old man Poggio, Horace, Walter Scott, Bonaparte, Hawthorne, Mme. Sontag, Sir John Herschel, Hans Andersen.

"I favor a system of pension for noble services in literature, art, science, etc. I approve of compulsory education.

"I am six feet in height; am of spare build; weigh 160 pounds, and have a shocking taste in dress.

"My eyes are blue, my complexion pale, my face is shaven and I am inclined to baldness.

"I have tried to analyze my feeling toward children, and I think I discover that I love them in so far as I can make pets of them.

"I do not love all children.

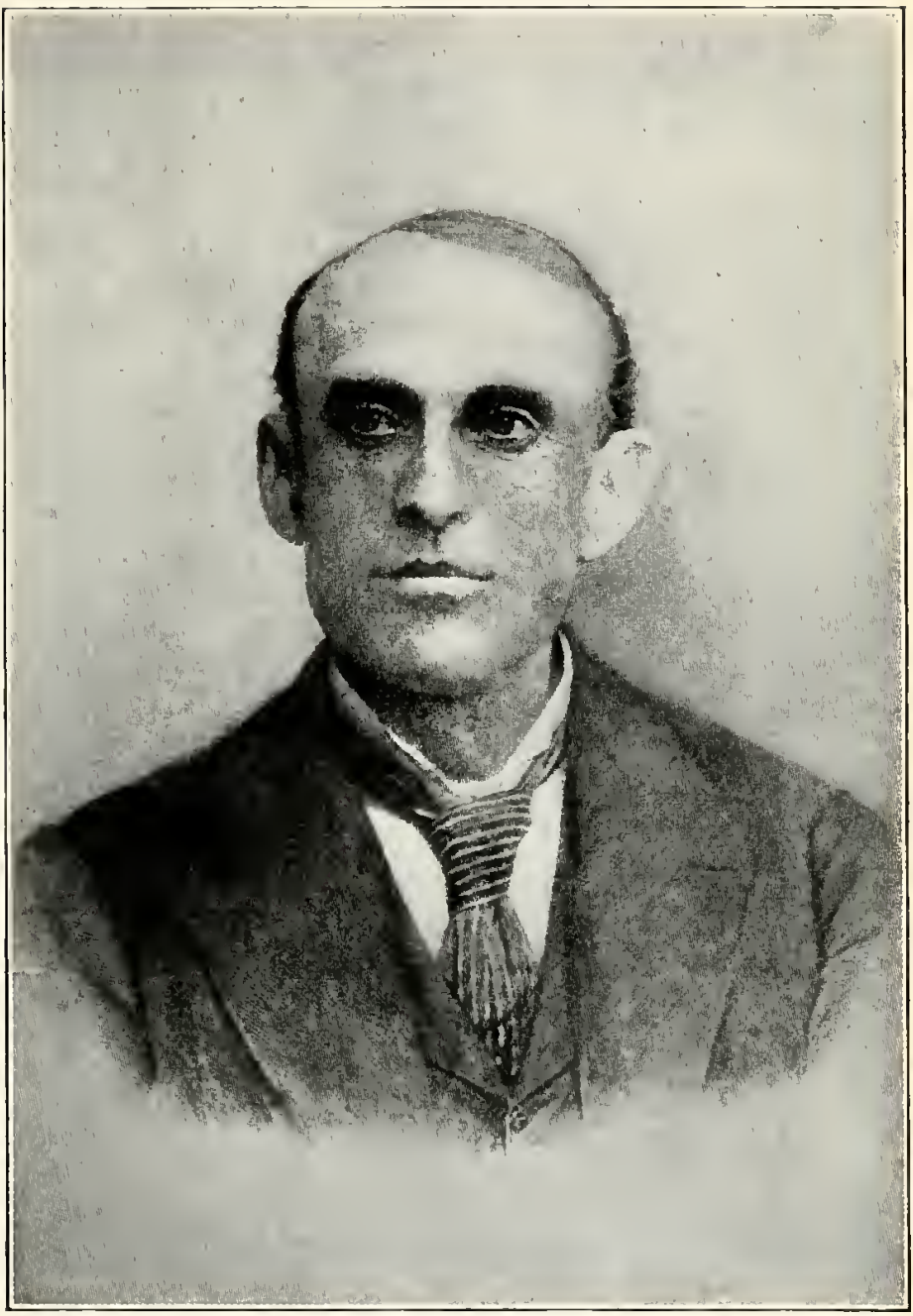
"My heroes in history are Martin Luther, Mme. Lamballe, Abraham Lincoln.

"I dislike all exercise and play all games very indifferently.

"I believe in churches and schools, I hate wars, armies, soldiers, guns and fireworks.

"I like music (limited).

"I do not care particularly for sculpture or for paintings; I



EUGENE FIELD

try not to become interested for the reason that if I were to cultivate a taste for them I should presently become hopelessly bankrupt.

"I am extravagantly fond of perfume.

"I dislike crowds and I abominate functions.

"I believe that if I live, I shall do my best literary work when I am a grandfather."

He did not live to be a grandfather. He died in Chicago, November 4, 1895. Slason Thompson has written a "Life" of him in two voulmes.

Eugene Field is best remembered for his juvenile poems. They are decidedly his best work. Some of them are almost perfect specimens of their peculiar class of composition, and will, no doubt, hold their place for many years hence in the corners of newspapers and in school readers. The nine books he left to us might, to the eternal benefit of his literary reputation, be sifted down to one book of poetry and one of prose. At times he wielded a trenchant pen, but he was not always as just and as unprejudiced as he might have been, nor was his sense of honor of the highest. But Eugene Field was Gene Field, bright, clever, shrewd, a "good fellow"—his friends have forgiven him much, and the world will forgive him still more.

MRS. HANNAH D. PITTMAN, whose maiden name was Daviess, was born in historic Harrodsburgh, Kentucky, November 18, 1840. In 1859, she came to St. Louis as a bride, and during many years thereafter she was connected with the St. Louis press. In 1883, she wrote a successful comic opera, "Manette," that had quite 'a run" for a while, but has since disappeared from the stage. Her books are "Americans of Gentle Birth and Their Ancestry" (St. Louis: Volume I, 1903; Volume II, 1907)—she was assisted in this work by Mrs. Rose K. Walker of the *Globe-Democrat*; "The Belle of the Bluegrass Country" (Boston: 1906)—a picture of the South shortly after the Civil War; "The Heart of Kentucky" (Boston: 1907); "Get Married, Young Man" (Boston: 1908); "Go Forth and Find" (1909); and, "In

Dreamland" (Boston: 1915)—a study of dolls in which a doll speaks and interprets the world through its eyes; in it the author tells us much about child nature. Mrs. Pittman died March 22, 1919. She was a handsome woman and very engaging and pleasant in her manners.

JOHN R. MUSICK, popular author, journalist and politician, was born in St. Louis County, Missouri, February 28, 1849, and died in Omaha, Nebraska, April 14, 1901. Injuries which he received while assisting in the rescue of the injured after a cyclone at Kirksville, Missouri, a few years previously, were the causes which led to his death. He graduated at the Northern Missouri State Normal School in 1874; he then studied law, was admitted to the bar in 1877, and opened an office at Kirksville, Missouri. There he practiced until 1882. The remainder of his life was devoted to journalism and popular literature. His first novel, "The Banker of Bedford," was published in Boston, in 1883, and was succeeded by: "Calamity Row" (Chicago: 1886); "The Mysterious Mr. Howard" and "Brother against Brother" (New (New York: 1885); "Nature's Nobleman;" "His Brother's Ermine;" "Stories of Missouri" (New York: 1897); and "Crutches for Sale" (New York: 1899).

"Brother against Brother" is a story of the Civil War. Those who believe it a good policy to revive the bitter memories and hatreds of the fratricidal war, will find this story interesting and pleasing to a certain extent. In "Nature's Nobleman" he depicts life and portrays characters as he finds them within his limited horizon. He always lacks a sufficient depth of insight into character and does not carry his analysis as far as he should. In "Calamity Row" he introduces a multitude of characters: stock operators, medical students, shop girls, dock "rats," street urchins, etc. They go through a multitude of rapid changes and experiences. This is probably the worst of his novels.

Musick devoted the last years of his life to writing popular historical works. To this class belong: "Hawaii; our New Possessions," "The War with Spain," "Light and Shadows

of the War with Spain," and "Cuba Libre." But his most ambitious work was the series entitled "The Columbian Historical Novels" (New York, completed in 1897), in which he attempts the portrayal of the customs, manners, and every-day life of the peoples of the various periods from the discovery of America to the end of the Civil War. The work is in twelve volumes. He told me that he had spent ten years in research for the matter used in these books, and that it took him a little more than two years to write them.

He was during many years a member of the Republican State Committee of Missouri, twice president of the Author's Guild of New York city, and served several terms as Grand-Chancellor Commander of the Knights of Pythias of Missouri. He held the position of United States Commissioner at Kirksville about ten years. He practiced law in Kirksville from the latter part of the seventies to 1882. He was a small man with red hair and a red-brown beard, and was very emphatic and assertive in his ways. Beyond their adaptibility to popular reading, his novels are valueless.

R. E. LEE GIBSON is the author of "Early Poems" (1883), "Sonnets" (1895), "An Indian Legend, and Other Poems" (1896), and "Mineral Blossoms" (1897)—all booklets in stiff paper covers, and issued from St. Louis. In 1902 he published, "Sonnets and Lyrics" (Louisville, Kentucky)—an elegant cloth-bound volume containing several meritorious verses—and in 1909, "A Miracle of St. Cuthbert, and Sonnets" (Louisville). At the time of his death, he was collecting material for another book from poems of his that had appeared at various times in *The Century Magazine*. *The St. Louis Magazine*, *The Independent*, *The Cosmopolitan Magazine* and *The Hesperian*.

Lee Gibson was born in Steelville, Missouri, in 1864, and resided in St. Louis from the spring of 1877 to January 1, 1918, the day of his death from tuberculosis, with the exception of three years in which he represented a large St. Louis commercial agency in Mexico and in England. He entered at the Annapolis Naval Academy, but after the first

year abandoned all idea of a life at sea. He served as a clerk, and finally as the head clerk, at the St. Louis Insane Asylum during (about) a quarter of a century. He left a history, in MS., of the Insane Asylum from the county dates to the year 1918.

Gibson was the most enthusiastic admirer of poetry I have ever known. He had a wonderful memory for poetry, and he wrote a beautiful hand. He was at best in his sonnets. He posssessed the art of condensation developed to an unusually high degree; the imagination was far stronger in him than the eulogistic, or descriptive power. His work was commendably free of the element of sloveliness, haste, or ignorance of criterions—which too many poets mistake for indications of genius. He loved nature and the simple things of life; he was one of the most upright, gentle, and unsuspicious of mortals. Human nature was an unsealed book to him; he was not made to breast the rude tempests of life.

NATHAN C. KOUNS of Kansas City, published two promising novels: "Aurius the Lybian," an idyl of the primitive church (New York: 1883), and "Dorcas, the Daughter of Faustina" (New York: 1883). Both of these deal with classic themes and impress us with the consciousness that the author is thoroughly conversant with the inner history of the times which he depicts. "Repudiation: a Rhyme for the Times" (1886), is a very inferior production, and unworthy of Kouns' genius. It was published under the nom-de-plume of "Missourinsis."

The author of "Dorcas" was born in Fulton, Missouri, in 1833. He studied law and was admitted to the bar in the fifties, but abandoned his practice to enlist in the Confederate army during the Civil War of 1861-65. After the war, he resumed the practice of law for some years, and in 1886 became the librarian of the Missouri State Library at Jefferson City. He died suddenly a very few years later (in the latter eighties); the newspapers stated at the time that he had committed suicide. His two novels stand out well from the fiction of their day, and are worthy of a closer

public attention than they have as yet received. "Dorcas" was originally published as written by Nathan Ben Nathan, an Essenean, another psuedonym of Nathan Kouns.

MARSHALL S. SNOW, professor of history in St. Louis from 1870 to May, 1916, was the author of a large number of pamphlets: "La Fayette" (St. Louis: 1884); "Addresses," etc. (St. Louis: 1887); "The City Government of St. Louis" (Baltimore: 1887); "Thoughts on Municipal Government" (St. Louis: 1887); "Higher Education in Missouri" (Washington: 1898), and many others of an educational and historical character. He wrote the papers on "St. Louis"—and "Missouri" for the new edition of the "Encyclopaedia Britannica" (1901).

Professor Snow was born in Hyannis, Massachusetts, August 17, 1842, and died in St. Louis, May 28, 1916. He was a graduate of Harvard, and was engaged in teaching for more than fifty years of his life. From 1874 until the day of his death, he was connected with Washington University, and was president of the Missouri Historical Society from 1894 to 1901. His last work was a very disappointing "History of the Development of Missouri and particularly of St. Louis," in two volumes (St. Louis: 1908).

MARTIN S. BRENNAN, the well-known and unassuming Catholic priest and scientist, has contributed five books to the religious and scientific literature of latter years, viz.: "Electricity and its Discoveries" (New York: 1885); "What Catholics have Done for Science" (New York: 1887); "Astronomy, New and Old" (St. Louis: 1898); "The Science of the Bible" (St. Louis: 1898); and, "God's Work in Nature" (St. Louis: 1904).

Father Brennan was born in St. Louis, July 23, 1845; he graduated from the Academy of the Christian Brothers in 1865, and from St. Vincent's (theological) College, Cape Girardeau, Missouri, in 1869. In 1904, he received the degree of Sc. D. from the Brothers' College. He is very popular among all classes, irrespective of religious views and tendencies.

His "Astronomy, New and Old," is used as a text-book in many of the public schools in the United States. In 1891, he made a tour of Palestine and several parts of Europe, and his lectures on the places that he had visited, delivered in St. Louis the following year, were largely attended. As a scientist, he has a national reputation and is an honored member of several American and British scientific societies and associations. He is noted for his wit, spontaneous humor, and quickness at repartee.

JAMES COX published a dozen worked, mostly of a descriptive and statistical character: "An Arkansas Eden" (St. Louis: 1885); "Omaha Revisited" (St. Louis: 1889); "St. Louis Through a Camera" (St. Louis: 1892); "Old and New St. Louis" (St. Louis: 1894); "The Carnival City of the World;" 'Missouri of the World's Fair" (Chicago: 1893); "Our Own Country" (St. Louis: 1894); "Won in the Losing" (New York: 1894); "History of the Cattle Industry of Texas and the Southwest" (St. Louis: 1895,) and others. He was the secretary of the Louisiana Purchase Exposition Company from 1898 to 1901. These books are nearly all mere compilations made to order for subscription companies or advertising firms. They are of very little value except for occasional quick reference. Cox died in 1902.

CONDE BENOIST PALLEN has published several works in prose of a serious character, and displaying critical ability of a high order; among them are: "The Catholic Church and Socialism" (St. Louis: 1890); "The Philosophy of Literature" (St. Louis: 1898); "The Meaning of the Idylls of the Kings" (1904), and, "The Education of Boys" (1916). Among his translations is, "What is Liberalism?" from the Spanish (St. Louis: 1899). He is also the author of books of verse: "Carmina" (London: 1885); "The New Rubaiyat" (St. Louis: 1899); "The Feast of Thalarchus; a Dramatic Poem" (1901). "The Death of Sir Launcelot, and Other Poems" (Boston: 1902); and, "Collected Poems" (1915). His prose is superior to his poetry.

Doctor Pallen was born in St. Louis on December 5, 1858, from two old St. Louis families. He graduated at St. Louis University and Georgetown University, D. C., obtaining the final degrees of Ph. D. and LL. D. From 1887 to 1889, he edited *The Catholic World*, and from 1889 to 1897, *The Church Progress*, both St. Louis weeklies. He has lectured in several cities and at the summer Catholic schools. Since some sixteen or eighteen years, he has been living in New York on account of his connection with the Catholic Encyclopaedia, of which he is the managing editor. His present residence is at New Rochelle.

FREDERICK L. BILLON was born in Philadelphia, April 28, 1801, and took up his residence in St. Louis in 1818. He was a member of the Board of Aldermen in 1828, and in the thirities served two terms as city comptroller. From 1853 to 1858, he was first auditor of the Missouri Pacific Railway Company, and from 1858 to 1863, secretary and treasurer of the company. From 1863 until his death, which occurred October 20, 1895, he engaged in historical researches. He is regarded as an authority on the history of the early settlement of St. Louis and the Mississippi Valley. He published two large volumes on the early history of St. Louis: "Annals of St. Louis in its Early Days under the French and Spanish Dominations" (St. Louis: 1886), and "Annals of St. Louis in its Territorial Days, from 1804 to 1821" (St. Louis: 1888). This latter work is a continuation of the previous one. His histories of these epochs are by far the best we have as yet. His imperfect knowledge of the French language led him, at times, into some slight errors, otherwise he was accurate anda relible. His studious and painstaking methods are very evident in his pages. I note with pleasure that the customary portraits and biographical sketches of every-day business men generally inserted at $50 to $100 per page each in Missouri (so-called) histories, are not to be found in the Billon books.

C. L. PHIFER of California, Missouri, is the author of: "Love and Law"—a series of sonnets; "Two Volumes of Verse;" and, "Weather and Wisdom," all published at Columbia, Missouri, in 1889. In 1890, he published "Annals of the Earth" (Chicago)—a wretched attempt at blank verse. Phifer was born and educated at Vandalia, Illinois, and during many years was connected with Missouri weekly newspapers. At one time he published and edited *The Transcript* at Pacific, Missouri, and in 1894 a short-lived little periodical, *The Franklin Quarterly*. Lincoln Phifer is now a resident of Rosedale, Kansas, and publishes a small monthly of socialistic, anarchistic and spiritualistic tendencies. He was associate editor of *The Appeal to Reason*, a fanatical sheet that was suppressed by the government a few years back.

JUDGE J. GABRIEL WOERNER was the author of several works, the best known and most important of which are his legal treatises on "The American Law of Administration" (Boston: 1889), and "The Law of Guardianship" (Boston: 1897). These works are still accepted authorities. He is also the author of the successful drama, "Die Sklavin" (St. Louis: 1891), which has been produced at some of the most prominent German theaters in the western states. The English version of this play is known as "Amanda, the Slave." The German version kept the stage in Chicago, Cincinnati, Pittsburg and St. Louis during a number of years. A novel by the Judge, "The Rebel's Daughter" (Boston: 1899), was not a success as a work of fiction. In a novel, a philosophical undercurrent appeals only to philosophers—it is wearisome and uninteresting to the general reader.

John Gabriel Woerner was born in Wurtemburg, Germany, April 28, 1826, and came to St. Louis with his parents in 1837. From 1870 to 1894, he was judge of the St. Louis probate court. He died January 20, 1900. I had the pleasure —nay, the honor—of many years' acquaintance with him, who, as a man, a scholar, and a jurist was one of the most upright, fair-minded, and unassuming of human-beings.

WILLIAM VINCENT BYARS was born in Corrington, Tennessee, June 21, 1857. He has resided in St. Louis and Kirkwood, St. Louis County, since 1879, with the exception of four years in New York. His books are: "The Tempting of a King" (St. Louis: 1890); "Tannhauser" (St. Louis: 1892); "Studies in Verse) (New York) "Babble of Green Fields" (New York); "The Glory of the Garden" (St. Louis: 1896); "New Songs to Old Times" (New York); and, "The Pools at Mil burn" (St. Louis: 1897)—all verse; in prose: "An American Commoner" (Columbia, Missouri: 1900); "The Handbook of Oratory" (St. Louis); the introductory essays and biographical sketches in twenty volumes of "The World's Best Orations" and "The World's Best Essays" (St. Louis); and, a number of pamphlets, among which are "Homeric Memory Rhymes," "The Salt of the Earth," "Imperialism, or Self Government," and "The Practical Value of the Classics."

The general idea of Mr. Byars' verse from 1890 to the present date, is to develop unity through the greatest diversity, as it appears in the order of natural growth in an undisturbed forest where life under its urge of aspirations for perfection, is checked by the laws of unity, which still liberate as they unify. There are very few writers in the United States who possess as accurate a knowledge of the rules and regulations governing metrical composition and harmony as Mr. Byars, who, besides writing over his own name, sometimes uses the *noms-de-plume* of Augustin Warner, Horace Flack and Fielding Lewis.

MRS. KATE CHOPIN was born in St. Louis. She descends, on her mother's side, from several of the old French families of primitive St. Louis, and her father, Captain Thomas O'Flaherty, was a wealthy merchant of that city. She graduated at the Sacred Heart Convent, and a few years later (in 1870) married Oscar Chopin of Natchitoches Parish, Louisiana. They lived on his plantation until his death, which occurred in December, 1882. Her first literary venture, "A Fault," is a good, homely story not particularly ex-

citing as to the plot, and somewhat crude at times, but still affording pleasant reading; in no way did it foreshadow her future work. It was published in 1890, in St. Louis. Her next book, "Bayou Folk" (Boston: 1894), consists of a number of short stories and studies of Creole life. The facility and exactness with which Mrs. Chopin handles the Creole dialect, and the fidelity of her descriptions of that strange remote life in the Louisiana bayous, is remarkable. But she writes of (what she calls) her "own people" for by inheritance of birth and by marriage, and I may add by inclination, she is herself a Creole.

Her stories are extremely interesting as studies of life. She has been compared to Mr. Cable, but no two writers could possibly traverse the same ground more at variance with each other. Her touch is far more deft than Mr. Cable's; her insight is more femininely subtle (if I may use the word); pain, sorrow, affliction, humbled pride, rude heroism—enter more completely into her sympathies. She feels and suffers with her characters. Nor is this strange; she is herself (as I have said before) to the manor born. Not so Mr. Cable. I do not wish to detract one tittle from the just praise he is entitled to, but the soul of sympathy with which Mrs. Chopin overflows is wanting in his pages; we may smile with him, we may laugh with him—even grieve with him—but we are forced to realize, nevertheless, that he lacks that touch of humanity that Brunetiere so just y and so eloquently praises in Thackeray and George Eliot. The critics have not as yet fully understood the excellence of Mrs. Chopin's work.

I remember Mrs. Chopin at six years of age reading one of Sir Walter Scott's novels; in after years, she was an omnivorous reader. She had a strong admiration for the late Guy de Maupassant, whose artistic methods she considers superior to those of any other French author of late days. She was not a "blue-stocking"—she had none of the manners, airs, affectations and eccentricities of the *poseurs bleu.* She she had no fads, no serious purposes, no lesson to teach in life. She took no notes, she never, she declared to me, observed or studied people, places or things, nor conditions or

circumstances with a view of using them as literary material. She was unpresuming, unaffected, and fully conscious of her limitations as to literary art, and wrote simply as the inspiration directed her.

She also published, "A Night in Acadia" (Chicago: 1897), and "The Awakening" (Chicago: 1902)—a novel with an unfortunate chapter that she agreed with me later on, should have been omitted. Mrs. Chopin (*nee* Katherine O'Flaherty) was born February 8, 1851, and died in August, 1904. She left five sons and one daughter. In the latter teens and her early twenties, there was not a brighter, more gracious, and handsomer young woman in St. Louis.

WALTER B. STEVENS, president of the State Historical Society of Missouri since 1917, is the author of a number of practical and informing books and booklets. He was born at Meriden, Connecticut, July 25, 1848. When he was very young, his parents removed to Peoria, Illinois. In 1870, he graduated from the University of Michigan; Washington University conferred the degree of LL. D. on him in 1908. During many years he was connected with the St. Louis press as reporter, city editor, traveling correspondent, and special writer. He is pre-eminently a born journalist.

Mr. Stevens was the capable secretary, and a director of the Louisiana Purchase Exposition Company; he has served in the same capacities in other local associations and societies. During and shortly after the Exposition, he received a number of well-meant (but valueless) decorations from several foreign countries. His published works include: "Through Texas" (1892); "The Ozark Uplift" (1900); "The Forest City" (1904); "The Building of St. Louis" (1908); "The Log of the Alton" (1909); "The History of St. Louis" (1911), in two volumes; "St. Louis Nights with Burns" (1913); "Eleven Roads to Success" (1913); "Missouri, the Center State" (1914), in two volumes; "A Trip to Panama" (1907); "Grant in St. Louis" (1915); "A Reporter's Lincoln" (1917); and some half a dozen others.

Very few men are more generally esteemed in St. Louis that Mr. Stevens—whose ability, energy, integrity, laborious researches and painstaking accuracy are fully and deservedly appreciated. During the last two years, he has passed part of his time on his "Three Mile Farm," near Burdick, Kansas. His last book is entitled, "Missourians One Hundred Years Ago" (Columbia, Missouri: 1917).

MARY ALICIA OWEN is the Missouri folk-lore authority. She was born in St. Joseph, Missouri, January 29, 1858, and educated principally at Vassar College. In 1888, she made important discoveries in Voodoo magic, and in 1898 she became interested in gypsies and gypsy life and conditions. She is a member of several societies, among others the British Association of Advanced Science. She has been admitted to membership of some of the Indian tribes and likewise to their secret societies. She is president of the Missouri Folk-Lore Society.

Miss Owen's books are: "Old Rabbit, the Voodoo" (London: 1893); "Old Rabbit's Plantation Stories" (Philadelphia: 1898) and "Voodoo Tales" (New York: 1893)—these two are virtually the same as the first mentioned book; "The Daughter of Alouette, and an Ozark Gypsy" (London: 1898); "Folk-Lore of the Musquakie Indians" (London: 1902); "Oracles and Witches" (London: 1904); "The Sacred Council Hills" (London: 1907); "The Rain Gods of the American Indians" (Leiden, Holland: 1912); and, "Messiah Beliefs of the American Indians" (Cambridge, England).

LELIA HARDIN BUGG has published a number of works of a miscellaneous character. The list includes: "A Lady: Manners and Social Usages" (New York: 1894); "The Correct Thing for Catholics" (New York: 1893); "Correct English" (St. Louis: 1895); "Orchids, a Novel" (St. Louis: 1896); "A Little Book of Wisdom" (St. Louis: 1897); "The Prodigal s Daughter" (New York: 1898); "The People of Our Parish" (1899), and others.

Miss Bugg was born at Ironton, Missouri, and graduated from the Ursuline Academy at Arcadia, after which she studied literary history and music under private tutors, and philosophy and modern languages in Trinity College, Washington, D. C. Later on she spent two years in European travel. Her present residence is at Wichita, Kansas.

WALTER L. SHELDON, moral and religious teacher, came to St. Louis in the spring of 1886 to deliver three lectures on "Ethical Religion;" in the fall he took up his residence permanently in St. Louis as the lecturer and leader of the Ethical Society. He founded the Self-Culture Hall Association as an educational movement for wage-earners, and became its director. The Sheldon Memorial building was named for him after his death. He was a pleasant and instructive, but not a forcible, lecturer. He rendered valuable services as chai man of the Social Science Department, World's Congress of Arts and Sciences, St. Louis, 1904.

Professor Sheldon was born September 5, 1858, in Rutland, Vermont, and graduated from Princeton University in 1880, then studied in the Department of Science and Philosophy at the Universities of Berlin and Leipsig. Returning to the United States, he turned his attention to teaching and lecturing, principally lecturing. He was a member of a large number of philosophical and scientific societies. His published works are: "An Ethical Movement" (New York: 1896); "An Ethical Sunday School" (London: 1900); "A Gradual Course of Ethical Instruction for the Young," in four volumes (Chicago: 1903-04); "Study of the Divine-Comedy of Dante" (Philadelphia: 1905)—Professor Sheldon told me that this book was a mere outline study, and that he would enlarge it later on. He died in 1907, leaving the work unrevised. His paper, read before the Academy of Science, St. Louis, on "A Birdseye View of the Literature of Ethical Science since the Time of Charles Darwin," and several miscellaneous pamphlets of his have never been collected in book form.

WILLIAM WARD MITCHELL of Higginsville, Missouri, has published a number of booklets, large and small, and of no permanent value. Among them will be found: "Half a Dozen;" "Harry B. Leary, a Life Picture" (1896); "Harry Lyle and Other Rhymes;" "Jael and Other Rhymes" (1898); "Since Forest Died;" "The Voice That Is Still"—and several others. Most of these are printed at Higginsville, and are specimens of antiquated printing.

JAMES NEWTON BASKETT was born in Nicholas County, Kentucky, November 1, 1849. In 1857, he removed to Audrain County, Missouri. He received the degree of Ph. B. from the University of Missouri in 1872, and A. M. in 1892. He began his career as a surveyor and engineer, which, on account of failing health, he shortly abandoned. Since then he has paid special attention to comparative vertebrate anatomy, being most prominent in his knowledge of ornithology.

He is the author of: "The Story of the Birds" (1896); "The Story of the Fishes" (1899); "The Story of the Amphibians and Reptiles" (1902)—in colaboration with Doctor R. L. Ditmors of the Bronx Zoological Gardens of New York; and three novels: "At You-Alls' House' (1898)—an admixture of didacticism and sentiment; "As the Light Led" (1900); and "Sweetbrier and Thistledown" (1902)—portraying the possible uplifting and bettering influences of a simple rural life and association with nature on a girl brought up in the cities. Mr. Baskett married in 1874, and his present residence is in Mexico, Missouri, where he has resided the largest part of his life. He has in MS. form studies in the alleged routes of the early Spanish expeditions in the South and Southwest, in which he questions the accuracy of our accepted beliefs as to these routes.

Mr. Baskett is a frequent lecturer on several subjects, especially birds, whose study is ever a source of pleasure to him. He also contributes papers on nature topics to several periodicals. His books have been published in London, Boston and New York.

J. BRECKENRIDGE ELLIS, a writer whose work should receive larger public recognition, is a Missourian by birth, having been born near Hannibal, February 11, 1870. Educated at Plattsburg College, he received the A. B. and A. M. degrees in 1886 and 1890. He taught English literature at the said college from 1886 to 1897, and at Central Christian College of Albany, Missouri, from 1900 to 1902. During the past eighteen years, he has been engaged in literary pursuits. He is a reglar contributor to *The Christian Evangelist* of St. Louis and other periodicals.

He founded the Advance Society in 1898; it is a literary correspondence society, with an incidental feature of mission and orphan work, and has members in England, France, Japan, China, Asia, South America and thirty-eight of our states.

The following is a partial list of Mr. Ellis' books: "In the Days of Jehu" (St. Louis: 1898); "Shem" (New York: 1899); "Dread and Fear of Kings" (Chicago: 1900); "King Saul" (1898); "Garcilaso" (1901); "The Holland Wolves" (1902); "Adnah" (1902); "The Stork's Nest" (1905); "Twin Stars" (dramatised) (1907); "Arkinsaw Cousins" (1908), and "The Little Fiddler of the Ozarks" (1913), are studies during a residence of six years in Bentonville, Arkansas; "Lahoma" (1913) and "The Soul of a Serf" (1910), are used as supplementary reading in some schools; "Fran" (1912) was the "best seller" of that year; "The Woodneys" (1914); "His Dear Unintended" (1917) is the story of a small typical Missouri town; it is in its third edition; "Agnes of the Bad Lands" (1916), and a dozen other novels and romances. His travel stories include: "Out West;" "In the East;" "Overseas"—with his mother, aged seventy, he toured England, France and Italy—only a few months prior to the breaking out of the European war in 1914, and their adventures, replete with physical (he traveled in a wheel-chair), mental and linguistic difficulties are set forth in "Overseas;" and, "Around the Gulf of Mexico," etc. To the above list may be added several photo-plays, a biography, and a number of songs (words and music). He has been president of the Missouri Writers' Guild since 1917.

WALTER WILLIAMS, the efficient dean of the School of Journalism and the professor of the history of journalism in the University of Missouri since 1908, has done a vast amount of excellent work towards the elevation of the newspaper standard and the popularizing of our state history. He was born in Boonville, July 2, 1864, and after acquiring a high school education, learned the printer's trade. He is an LL. D. of Missouri Valley College (1906). From 1884 to 1903, he has at various times edited: *The Boonville Advertiser*, *The Columbia Herald*, *The Country Editor* (published monthly), *The St. Louis Presbyterian*, and *The Jefferson City Daily State Tribune*. He has served terms as president of the Missouri Press Association, the National Editorial Association, the North American Press Congress, etc. He traveled in Europe, Asia and Africa during several years as a commissioner in the press interests of the Louisiana Purchase Exposition of 1904.

Doctor Williams is the author of: "How the Captain Saved the Day" (1901); "Some Saints and Some Sinners in the Holy Land" (1902); "The State of Missouri" (1904); "The History of Missouri" (1908); "Missouri since the Civil War" (1909); "Eloquent Sons of the South" (1909); "From Missouri to the Isle of Mull" (1909); "The Practice of Journalism" (1911); "The World's Journalism" (1915); "The History of Northeast Missouri" (1914); and, "The History of Northwest Missouri" (1915). He is married and resides in Columbia, Missouri.

Having now reached the end of the space alloted to me, I am compelled to omit: 1. The writers whose books have been published during the present century: Mrs. Mary Dillon, Professor Otto Heller, Sara Teasdale (Mrs. Filsinger), Zoe Aikin, Orrick Johns, Farry Hurst (Mrs. Danielson), Louis Dodge, and Charles V. H. Roberts. 2. Fifty-six authors who are virtually entitled to recognition in this paper; I will instance only: the Reverend William G. Elliott, J. M. Greenwood, Professor A. L. Graebner, John D. Lawson, Bishop Cicero S. Hawks, William F. Switzler, Henry M. Blossom, Jr., the Reverend James H. Brooks, Henry T. Finch,

Father Francis J. Finn, Edward S. Holden, C. F. W. Walters, the Reverend David Rice McAnally, and Father William Henry Hill. 3. Thirty-eight authors who have resided in Missouri during some period of their lives, but not sufficiently long to be classified as Missouri writers. Among them: Judge N. Beverly Tucker, the Reverend Timothy Flint, Anna Peyre Dinnies, Kate Field, the Reverend Lyman W. Allen, Mary N. Murfree ("Charles Egbert Craddock"), Father Abram J. Ryan, Laura C. Redden ("Howard Glyndon"), Professor Albert Taylor Bledsoe, Winston Churchill, and Jesse Benton Fremont. 4. Some thirty-five or forty periodicals that have been positive and valuable factors in our literature. I will mention only: *The Missouri Republican* (Sunday issues, 1865-80); *The Journal of Speculative Philosophy*, *The Island Magazine*, *The Western*, *The Southern Review*, and *The St. Louis Magazine*.

A Century of Transportation in Missouri

BY EDWARD J. WHITE.

A treatment of the subject of the movement of passengers and freight from one point to another in and through what is now the great Commonwealth of Missouri by road, water, rail and air, for one hundred years, is both a sweeping and comprehensive task.

Ever since the days of the old Egyptians and Carthaginians, statesmen and historians have agreed that "good roads" are one of the most important things in the progress and development of a country's civilization.

The means of transportation of a people is one of the surest indices of their character and condition, for upon their transportation facilities depend their commerce and wealth, their intelligence, and the comforts and ready access of the necessaries of life.

Roman greatness was possible only because of her highways that radiated in every direction from the imperial city to her remote provinces, for, over these, the products of the distant fields were transported and the swift, Roman legions moved with celerity.

It is a long journey from the memorable Lewis and Clark Expedition, which started at St. Louis in 1804 to locate and blaze a way from the Father of Waters through the great northwest wilderness, to the present day—when the continent, as a result of the large organizations of capital, has been girded with bands of steel, and the great network of railroads, with their shuttles of fire and steam now clasp the entire continent with a shining girdle—but we must "carry on.'

THE FUR TRADE.

Ever since Captain Gray discovered the Columbia river, in 1792, and Captain Cook reported the large number of sea otter along the western coast, the fur traders of New York,

St. Louis and other sections, had been intermittently attempting to establish a safe means of acquiring pelts of these and other fur-bearing animals.[1]

By 1808, Manuel Lisa and his bold and enterprising partners in the Missouri Fur Company had established trading posts in the Sioux country and among the Aricara and Mandan tribes of Indians, and Mr. Henry of the Missouri Fur Company had founded a lucrative post at the forks of the Missouri.

By the time that John Jacob Astor was attempting to reach the mouth of the Columbia river, in 1810, Lisa's St. Louis company had in its employ some two hundred and fifty men and a well-established trade in furs that were annually transported up the Mississippi, and down the Missouri, to St. Louis.[2]

Ten years before the admission of Missouri into the Union, when Mr. Astor's land expedition, under the amiable Wilson Price Hunt and the fiery Donald McKenzie, was fitted out for the mouth of the Columbia at St. Louis, "the last fitting out place for the Indian trade of the Southwest," Irving thus describes our present metropolis:

> "It possessed a motley population, composed of the Creole descendants of the original French colonists; keen traders from the Atlantic States; the backwoodsmen of Kentucky and Tennessee; the Indians and half-breeds of the prairies, together with a singular aquatic race that had grown up from the navigation of the rivers.—'The boatmen of the Mississippi,'—who possessed habits, manners and almost a language peculiarly their own and strongly technical."[3]

Following the war of 1812 and the Treaty of Ghent in 1814, English fur traders lost their ascendancy in this country, and, with the encouragement of the government of the United States, there was from this time forward a rapid growth in the American fur trade in the West.[4]

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[1] *Astoria*, by Washington Irving; chap. 3.
[2] *Astoria*, pp. 125-130.
[3] *Astoria*, p. 124.
[4] Article of R. B. Way on *United States Factory System for Trading with the Indians*, Mississippi Valley Historical Review, vol. 6, pp. 220-234; see also

Following the Lewis and Clark Expedition—said to have been the most perfect achievement of its kind in the history of the world[5]—and the important explorations of the Mississippi and the great, undeveloped Southwest by Lieut. Zebulin Montgomery Pike, long before the valuable discoveries of coal, iron, lead and zinc, or the manufacturing and industrial development of the state was even dreamed of—the main attraction that this then primitive section offered was its wealth of furs, the collection and trade in this commodity remaining for a long time the principal industry of this section of the Middle West.

The intrepid traders and trappers who first explored the wilds of the West, who traced the streams which flow through Missouri to their source, who scaled the mountain passes and who first laid out and established the routes of travel which are now our avenues of commerce, were the real "Pathfinders of the West."[6] It was these rangers of the woods and peddlers of the wilderness—these trappers and traders of the early portion of the present century who first took their perilous voyages in the hearts of the savage wilds of the unexplored West, who beckoned after them the pioneers of agriculture and civilization who only then approached with slow and halting step. The pioneers of science went venturing, hand in hand, with the pioneers of trade in the early explorations into the western wilderness, and, in the expedition of Wilson Price Hunt from St. Louis, in the fall of 1810, we find that two naturalists, Bradbury and Nuttall, determined to explore the unknown, scientific collections of this new world clad in the variegated garb of unknown flowers. It was thus the combination of the knowledge of the traders and the maps of the explorers that aided the emigrant in the great movement toward the West.

Early Western Travel by Reuben G. Thwaites, 5-42; Sampson, "Glimpses of Old Missouri," *Missouri Historical Review*, vol. I, p. 257; Shoemaker, *Struggle for Statehood*, chap. 2; Lindley, "Western Travel," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, pp. 167-190.

[5]I. Chittenden, *History of American Fur Trade*, p. 81.

[6]Washington Irving says: "The stories of these Sinbads of the wilderness made the life of a trapper and fur trader perfect romance to me." *Astoria*, p. 15.

Missouri came into the Union in this romantic era of the development of the West and, with its development, it played a most important part.[7] By the time Missouri was admitted into the Union, there were a large number of fur trading posts along the Missouri, the Mississippi, and other lesser streams, where traders and trappers collected, pressed, baled and preserved the furs and transported them, in return for the provisions, clothes and the necessaries of life, to St. Louis.

The free traders and trappers were those who continued to hunt and trade on their own account after the period of their employment by some fur company had expired.[8]

We are reliably advised that the arrival of the free trappers and traders, with their furs, at these posts usually resulted in a general debauch, when the sturdy trappers, for a good time, usually parted with both their furs and their money.[9] The arrival of the convoys at these posts from St. Louis—whether by keel boat or steamboat—bringing the merchandise for the next season's trade, with the letters from friends, and the newspapers from the then distant world of civilization, and the stores for the next season's trade, was always the occasion for a celebration. These convoys took back to St. Louis the season's accumulation of furs, and thus the commodities of the different sections in these primitive days were exchanged and the early commerce of the country was transported to market.[10]

The growth and development of the Missouri Fur Company, the Pacific Fur Company, the Rocky Mountain Fur Company, the American Fur Company, and other companies,

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[7]The potent influence of the fur trade in the history of the West has been most graphically depicted by Washington Irving and Josiah Gregg, and the most minute reports of Hiram W. Chittenden in his exhaustive, three-volume work on *The American Fur Trade.*

[8]*Astoria*, p. 112.

[9]I Chittenden, p. 848. At these old-time jambourees, the "Princes of the Pelt," no doubt, ofttimes narrated their interesting adventures with the wolves, tiger cats and Mexican lions, while preserving their insides with diluted alcohol.

[10]I Chittenden, *The American Fur Trade*, chap. 49.

have all been interestingly described by numerous historians and writers.[11]

With the advent of Missouri into the Union, as the twenty-fourth state, on August 10, 1821, commenced the real industrial and financial development of the state, which continued without abatement until the panic of 1837,[12] and Missouri, from this time on, became the real "Colonizer of the Far West,"[13] and St. Louis, founded originally as a fur trading post, became "The Fur City of the World," a position it has ever since maintained.[14]

EARLY POST OFFICES AND MAIL ROUTES.

Under the Spanish regime, no one dreamed of demanding "the establishment of post roads," but, with the Louisiana Purchase, came a demand on the part of the people of this section for better postal facilities, and, with the establishment of the newspapers, prior to 1820, at Jackson, Cape Girardeau and Ste. Genevieve, came the establishment of post offices at St. Charles, St. Louis, Ste. Genevieve, Cape Giaradeau and New Madrid, to enable the newspapers to get the eastern and foreign news. By 1819, there were fifteen different mail routes in the Missouri Territory, on some of which deliveries were made once a week and on others once in every two weeks. The mail facilities could only be improved by the establishment of better transportation facilities, and hence it came that the bridle paths and oft impassable roads between these different points were improved into passable roads and highways.[15]

THE SANTA FE AND OREGON TRAILS.

Two of the most important events in the development of Missouri were the establishment of the original highways extending from St. Louis to Santa Fe, New Mexico, known as

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[11] Chittenden, *The American Fur Trade*, pp. 125-395; Washington Irving, *Astoria*.

[12] Violette, *History of Missouri*, chap. 7.

[13] Violette, *History of Missouri*, p. 167.

[14] Violette, *History of Missouri*, p. 169.

[15] Violette, *History of Missouri*, pp. 94-5.

the "Santa Fe Trail," and the development of the road from Independence, Missouri, to the mouth of the Columbia river in Oregon, known as the "Oregon Trail."

The old Santa Fe Trail extended westward from Independence, Missouri, along the Arkansas river, thence across to the Cimarron, thence to Wagon Mound, New Mexico, and from thence to Los Vegas, San Miguel and Santa Fe. Like the Appian Way, the "Queen of Roads" of ancient Rome, over which the Apostle Paul and other saints and martyrs trod the imperial way to the Mistress of the Old World, saint and sinner and other mortals of the pioneer days of these broad western plains, likewise passed over this historic old trail, for these knightly crusaders of the wilderness helped to found the new world of civilization and commercial activity that we enjoy today.

To the northward, the old Oregon Trail also blazed the way to the Pacific coast. The original trail began with the fur trade expeditions to and from Astoria, Oregon, in 1811-13, and both history and literature are indebted to Washington Irving, who, in "Astoria," has, for all time, described in his unequaled manner, the accomplishment of the bold plans of John Jacob Astor and the Pacific Fur Company for the commercialization and colonization of the West, and the adventures of the doughty captain and crew of the ill-fated "Tonquin" in the long journey by water from New York to the mouth of the Columbia river, and the experiences of Wilson Price Hunt and the brave Donald McKenzie and their associates in the journey up the Missouri river and across the Rocky Mountains to the same goal.

In 1821 and 1822, the Sante Fe and Oregon trails were started for the purpose of establishing, by means of overland routes, connection between Missouri and the regions that lay to the West and South. Both trails started from Independence, Missouri, the Santa Fe Trail extending in a southwesterly direction for a distance of 775 miles, and the Oregon Trail in a northwesterly direction to Fort Vancouver, near the mouth of the Columbia river, a distance of 2,020 miles.

Prior to 1827, the expeditions for Santa Fe started from Old Franklin, but after Independence was laid out in March, 1827, it remained the basis for the western travel until 1833, when the river destroyed the steamboat landing at Independence, and Westport Landing was founded, which resulted in diverting much of the trade from Independence to Westport Landing.[16]

These two trails furnished the principal means of transportation for the traders and trappers in the pursuit of their traffic, and, in the course of time, caravans from Missouri and the eastern states made their way over these great highways to the distant regions of the Great Northwest and Southwest, with their ox teams, covered wagons, pack mules and horses, these trails furnishing the only means of transportation and communication between the different sections of the country.

In 1821 and 1822, William Becknell of Franklin, Howard county, known as "The Father of the Santa Fe Trail," and Major Fowler of Kentucky, and Hugh Glenn of Cincinnati, organized parties and set out for Santa Fe for the purpose of trading for horses and mules and catching wild animals.

On the return of the Becknell Expedition, they realized such a handsome profit that many other similar expeditions followed, and, within the next few years, the Santa Fe and Oregon trails were much used for the transportation of the furs of wild animals.[17]

At the time of Col. Alexander Doniphan's Mexican campaign, the Santa Fe Trail was the medium over which the

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[16]I Chittenden, *The American Fur Trade*, pp. 463-4.

[17]Violette, *History of Missouri*, pp. 190-1.

Note: These ancient highways, used originally by the fur traders and trappers, and later, followed by the wagon trains and stage coaches, were finally utilized by the Santa Fe and Union Pacific Railroads, which simply followed the paths that were blazed in the early pioneer days of the past century.

Chittenden says *Astoria* stands immeasurably above all other works on the subject (I Chittenden's *American Fur Trade*, 240); see also Francher's "Narrative," works of Brackenridge and Bradbury. While Bancroft seriously criticises Irving's historical facts, he is answered by Peter Koch in the March number of the magazine *American History*, and by Chittenden, p. 240, who defends Irving's narrative of historical data.

commerce of the Middle West had been passing for twenty years or more, and Col. Doniphan and Col. Karney emphasized the necessity of improving this road to Santa Fe and of connecting Fort Leavenworth with the regular Santa Fe Trail.[18]

From 1820 to 1840, the trade from St. Louis to the Southwest had developed to such an extent that pack mules and wagons were no longer regarded as sufficient means of transportation to meet the needs of the steadily growing commerce of the Middle West.[19] By 1824, Missouri's trade with Mexico "amounted to $190,000.00 in gold and silver bullion and coin and precious furs."[20] The carrying on of this trade was fraught with such dangers, both on account of the Indians and Mexicans, that many memorials were sent to Congress, and in answer to one of these petitions from the inhabitants of Missouri, seeking the protection of the general Government for the Santa Fe trade, in 1825, Congress passed a law authorizing the President of the United States to cause the road to be marked out from the western frontier of Missouri to the confines of Mexico.[21]

Missouri's great ante-bellum Senator, Thomas H. Benton, secured the passage of this bill upon the ground that the Missouri trade with Mexico was large enough to demand protection; that it would be a permanent trade, and that there were no other sufficient means of transportation, and the precedent relied upon was the construction of the road from Athens, Georgia, to New Orleans, Louisiana, authorized by the Acts of Congress of 1806-07.[22] Accordingly, in 1825, the United States Government made the survey marking the old Santa Fe Trail.

The Santa Fe and Oregon trails were both important landmarks in the history of Missouri and the Far West, not only because of the trade and commerce which annually

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[18]Violette, *History of Missouri*, p. 155.

[19]Violette, *History of Missouri*, pp. 176-177.

[20]Register of Debates in Congress, 1824-1825, vol. I, p. 110; Million, *State Aid to Railways in Missouri*, chap. I.

[21]*United States Statutes at Large*, vol. 4, p. 100.

[22]*United States Statutes at Large*, vol. 2, pp. 397-444.

passed back and forth over these trails, but also because of the large number of colonists which these trails brought through the State of Missouri from the East to the Far West, as they were the only roads, both East and West, for transportation purposes.

The discovery of gold in California in 1848 increased the importance of these trails and, during this period, these ancient 'andmarks of our past century's civilization were often busy, teeming thoroughfares for the colonists for the West.[23]

That Senator Benton was right in his prediction that the trade with Mexico would be permanent is evidenced by the fact that, in one overland shipment of merchandise in 1840 from Kansas City to Santa Fe for Meservey & Webb, sixty-three wagons were required, each of which was drawn by six yokes of oxen, and that, from 1853 to 1859, eight hundred and eighty-four "prairie schooners" left Kansas City for Santa Fe and El Paso, and it has been estimated that, from 1853 to 1861, more than fifty thousand of these "prairie schooners" with over three hundred traders, were engaged in transporting the commerce from Missouri to the Great Southwest over the Santa Fe Trail.

THE PACK AND THE CARAVAN.

As already shown, the transportation in Missouri of one hundred years ago had its origin in the movement of the commerce of the adventurous trappers and fur traders—those resolute, sturdy pioneers, who ofttimes, single-handed and alone, in a spirit of romantic adventure, penetrated the solitude and conquered the terrors of the wilds. Too little credit is now accorded these knights of the wilderness whose toilsome, solitary lot it was to lay the foundation for our civilization, while they gathered and transported the natural wealth from the fastnesses of the wilds over deserts, mountains, streams and

[23]See Inman, *The Old Santa Fe Trail* and *The Great Salt Lake Territory;* Parkman, *The Oregon Trail;* Stephens, "The Santa Fe Trade" in *Missouri Historical Review*, July, 1916, and April and July, 1917; Broadhead, "The Santa Fe Trail," July, 1910.

through forests, with every step beset with the peril of ferocious beast and savage man—all conquered by these brave scouts of civilization who lived in this romantic era in the history of Missouri.

In the concealed caches of the wilderness—the first warehouses of the early pioneers of commerce—the furs and pelts were craftily concealed during the winter until they could be transported by pack to the river or boats and later carried to the marts of trade.[24]

As the furs were purchased and had to be transported where river transportation was not available, Gen. William Ashley, the moving spirit in the Rocky Mountain Fur Company, had, since 1824, adopted the means of horse and mule pack trains, and this was the customary method of transportation during this period used to convey the furs to the trading posts and settlements.[25] With the recurring trouble with the Indians along the trails, caravans were organized for the purpose of transporting persons and property along these trails, and these caravans, consisting of long lines of deep wagon beds with heavy canvas covers stretched over them, were frequently seen winding their weary way over the Great American Desert in the past century.

The customary movement of this early commerce, by the patriots of the past century, over the barren, trackless desert, starting from our appropriately named rendezvous for these sturdy Americans—our own Independence—on their toilsome journey to the distant, foreign Santa Fe, is thus interestingly told by Chittenden in his "History of the American Fur Trade:"

"The caravans, if large, were organized into divisions, each under charge of a sub-officer, whose duty it was to superintend the details of the march, select the best creek crossings, and look after the arrangement for the evening camps. * * * The composition of the caravans was the most heterogeneous imaginable. The vehicles consisted of heavy wagons, carts and light carriages. * * * The draught animals were horses, mules and oxen. There

[24]See Irving, *Astoria*, pp. 256-257, for a description of the early "cache" used by the trappers.

[25]Violette, *History of Missouri*, p. 177.

were always a large number of saddle horses. In personnel, the caravans were composed of all sorts. There was, first, the plain man of business, intent only on the prosecution of his enterprise; there were the rough denizens of the plains who, in long years of living in these unsettled wilds, had become half Indian in dress, habits and general appearance; there were pleasure-seekers, health-seekers, scientific travelers, and, now and then, ladies. Then there was always the picturesque Mexican, with a dress peculiarly his own. * * * The progress of these huge caravans was always slow and rarely averaged more than fifteen miles a day. The location of the springs and creeks determined the length of march for water could not be found wherever wanted. At night the caravans were generally parked in some form suited to the ground and the necessities of defense. * * *

"The scene of bustle and confusion during the hasty preparations of each morning for the day's march, when animals were being saddled or harnessed, fastened to the wagons, and everything gotten ready for the start, was something to be long remembered by those who had seen it. As a general thing, the best of spirits prevailed among the party and there was a friendly rivalry not to be the last in the performance of duty. All writers agree that the sight of these huge caravans in motion was a most interesting one—truly American in its individuality, variety and independence."[26]

And thus was the "Commerce of the Prairies" transported by the brave, sturdy Americans of the past generations. What a play for the imagination the interesting scenes along this historic old trail afford! Who cannot picture to his mind the dangers of the ambush, the monotony of the toilsome journeys, the romance and adventure that clustered around these historic old journeys, the preparations for the end of the journey, and the gala day on the arrival at Santa Fe—all these reflections furnish an abundant source of inspiration for tales of adventure and romance, "For, in the West, through this desert land, where the mountains lift through perpetual snows their lofty and luminous summits, down from their jagged, deep ravines, where the gorge, like a gateway, opens a passage rude, to the wheels of the emigrant's wagon," passed these old caravans in the days of the Santa Fe Trail. "Near them, wandered the buffalo herds and the elk and the roebuck;

[26] II Chittenden, "History of the American Fur Trade," pp. 524, 525, 526.

near them, wandered the wolves and herds of riderless horses," while, along this desert trail, they took their solitary way, in the century that is past.

RIVER TRANSPORTATION.

The growth of the fur trade in Missouri, after the admission of the state to the Union, gave rise to the substitution of the steamboat in river transportation for the canoe, the barge and flatboat, the mackinaw, the bull boat and the keel boat.

The canoe was the simplest of all the river craft and was made by hollowing out a cottonwood or other log, eighteen to twenty feet long, and it was propelled by one man to steer it and one or two to paddle it. It was principally used for local business, but occasionally was employed for long trips.

The barges and flat boats were long, flat-bottomed boats, propelled by poles.

The mackinaw was a long boat, built entirely of timber. It was from forty to fifty feet long, and its crew consisted of a steersman and oarsmen. It was used for floating down stream and was usually sold when its cargo reached its destination.

The bull boat was made of buffalo hides sewed together and stretched over a framework of poles. It was from thirty to forty feet long, and, because of its light draft, was found most practical in shallow streams. It was propelled by means of poles.

The keel boat was from sixty to seventy feet long, with a keel running from bow to stern. It was the most improved boat used in river transportation, and was really "The grand conveyance of the river" prior to the adoption of the steamboat.[27] It carried a larger cargo than the other boats and was propelled by means of the "cordell," a line about a thousand feet long, fastened to the top of a mast in the center of the boat, which was pulled upstream by men on the bank. Sails were also used on keel boats, and they were the most practical

[27] *Astoria*, p. 127.

means of river transportation for going against the current, utilized prior to the steamboat.[28]

The most important event along the line of transportation one hundred years ago in Missouri was the landing of the steamboat "ZEBULIN M. PIKE" at St. Louis on August 2, 1817, which was followed by the steamboat "CONSTITUTION" in October, 1819.[29] It is reported that the landing of these steamboats created considerable excitement among the inhabitants of St. Louis, who crowded the banks of the Mississippi to witness the novel sight.

In the same year 1819, the steamboat "INDEPENDENCE" made the round trip from St. Louis to Franklin and Chariton in twenty-one days, and demonstrated that the Missouri river was also capable of navigation. When the "INDEPENDENCE" reached the town of Franklin, there was a public celebration by the citizens of that place, and the passengers and officers of the boat were banqueted and toasts and speeches were made in celebration of the occasion

The flat boats and keel boats which had been used to float the lumber and other products from St. Louis down the river were soon to give way to the steamboat, which was able to make the trip against the current, and, while the flat boats and keel boats were still used to carry grain, iron ore, and other bulky articles down the river, they were soon generally supplanted by the steamboat.

From St. Louis, the transcontinental shipments were transported via the Mississippi, the Ohio and the Great Lakes, and soon a military post, warehouses and mercantile establishments were necessary to meet and protect the ever-increasing subjects of transportation that the different primitive routes annually brought to St. Louis.

Wood was principally used for fuel by the steamboats in the early days, and wood-yards were established at different points along the rivers where the boats would take on their cargoes and stacks of fuel.

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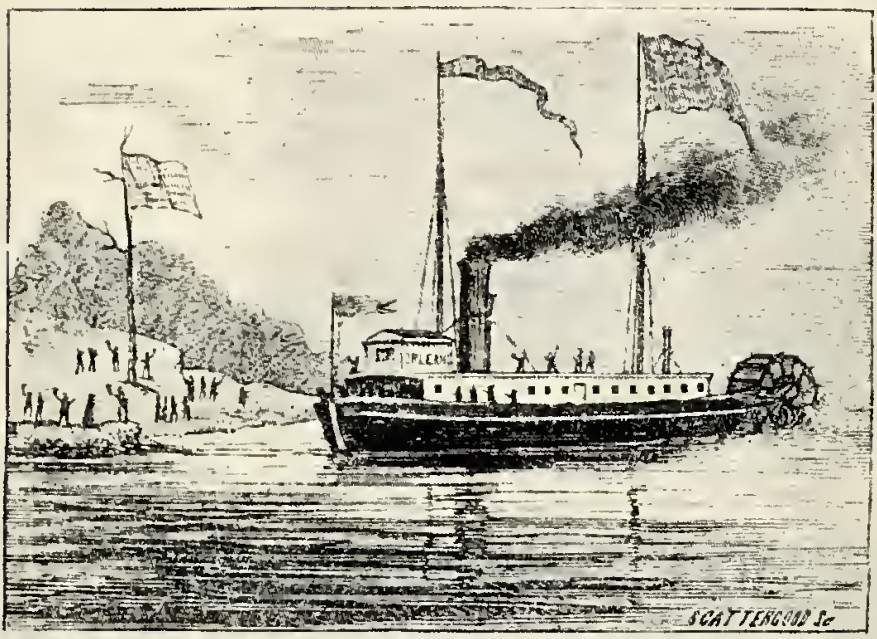
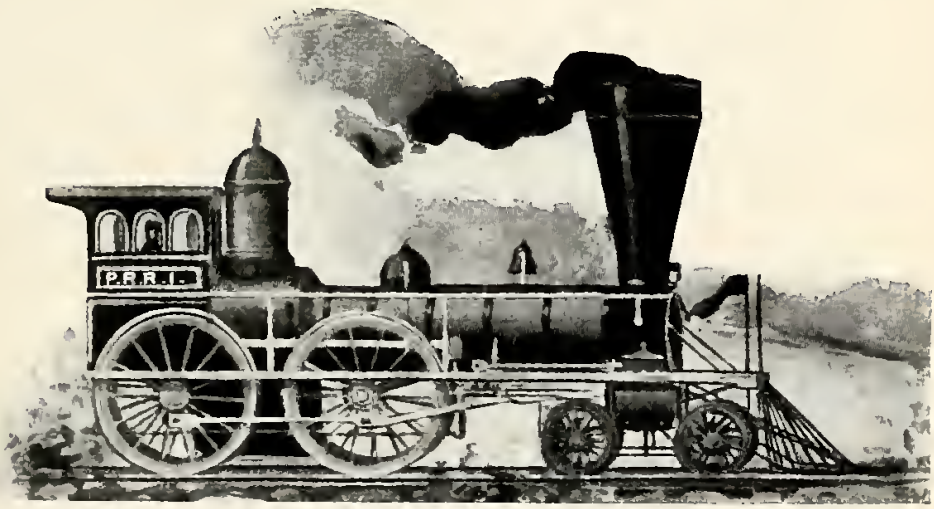
[28]Violette, *History of Missouri*, pp. 181-183.
[29]Violette, *History of Missouri*, p. 95.



FIRST BOAT BUILT ON THE WESTERN WATERS, 1812.



This is a picture of the first locomotive ever run west of the Mississippi on the Pacific Railroad, from St. Louis to Jefferson City.

Before the days of the steamboat, the accumulations of furs were sometimes moved from the trading posts to St. Louis by whole fleets of barges, mackinaws, bull boats and keel boats.[30] The fur traders and trappers were no respecters of the law, and in those days, before national prohibition, whiskey for the traders, trappers and Indians, as well as the provisions and packets, was conveyed in large cargoes up and down the rivers by the various kinds of craft then in use.[31]

Among the early steamboats which annually plied the Missouri river, the "STE. ANGE,' the 'YELLOWSTONE," the "OMEGA," the "ST. CHARLES," the "PLATTE," the "BOONVILLE," the "THOMAS " the "W. D. DUNCAN," and many other steamboats in the early thirties had succeeded the more primitive means of transportation previously utilized.[32]

Before the age of rails, the Missouri river was the great artery of commerce on which the freight and passengers moved through Missouri, and from thence via the Mississippi to the Gulf. The importance of river transportation antedating the railroads is not now appreciated. All the commercial posts and military garrisons were then reached principally by water. All business was then carried on and all commerce moved through Missouri from the distant Rockies down the Missouri and, from St. Louis, down the Mississippi to the open sea, the trackless paths of which conveyed it thence to every known quarter of the globe.[33]

While the ever-moving waters, with the years, have washed away even the recollection of the past glories of these rivers as arteries of commerce, it is the true object of history to chronicle their utility. Not only did the Missouri annu-

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[30]I Chittenden, *Early Steamboat Navigation*, pp. 31-45.

Chittenden describes the fleet which moved in 1833 and 1834 under the leadership of the intrepid Captain LaBarge.

[31]I Chittenden, *Early Steamboat Navigation*, pp. 41-42.

[32]I Chittenden, *Early Steamboat Navigation*, pp. 53-55.

[33]Among other memorials to Congress about this period was one asking aid in rendering the rivers of Missouri navigable; see Laws of Missouri, 1838-1839, p. 331.

See *Proceedings of Convention of Delegates for Promotion of All Internal Improvements within the State of Missouri*, St. Louis, 1836.

ally transport the commerce of the country to the Mississippi, but then, and ever since, it has annually transported five hundred and fifty million tons of earth to replete the valley of the Mississippi, which represents almost twice the mile tons of trade annually transported by the railroads of the United States.[34]

Steamboat transportation on the Missouri began regularly about 1829[35] and continued until the Civil war. Hon. Levi Woodbury thus described the navigation on the Mississippi in 1833:

"At every village, we find from ten to twenty flat-bottomed boats which, besides corn on the ear, bacon, flour, whiskey, cattle and fowls, have a great assortment of notions from Cincinnati and elsewhere; among these, are corn brooms, cabinet furniture, ploughs, cordage, etc. They remain in one place until all is sold out if the demand is brisk; if not, they go on further down the river. After all is sold out, they dispose of their boat and return with their crews by the steamers to their homes."

On the voyage of the "YELLOWSTONE" in the spring of 1832, Fort Pierre was christened in honor of Pierre Chouteau, Jr., who, with the talented painter, Geo. Catlin, was a passenger on this voyage.[36]

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[34]I Chittenden, *Early Steamboat Navigation*, pp. 78-79.

Washington Irving lamented that the bull boat, the mackinaw and the keel boat had to disappear with the steamboat; "Astoria," chap. 2, p. 49; but Chittenden shows that the real era of romance had its day with the advent of the Missouri and Mississippi River steamboats; Chittenden, *Early Steamboat Navigation*, p. 109.

See Clemens' *Life on the Mississippi.*

Chittenden graphically describes the customary embarkations from St. Louis on the old steamboat of the past half-century in his *Early Steamboat Navigation*, pp. 126-127-130-131.

The embarkation, with its peculiar assortment of things useful in trading with the Indians and the hunting and trapping parties, was usually a time for celebration. The general composition of the passengers for the frontier was hunters, trappers, voyagers, mountaineers, soldiers, Indians and government exploring parties; see Chittenden's *Early Steamboat Navigation*, pp. 126-127.

Stories and reminiscences of these river pilots have been preserved by "Mark Twain" and other writers as an interesting phase of this life that has gone, never to return; see Clemens' *Life on the Mississippi* and *Everybody's Magazine* for October, 1892.

[35]The "W. D. DUNCAN" conducted a regular trade between St. Louis and Ft. Leavenworth in 1829; see Chittenden, *Early Steamboat Navigation*, p. 132.

[36]Chittenden, *Early Steamboat Navigation*, p. 137.

In 1843, Capt. LaBarge had the distinction of conveying up the Missouri river the distinguished American naturalist, John James LaForrest Audubon, where he devoted himself to studies for the publication of his work on "Quadrupeds of America," which appeared in 1844.[37]

Owing to the large emigration west from 1850 to 1860, these years marked the climax of steamboat navigation on the Missouri. The records show that, in 1850, there were 2,899 steamboat arrivals in St. Louis,[38] and, in 1858 there were 306 steamboat arrivals at Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, and in 1857 there were 729 steamboat arrivals in Kansas City but, with the Civil war and the railroads, the river traffic soon commenced to decline.[39]

That steamboat transportation on the Missouri and Mississippi was attended with adventure and hazard aside from the dangers of the river will be apparent from a perusal of the harrowing experiences of the boat "ROBERT CAMPBELL" at the Tobacco Garden Indian massacre in 1863.,[40] and the "FAR WEST," in 1876, in her record-breaking trip down the Big Horn and Yellowstone, covering one thousand miles in fifty-four hours.[41]

After the railroads were run in different sections of the state, river transportation began to decline and the struggle between the railroad and the steamboat on the Missouri began with the completion of the Hannibal & St. Joseph Railroad and the Pacific Railroad from St. Louis to Kansas City in 1865. These roads touched the Missouri river at two points in Western Missouri, and, while they did not, at first, affect the upper Missouri river steamboat traffic, the traffic below St. Joseph was affected from the day these roads were put in operation.

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[37]See Buchanan, *Life and Adventures of J. J. Audubon, the Naturalist,* and *Audubon and His Journeys,* by M. E. Audobon.

[38]*First Annual Report,* Pacific Railroad, p. 70.

[39]Chittenden, *Early Steamboat Navigation on the Missouri,* pp. 216-17.

[40]Chittenden reproduces the narrative of the brave Capt. LaBarge, and a letter from Andy Stinger, the hero of the Tobacco Garden massacre; see *Early Steamboat Navigation,* vol. 2, pp. 306-312.

[41]Chittenden, *Early Steamboat Navigation,* vol. 2, pp. 386-390.

Between 1866 and 1887 numerous other railroads were built east and west and north and south of the state, and, after the completion of the Chicago & Northwestern, the Union Pacific, the Northern Pacific and the Great Northern, and especially after the Great Northern was completed to Helena, Montana, in 1887, steamboat transportation was almost entirely supplanted on the Missouri river by the more direct and expeditious method of rail transportation.[42]

The area of territory tributary to the Missouri and the Mississippi rivers was always limited and the rivers were not navigable in the winter. The remote counties lacked the means of transportation to and from the river, and hence, the greater development of the state awaited the advent of the railroad.[43] The Missouri River Commission was abolished by Congress in 1902, but since that date an effort has been made to revive the river traffic and large appropriations have been made for the purpose.

In 1902, 2,308,704 bushels of wheat and 226,400 bushels of corn were transported by river from St. Louis to New Orleans for export to foreign markets, so this shows that river transportation has not been entirely superseded. Steamboats are still used on the Mississippi, but not on as large a scale as at the former period, as the north and south roads have also affected steamboat transportation on the Mississippi.

Since 1912, however, as a result of the activities of the enterprising citizens of Kansas City and St. Louis, steamboat transportation has again been inaugurated upon the Mississippi and Missouri rivers, and Congress, in 1912, appropriated twenty million dollars to improve the Missouri river from Kansas City to its mouth, and it has been estimated that, by the close of 1918, seventy-five miles of permanent channel of the Missouri river had been built.

Speaking of the passing of the steamboat, Chittenden says:

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[42]Violette, *History of Missouri*, p. 186.

[43]Viles, Jonas in *Missouri Historical Review*, vol. 5, p. 190; Bratton, "Inefficiency of Water Transportation," *Missouri Historical Review*, vol. 14, p. 82.

"It is in line with progress. The country has passed beyond any use that can come from transportation methods like those of the Missouri River steamboat. It served its purpose and served it well. It filled a great place in the early development of the Western country, but its day has passed and thenceforth it will be of interest only to lovers of history."[44]

RAILROAD TRANSPORTATION.

In 1836 and 1837, as a result of the panic and the decline of the Santa Fe trade, and the growth of Chicago as a commercial center, there was much agitation in Missouri in favor of railroad building.[45]

A convention was held in St. Louis in 1836 to secure better means of transportation. The convention was attended by fifty-nine delegates from eleven counties and the city of St. Louis, including the then county of St. Louis. As a result of the deliberations of this convention, two lines of railroad were recommended to be constructed, one extending from St. Louis to Fayette in Howard county for the development of the agricultural section, and one from St. Louis to Washington county to develop the mineral resources of the State. The convention requested Congress to grant a half million acres of land to be used in making these improvements, and it was recommended that the State advance the money for the enterprise. St. Louis, as a growing manufacturing center, needed the iron products, and the actual output of the iron mines was placed at two million dollars.[46]

At the 1836-37 Legislature, following the meeting of this convention in St. Louis, Governor Boggs delivered a message to the Legislature, in which he favored a general system of railroad construction in the state, and he asked that the General Assembly memorialize Congress and request the grant of every alternate section of land along the railroad route, to be used in aiding the construction of the road, as the Gov-

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[44]Chittenden, *Early Steamboat Navigation*, vol. 2, p. 424.
[45]Violette, *History of Missouri*, p. 230.
[46]Million, *State Aid to Railways in Missouri*, p. 4.

ernment had already made similar grants for lines in Indiana, Illinois and Ohio.[47]

From January 23rd to February 6, 1837, charters were granted by the Legislature for some seventeen railroads, with an aggregate capital stock of seven million, eight hundred and seventy-five thousand dollars ($7,875,000.00), but notwithstanding all this activity in this year, no railroad construction in Missouri was really undertaken until the year 1851.

In 1838, a Board of Internal Improvements was established and the proposition to assist a single railroad company was for a time favorably considered in order to develop the great deposits of iron ore at Iron Mountain, and the contemplated railroad was to connect St. Louis with Iron Mountain.[48] Under the law creating this board, and prescribing its duties, the Legislature provided for a survey of the proposed route of the railroad from St. Louis to Iron Mountain, and the board was to make a report at the next session. The board organized in February, 1839, in St. Louis and reported that it had surveyed the line of railroad which, it estimated, would cost two million, nine hundred and forty-two thousand dollars ($2,942,000.00). Nothing was done toward the construction of the Iron Mountain road as a result of this report for many years, and, in 1845, a committee of the Missouri Legislature reported that, in its opinion, it would be inexpedient to establish a new Board of Internal Improvements to succeed the old board, as Governor Edwards, in 1844, had recommended that "too many improvements should not be undertaken at any one time."

The next charter granted by the Legislature was that of the Hannibal & St. Joseph Railroad, incorporated in February, 1847.[49] A memorial was sent to Congress, asking for the grant of alternate sections of unappropriated public lands to aid in the construction of this railroad.

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[47]*Senate Journal*, 1836, p. 23; *Laws, United States, relating to Public Domain, House ex. Document XLVI, 46th Congress, 3d Session*, vol. 25, p. 258.

[48]*Laws of Missouri, 1838-1839*, p. 67.

[49]*Laws of Missouri, 1847*, p. 156.

The charter of the Pacific Railroad was granted March 12, 1849, to construct a road from St. Louis to the City of Jefferson City, and thence to some point on the western boundary of the state in Van Buren (now Cass) county.[50]

River transportation at this time was deemed inadequate to meet the needs of the state, since St. Louis, in 1850, had a population of eighty thousand and eighty-one inhabitants, and, in order to compete with Chicago, which, by 1851, had several railroads, it was necessary that the City of St. Louis should have rail connection with the adjacent sections of country. The opening of the Alton & Springfield Railroad in 1851 made it necessary to put on an extra packet from Alton to St. Louis, and this brought home in a practical way to St. Louis the necessity for further railroad communication with its trade territories.

In the fall of 1849, two great railroad conventions were held, one in St. Louis and one in Memphis, concerning the route to be selected for the proposed road from St. Louis to the Pacific ocean. Each of these rival cities emphasized the advantages of their respective routes. At the St. Louis convention, Senator Thomas H. Benton made his memorable speech in which he favored a transcontinental railroad, with St. Louis in the middle, between the two oceans.[51] The St. Louis convention was attended by more than a thousand delegates from twelve states, and, as a result of this convention a memorial was sent to Congress, presenting the advantages of the route of the Pacific Railroad.

In 1850, Mr. Thomas Allen, then president of the Pacific Railroad, delivered an address to the citizens of Missouri in such a forceful manner that the people of the state were aroused to action.

Senator Benton's bill for the construction of the Central Pacific Railroad, to begin at St. Louis and terminate at San Francisco, although reported back to the committee, to which it was referred without amendment, was never passed,[52] but

[50] *Laws of Missouri, 1849*, p. 219.
[51] Stevens, *St. Louis, the Fourth City*, p. 475.
[52] *Senate Journal, 2d Session, 30th Congress*, p. 283.

the Missouri Legislature, in a memorial to Congress, offered to pledge all proper state legislation, whether by guaranteeing a right of way or otherwise, to secure the progress of the work through the state, and Governor King, in 1850, delivered a message to the Missouri Legislature, in which he said:

"The action of our present legislature is to settle the future destiny of Missouri," thus placing railway connection as the prime essential to the commercial and industrial growth of the state.[53] As a result of this message, the state actually entered upon the mistaken and expensive policy of lending its credit to the railroads in the year 1851.[54] Laws were passed at this same session of the Legislature, granting two million dollars of bonds to the Pacific Railroad and a million and a half to the Hannibal and St. Joseph Railroad.[55] The bonds were to be issued after a fixed, *bona fide* subscription to the capital stock of these roads was obtained for an amount equal to that expended by the railroads in construction, the companies to sell the state bonds at not less than par, the state to have the first lien on the railroads for the bonds so issued. Other charters soon followed, and the North Missouri Railroad, the St. Louis & Iron Mountain, the southwest branch of the Pacific Railroad, the Platte County Railroad and the Cairo & Fulton Railroad were all chartered prior to 1855.

The first railway construction work in Missouri was on the Pacific Railroad, which started July 4th, 1851, in St. Louis.[56] James P. Kirkwood, for whom the town of Kirkwood was named, was the first engineer on this road. Work on the Hannibal & St. Joseph Railroad commenced in 1853.[57]

In June, 1852, Congress granted the State of Missouri "every alternate section of land designated by even numbers, for six sections in width on each side of the road" to aid in the

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[53]*Laws of Missouri, 1849*, p. 647; *Senate Journal, 1851*, p. 136.

[54]*Senate Journal, 1851*, p. 37; Million, *State Aid to Railways in Missouri*, p. 64.

[55]*Senate Journal, 1851*, p. 38; Million, *State Aid to Railways in Missouri*, p. 65.

[56]*Kansas City Review of Science and Industry*, vol. 7, p. 167.

[57]Million, *State Aid to Railways in Missouri*, p. 73.

construction of the Pacific Railroad and the Hannibal & St. Joseph Railroad,[58] and this act was followed by the Land Grant of 1853, which afterwards inured to the Cairo & Fulton Road.

By December 1, 1852, the Pacific Railroad had completed a few miles of its road west from St. Louis, and, on this date, it brought the first locomotive west of the Mississippi river to St. Louis, and, on the ninth of December, 1852, it operated the first passenger train ever run in the state from St. Louis to the end of its line.[59]

In December, 1852, a portion of the Congressional Land Grant was transferred to the Pacific Railroad Company, and in the same month, it was authorized to construct the St. Louis & Iron Mountain, the act referring to the road to be built as the "Iron Mountain Branch of the Pacific Railroad."

By the end of December, 1852, the state had granted $8,250,000.00 in bonds to aid in the construction of railroads, as follows:

Pacific Railroad, with Southwest Branch	$4,000,000.00
North Missouri Road	2,000,000.00
Hannibal & St. Joseph Railroad	1,500,000.00
St. Louis & Iron Mountain Railroad	750,000.00

The first division of the Pacific Railroad west of St. Louis was completed and open for business July 23, 1853, and it was found this division had then cost $1,769,874; or about $47,000.00 per mile, which was twice the first estimated cost of the road.[60]

In November, 1853, the final route of what was then called the Southwest Branch of the Pacific Railroad was located from Franklin, thirty-seven miles from St. Louis, through the valley of the Gasconade to Springfield, and thence to Newton county, a total distance of three hundred and twenty miles from St. Louis.[61]

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[58] *10 U. S. Statutes at Large*, p. 8.
[59] *Senate Journal, 1853, App.*, p. 5.
[60] *Senate Journal, 1855, App.*, pp. 199-257.
[61] *Senate Journal (Adjd. Sess.), 1855*, pp. 28-31, and App.

The route of the North Missouri Railroad was determined October 16, 1854, and the road was to be built from St. Louis to St. Charles, and thence to a junction with the Hannibal & St. Joseph in Macon county, and from there to the north boundary line of the state, a total distance of two hundred and twenty-eight miles. The first division of this road was open for business in August, 1855, and was found to have cost $52,000.00 per mile.[62]

Work on the Hannibal & St. Joseph Road, which was to be 206.8 miles long, was begun in 1853, and by October, 1855, the first four divisions were under construction, and the first and a portion of the second division were ready for the superstructure.[63]

The route of the St. Louis & Iron Mountain was located September 8, 1853, from St. Louis to Pilot Knob, a distance of eighty-six miles.[64] In prescribing the conditions under which this road should be operated, through Jefferson Barracks, the Secretary of War, Jefferson Davis, in October, 1853, stipulated that the trains should be by horse power alone, unless the route should be deflected from the Arsenal. His letter follows:

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[62] *Senate Journal* (*Adjd. Sess.*), *1855*, p. 66.
[63] *Senate Journal, 1855* (*Adjd. Sess.*), *App.*, p. 94.
[64] *Senate Journal*, (*Adjd. Sess.*), *1855*, *App.*, p. 87.

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[62]*Senate Journal (Adjd. Sess.), 1855*, p. 66.
[63]*Senate Journal, 1855 (Adjd. Sess.), App.*, p. 94.
[64]*Senate Journal, (Adjd. Sess.), 1855, App.*, p. 87.

War Department
Washington, November 8, 1853.

Sir.

I have received your letter of the 29th ultimo advising me of the acceptance by the Board of Directors of the St Louis and Iron Mountain Railroad Company of the right of way through the Government grounds, subject to the conditions and restrictions imposed.

You say that, the Directors are led to believe from the tenor of my letter to you of the 20th October that the restriction as regards the use of horse power will not be insisted on, at least as respects the Arsenal, and that it may be so modified as respects the Magazine and Barracks that it will only be enforced when powder is being landed or shipped.

In reply to this I have only to repeat the remark contained in my letter, referred to -

Should your Engineer be successful in finding
" such a route as will enable them to deflect from
" the Arsenal and avoid the Magazine and Effusion
" Barracks, this condition may be annulled".

This you will perceive includes the idea of using steam power except upon a compliance with its terms. Should it be impracticable to do so, the original condition, already accepted by the Board of Directors, must be rigidly adhered to.

Very respectfully
Your ob't Serv't
Jeff Davis
Secretary of War.

L. M. Kennett Esq
President &c &c
St Louis
Mo.

1967-148

By the fall of 1855, the Pacific Railroad was almost completed to Jefferson City; the North Missouri had completed its first division from St. Louis to St. Charles; and the Hannibal & St. Joseph had about one hundred miles in process of construction.[65]

On November 1, 1855, the Pacific Railroad had one of the worst casualties ever sustained in the state, when its excursion train, bound for Jefferson City and loaded with several hundred of the most distinguished citizens of the state, was precipitated into the Gasconade river.[66] Thirty-one of the passengers were killed, including the chief engineer, Mr. Thomas O'Sullivan, who was riding with the engineer on the engine when the bridge went down.[67]

By the close of 1856, the Pacific Railroad was sorely in need of aid to extend the road west from Jefferson City. The Southwest Branch could not pay its contractors; the Iron Mountain had completed twelve miles of track south of St. Louis, but could go no further, and the North Missouri Company needed additional aid to complete its line to a junction with the Hannibal & St. Joseph.[68]

In March, 1857, the Legislature passed the fourth and last act in aid of the railroads of the state, appropriating five million, seven hundred thousand dollars ($5,700,000.00). With about three hundred miles of road completed, the state was already liable on $19,250,000.00 of bonds, and, as a result of this assistance, in 1859, there were some seven hundred and fifteen miles of completed road in the state.[69]

During the panic of 1857, the state's credit suffered seriously on the New York stock market, and an extra session of the Legislature was called "to secure beyond all question

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[65] *Adjourned Session, Missouri Legislature, 1855, App.*, pp. 3 and 123.

[66] The Gasconade disaster has been graphically described by many writers of the history of Missouri.
Stevens, *St. Louis, the Fourth City*, p. 485.
President Allen, *First Annual Report of the Pacific Railroad.*

[67] *Senate Journal, 1867, App.*, pp. 8 and 87.
16th Annual Report, Pacific Railroad, p. 7.

[68] *House Journal, 1856-57, App.*, pp. 253-310-411 to 422.

[69] Million, *State Aid to Railways in Missouri*, p. 105.
Auditor's Report, Senate Journal, 1856-57, App., p. 30.

the honor and credit of the state," and to provide ways and means to complete the railroads of the state.[70]

In 1859 and 1860, all of the railroads in the state, except the Hannibal & St. Joseph, defaulted in their interest payments, and from 1860 until 1868, when the state released its lien on the various railroads, the financial condition of all the roads, except the Hannibal & St. Joseph, was in an unfortunate condition.[71]

Missouri's experience in lending its credit to the railroads was that of most of the other states during the same period, and this early lesson in railroad construction, coupled with the recent experience of our Government in railroad operation, regardless of the experience of the strongly centralized governments of Europe, should prove an object lesson in our country, that the traditions of the Fathers should be maintained, for only in this way can our free institutions be preserved, as transportation and industry can not be successfully mixed with politics, or government, where, under the government traditions, they are not mere machines, but organized upon the theory of individual initiative and freedom.

Little or no railroad construction was carried on during the Civil war, but the Hannibal & St. Joseph Railroad was completed, and, except during the year 1862, it always met its interest payments.

In May, 1860, the state aid to the Platte County Railroad was withheld, and the Board of Public Works charged that the Cairo & Fulton bond issues were in violation of law,[72] and the Southwest Branch had been found to have wasted its funds.[73]

In May, 1861, under the orders of Governor Jackson, the bridges over the Gasconade and Osage rivers were partially destroyed, and those over the Lamine river and Gray's creek were wholly destroyed. In the same year, similar damage was ordered and carried out on the North Missouri

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[70] *House Journal, (Adjd. Sess.), 1857*, p. 7.
[71] *House and Senate Journal, 1860, App.*, pp. 27 to 33, and 154 to 158.
[72] *Senate Journal, 1860—I, App.*, pp. 334-336.
[73] *Idem.* Page 340.

Railroad, and in 1864, both the Pacific Railroad and the North Missouri Road had a large number of bridges, stations and equipment destroyed in Price's raid.[74]

The Pacific Railroad was completed to Sedalia in 1861, but it stopped here for about two years.[75] This road was completed into Independence in December 19, 1865, and, as it had been operated into Kansas City from Independence prior to that time, on September 20, 1865, the first passenger train passed over the whole line of the road, leaving Kansas City at 3:00 A. M. and getting to St. Louis at 5:00 P. M. of the same day.[76]

The Southwest Branch was completed from Franklin to Rolla on December 22, 1860,[77] and about the same time the Cairo & Fulton had twenty-six and a half miles in operation, and, by the close of the Civil war, the Platte County Railroad had fifty-seven and a half miles in operation between Savannah and Weston.[78]

At the close of the Civi war, people from different sections of the state petitioned the General Assembly to foreclose the state's liens on the defaulting railroads and, accordingly, in 1866, the Platte County Road was sold to the state, and the Iron Mountain Road was sold at the court house in St. Louis, September 27, 1866, and the Cairo & Fulton at the court house in Charleston, October 1, 1866, which sales were confirmed March 17, 1868, the company organized by Thos. Allen in 1867 assuming the amount due to the state on the Cairo & Fulton and Iron Mountain roads.

The Southwest Branch was sold to Gov. John C. Fremont, "The Path Finder," on May 12, 1866, and this sale was confirmed on March 17, 1868, and the line was to be completed through Lebanon and Springfield to Newton county by June 10, 1872.[79]

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[74] *Senate Journal, 1862-63, App.*, p. 129; *House Journal, 1864-65, App.*, p. 648.

[75] *Senate Journal, 1867*, p. 1877.

[76] *Senate Journal, 1867, App.*, p. 78.

[77] *House Journal, 1860—I, App.*, p. 444.

[78] *House Journal, 1860—I, App.*, p. 347; Laws of Missouri, 1863, p. 26.

[79] *Laws of Missouri, 1868 (Adjd. Sess.)*, pp. 97, 118, 119; *Auditor's Report, 1883*, p. 97.

The Pacific Railroad from St. Louis to Kansas City was sold under the Act of March 31, 1868, to the Pacific Railroad Company,[80] and thus were evolved the main lines of the present St. Louis-San Francisco and the Missouri Pacific railroad.

By 1870, St. Louis had rail connection with New Orleans, Mobile, Nashville, Atlanta and Charleston, as well as Des Moines, Omaha and other points. Kansas City, by this time, had also become a railroad center in both state and interstate traffic.

Congress, on July 25, 1866, passed an act authorizing the construction of bridges over the Mississippi at St. Louis and over the Missouri at Kansas City. The Burlington bridge at Kansas City was completed July 3, 1869, and was the occasion for a memorable celebration. The Wabash bridge over the Missouri at St. Charles was completed in 1871. The Eads bridge over the Mississippi at St. Louis was completed in June, 1874, and thus St. Louis and Kansas City were connected by rail with the outside world, and the boundaries of Missouri on both the east and west could be crossed, and these barriers of waters were overcome.

In 1870, the Chicago, Alton & St. Louis advertised in the *Real Estate Index* of Kansas City that it was "The Only Road" running Pullmans between St. Louis and Chicago "while traveling at the rate of thirty miles an hour."[80]

The following table shows the growth of the railway mileage in Missouri from 1852 to 1918:

1852 — 5 miles
1854 ——— 38 miles
1855 ——— 139 miles
1860 ——— 817 miles
1870 ——— 2,000 miles
1880 ——— 3,965 miles
1890 ——— 6,142 miles
1900 ——— 6,887 miles
1904 ——— 7,000 miles
1914 ——— 8,138 miles
1918 ——— 8,529 miles

[80]See September, 1870, *Real Estate Index.*

DATES OF COMMENCEMENT OF CONSTRUCTION OF VARIOUS RAILROADS IN THE STATE OF MISSOURI.

Pacific Railroad, now Missouri Pacific Railroad: Construction commenced at St. Louis, July 4, 1850.

St. Louis & Iron Mountain Railroad, now Missouri Pacific Railroad: Construction commenced at St. Louis in October, 1853.

North Missouri Railroad, now Wabash Railway: Construction commenced in May, 1859.

Hannibal & St. Joseph Railroad, now Chicago, Burlington & Quincy R. R.: Construction commenced at Hannibal in fall of 1851.

Southwestern Branch of Pacific Railroad, now St. Louis-San Francisco Ry.: Construction commenced at Franklin (now Pacific) in 1858.

Tebo & Neosho Railroad, now Missouri Kansas & Texas Railway: Construction commenced at Sedalia in 1868.

Chicago, Santa Fe & California Railway, now Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe Ry.: Construction in Missouri commenced in 1887.

Louisiana & Missouri River Railroad, now Chicago & Alton R. R.: Construction commenced at Louisiana, Mo., in 1870.

Iowa Southern & Missouri Northern Railroad, now Chicago, Rock Island & Pacific Railway: Entered the State in 1878.

In 1918, the railroad mileage in Missouri was eight thousand, five hundred and twenty-nine miles, and every one of the one hundred and fourteen counties, except Ozark, Dallas and Douglas, had at least one railroad passing through it. For many years, there has been perfected an important network of railroads traversing the state in all directions, and connecting at the borders with the through trunk lines leading to all parts of the country.

About twenty-six railroads have their entrance into the great Union Station at St. Louis, and half as many at Kansas City. The St. Louis Terminal has more different railroads than any terminal in the United States. The leading trunk lines, with eastern branches, are the Wabash, Pennsylvania, New York Central, Baltimore & Ohio; the several lines with

direct Chicago connections are the Wabash, Chicago & Alton, Chicago & Eastern Illinois, Rock Island, Burlington, and Illinois Central, while the southern and western lines are the Louisville & Nashville, the Southern, the St. Louis-San Francisco, the Iron Mountain, the Cotton Belt, the Rock Island, the Missouri Pacific, the Santa Fe, the Union Pacific, the Missouri, Kansas & Texas, the Kansas City Southern, the Chicago Great Western, the Milwaukee, the Missouri, Oklahoma & Gulf, and the Mexico & Orient.

In 1887, in Missouri, following the lead of the Federal Government and the action of other states, in order to correct the abuses arising from a failure to regulate the transportation agencies, a law was passed, providing a State Railroad and Warehouse Commission to fix the rates and generally correct the discriminations and other abuses, which the State Constitution of 1875 recognized as requiring correction.[81] The constant conflict between the state and federal authorities in the penalizing, regulation and restriction of the free action of the carriers, however, from this time forward greatly impeded their ability to serve the public.

The present Public Service Commission Law, passed in 1913, is one of the best in the country and ever since the enactment of this law, the personnel of the Missouri Commission has been of the highest order of competent and upright citizens, but their ability to serve the public was constantly curtailed and restricted by adverse legislation, such as the maximum freight and passenger rate law of 1905, under which a living rate was denied the carriers, and, with a constantly increasing charge for labor, material, equipment, taxes and other fixed charges, the railroads of the state by 1912 were, most of them, unable to meet their interest and other fixed charges, as a consequence of which, the Missouri Pacific, the St. Louis & San Francisco, the Missouri, Kansas & Texas, the Wabash, the Missouri, Oklahoma & Gulf, the Missouri & North Arkansas and other lines, aggregating some twenty thousand miles of road centering in Missouri, were

[81] *Constitution, 1875;* art. *XII*, secs. 12-14.

soon forced into the hands of receivers. The demands of the carriers for increased rates, to meet this uncontrolled economic condition, was met with the refusal of most of the states and of the Interstate Commerce Commission. Missouri was one of the few states to grant an increase of one-half of one per cent in passenger fares, but, owing to an appeal from this decision, this rate was not effective in time to save the carriers from bankruptcy.

On December 26, 1917, following the declaration of war in April, 1917, the President of the United States, under authority of an act of Congress, took possession of and operated the railroads of the United States, including the Missouri lines, under the direct authority of a Director-General of the Railroads, with a Director of Operations, Law, Traffic, Accounts, Wages and Working Conditions, etc. The entire railroad mileage of the United States was divided into seven operating sections, based upon the production, density of population, social and economic conditions prevailing and the unity of ownership of the lines of road, and, during the entire period of government operation, incident to the war, the railroads of the country were operated through these seven regions by as many directors, with federal managers and operating and other heads of departments, reporting direct to the different Regional Directors, who, in turn, reported to the Director-General at Washington.

One of these regions, comprising some forty thousand miles of railroad, was operated during the war under a Missourian, B. F. Bush, of St. Louis, and Hale Holden, another Missourian, but latterly of Chicago, was another of the seven Regional Directors selected to operate the roads in the Northern part of the state and in what is known as the Central Western Region.

Our railroad system, which such eminent international experts as Ackeworth affirm is the finest in the world, is the result of the development of seventy-five years of experience and progress. It was developed from the first crude plant by gradual stages to the modern, wonderful, economic transportation machine. From the first crude rate sheet has also

been evolved the present complicated schedule of tariff charges, under which the traffic of the vast domains of our state and nation is annually transported. If this wonderfully complete agency shall be debilitated, by lack of compensation to meet the fixed charges, like the steed of the trooper that was starved in Aesop's Fables, the public will realize when all too late, this mistaken economic policy, and when the last word shall be written in the history of transportation the agencies of our imperial state, let us indulge the hope that this shall not be recorded as the aftermath of this story.

STREET AND INTERURBAN RAILROADS.

The street railway was but another form of evolution of the old stage coach of the past half-century. The first street railway cars were built with stage coach bodies, mounted on flanged wheels, running on flat iron rails, with horses as the motive power. They were first used between Harlem and Prince streets on Fourth street in New York, in 1832, and, following this period, by 1875, they were introduced into most of the larger American cities, including St. Louis and Kansas City, to be followed in a few years with street car systems in St. Joseph, Springfield, Joplin, Sedalia and the other principal Missouri cities.

Following the successful operation of the cable, as a motive power, in San Francisco, in 1873, most of the principal cities in Missouri soon discarded the horses for the cable lines. The cable was particularly adapted to hilly cities, like Kansas City, since it did not depend upon gravity for traction, but the moving cable would, itself, draw a car up the steepest grade. The cable system made the best showing on roads with few curves, on account of the excessive friction required to pull the empty cable, and while there is no system under which cars could be hauled with so little expenditure of power as under the cable system, the large first cost, coupled with the frequency of expensive blockades resulting from the breaking of the cables, finally led to the abandonment of the cable and substitution of electric power, after the successful ex-

periment in the use of electricity as a motive power for street cars in Richmond, Virginia, in 1888.

From this period on, the electric street railway was introduced into most of the principal cities and towns of Missouri, and since 1895, the electric method of propelling cars, at first used only in the larger cities, has been put in use upon suburban and interurban lines, and thus another new method of transportation was developed in our state, the alternating current method of transportation being generally employed on the longer of these lines.

The comfort and convenience of this mode of travel are so well known that it is not deemed necessary to enter into any extended description of the seating, lighting, heating or technical construction of the cars, power plants or other equipment of this now important means of transportation by which millions of our citizens are annually transported to and from their homes and places of business, at a minimum of cost and with all comfort and safety.

AUTOMOBILES.

The transportation of persons and property by mechanically driven vehicles has now become quite general. The vehicle known as the automobile, constructed to transport persons and property over ordinary streets and highways, equipped with an internal combustion, hydrocarbon-vapor engine, which furnishes the motive power and forms the structural portion of the body of the machine, is now the general order of the day.

The general construction of the automobile consists of the fuel system, the carburetter, the engine, with the mechanics for the ignition and the cooling system, the clutch mechanism, the power transmission, including the change-gear mechanism, and the differential gear; the vehicle frame and springs; the running gear, the brake mechanism; the steering device; the carriage work; the lubricating system and the operating system, each of which is distinct in itself and has undergone various improvements in the evolution of the automobile

until cars are now generally in use, constructed either for speed, durability, weight, traffic or other purpose, which has resulted in the general use of this means of transportation for not only persons, but property and freight, in city, town and country throughout the length and breadth of our state.

All mechanically driven vehicles are now generally called automobiles, whether the motive power is gas, steam or electricity, and whether equipped to handle freight, such as the heavy trucks used for drayage and transfer purposes in cities, or the touring and sight-seeing cars, or the lighter touring cars or roadsters, in such general use, all are known by the now modern and widely known term of automobiles.

Gasoline stations and repairing stations, as well as garages for the accommodation of these cars, are now constructed at regular intervals throughout the cities and towns and along the country highways throughout the state, and millions of tons of freight and millions of people are now annually transported in Missouri by this kind of transportation.

The licenses granted by the Secretary of State for the year 1920, for automobiles amounted in the aggregate to $242,723.00, and each year marks a steady gain in the number of automobiles in Missouri, for these high speed vehicles are in keeping with the modern motto: "Motion makes money," and this is the coveted article of our commercialized age.[82]

AEROPLANES.

While navigation of the air has not yet been generally applied for commercial transportation purposes, aviation, as a means of transportation, has, of recent years, been so perfected and improved upon that the general use of aeroplanes will, no doubt, soon be a general means of commercial transportation of both freight and passengers in Missouri, as well as in other sections of the United States.

Combining some of the principles of the "box-kite" of Laurence Hargrave, of Australia, and the aerodrome of Professor S. Langley, which made a successful flight in May,

[82]See *The Automobile*, edited by M. C. Krarup.

1896, along the Potomac river, with the improvements on the partially successful aeroplane of M. Victor Tatin, in the year 1879, the various classes of machines for the navigation of the air have now become so familiar that these crafts attract but passing notice as they are seen "wandering" through the air.

The Government of the United States, before we entered the late war, in 1914, provided, by act of Congress, for an aviation section of the army, as a part of the Signal Corps, charged with the duty of supervising the construction and operation of all "Military Air Craft," and, under this law, several large aviation camps were constructed for the manufacture of aeroplanes and the training of aviators, and the splendid work of the American Aviation Section of the Army of the United States in the late war is now a matter of history.[83]

The planes are constructed with such rigidity as to oppose great resistance to the fall of the machine, while allowing it to travel without much resistance. They are usually set parallel with the horizontal axis of the machine, or else are inclined slightful upward, so that, as the machine is driven forward by its propellers or wings, the aeroplane will exert a lifting or sustaining effect.

No lengthy discussion of the subject of aeronautics is possible in this short article, but, during the war, our own and the other governments across the sea successfully manufactured many different types of aeroplanes designed for signaling, observation, bombardment and training, and the commercial usefulness of the aeroplane for transportation purposes is practically assured.

These planes were manufactured by the United States, under the supervision of the Engineering Division of the army, on a wholesale scale, and they were only put in use after the most thorough tests of the wings, landing apparatus and other parts of the machine by experts carefully trained and skilled in this branch of the service. They were constructed

[83] *Acts of Congress*, July 18, 1914; August 29, 1916, and July 27, 1917.

with either one or two seats, and with one, two or three planes, according to the uses intended, and so perfectly was the mechanism completed that they were frequently able to attain the speed of from one hundred and seventy to one hundred and eighty miles an hour at various heights above the earth's surface, and some of these planes were able to carry as many as 1,500 bombs, while traveling at a speed of one hundred miles an hour, thirty or forty thousand feet above the earth.

The "Liberty" and "Hispano" engines proved most serviceable during the war, but these will, no doubt, be improved upon, as planes were being constantly modified, with the perfection of new inventions and discovering of improved parts, and the 16-cylinder and 800-horse power engines now in use, like the heavier locomotives and steel rails now generally utilized by the railroads, will, no doubt, in the future, give way to more improved types of aeroplanes.

Aeroplanes have already been constructed which would safely transport as many as twelve to fourteen passengers, and this shows that the aeroplane, along with the steam engine and automobile, is an assured fact in the economic transportation problem of the future.

As a result of the nations' "Airy navies grappling in the Central Blue," and the establishment of aerial post routes and the early probability of the use of airships for the transportation of express, freight and passengers, there has already been considerable agitation as to Government control of air craft,[84] in connection with the doctrine of state's rights which has so handicapped regulation of the railroads, and has already been the subject of different articles in legal periodicals, and, as one writer has expressed it:

"It will certainly be difficult for the aeronaut, sailing above the clouds, to know whether he is in New York or Philadelphia, and whether he may go two hundred miles an hour or only twenty."[85]

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[84] "Legal Problems of Aeronautics," 18 *Bench and Bar*, p. 49; 42 *Chicago Legal News*, p. 55; "Government Control of Air Craft," 53 *American Law Review*, p. 897; "Regulating Aviation," 17 *Case and Comment*, pp. 304-05.

[85] "Legal Problems of Aeronautics," 18 *Bench and Bar*, p. 49; 42 *Chicago Legal News*, pp. 45-56.

With the state's regulation of railroads, which is now practically broken down under our complex railroad problem, it would seem that the states would be slow to attempt to regulate air travel and, as in the case of the railroads, that exclusive federal regulation would be the only solution of this new instrument of interstate commerce.[86]

If we are to believe in the prophecy of Mr. Allen R. Hawley, president of the Aero Club of America, the present generation may yet live to see

> **"Great airships, flocks of swift, small aeroplanes, giant cargo machines and flying boats that will soon solve all problems of rapid transportation and intercommunication over land and sea, ice and snow, plains, rivers, lakes, forests, swamps and deserts, and make every city in the land a port on the great ocean of atmosphere.[87]**

And this is the story of Missouri's transportation for the past hundred years, in which are reflected the processes of evolution and invention that have transformed our state from a primitive wilderness of traders, trappers and agricultural pioneers to a complex, social empire consisting of several millions of citizens, whose business and social interests are bound together with railroads, interurban lines, steamships, telegraphs and telephones, over all of which the aeroplanes fly back and forth through the air like huge birds.

From the first crude methods of transportation of one hundred years ago, we have made rapid progress; from the pack mule and the primitive canoe and barge, we have proceeded finally to the steam engine and the steamboat, street car, automobile and the aeroplane. As we have thus, in one hundred years, learned to navigate both the air and the water, it is hard to conceive of any additional methods of transportation that the future may bring forth, and yet, a half century ago, the primitive methods then in vogue seemed the acme of perfection in transportation facilities.

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[86]See Article, "Government Control of Air Craft," 53 *American Law Review*, p. 902.

[87]8 *Flying*, pp. 153-154.

While it is not our province to prophesy, but to record, what has been accomplished in this line in the past, it is not unreasonable, judging the future by the past, that undreamed-of methods of transportation may yet be devised in the future which will cause succeeding generations to view us, as we look upon those who preceded us, as mere pioneers in the transportation game played upon the checker board of nights and days, of which a myriad are necessary to constitute a hundred years in the history of our transportation agencies.

A Century of Labor in Missouri

BY LEE MERIWETHER.

To discuss within the compass of a magazine article the subject given in the above heading—which is what the writer has been asked to do—is no easy matter. A century is a long time, and if merely to mention the important events of any hundred years in history would require several magazine articles, obviously it is impossible to portray in a few pages the period 1820-1920, which by all odds is the most wonderful hundred years mankind has ever lived.

In many material ways the men and women of the Missouri of 1820 were closer kin to their ancestors of twenty centuries earlier than to their descendants of only a hundred years later. As Caesar and Moses traveled, so traveled those patriotic pioneers who laid the foundation stones of our noble state, and who witnessed its birth on July 19, 1820. It is true that a little prior to that date Fulton had run one wheezy steamboat up the Hudson; and in 1817 a steamboat came up the Mississippi as far as St. Louis, where it was viewed with wonder and amazement. The entire population crowded the river banks to stare at the astonishing spectacle. But although these two things had happened a little before 1820, the new-fangled notion of traveling by steam instead of in the honest, old-fashioned way of using one's legs, or the legs of a horse, had not yet come into vogue; mankind still "locomoted" in the way it had done since the beginning of Time!

So, too, when those hardy Americans who carved Missouri into a great state began to make cloth and fabrics, they used hand looms like unto the looms used by Penelope in ancient Greece when she busied herself with wheel and distaff to keep off the suitors who tried to make love to her during the many years' absence of her wandering Ulysses. Ulysses

took ten years to get over a small part of the Mediterranean; a modern aviator can fly over Ulysses' track in ten hours!

Our great-grandfathers and mothers were separated from Ulysses by twenty-five centuries, but they understood his methods of travel, and Penelope's methods of spinning and weaving, better than they understood our methods of today. This closer kinship to the remote past than to the comparatively near future also existed with reference to other than material matters. Many of the makers of Missouri had a personal acquaintance with the feudal system, for many of them were born in France before 1789. Many of them were eyewitnesses of the great social upheaval known as the French Revolution which put a period to the evil feudal system, a system that had endured a thousand years and denied ordinary mortals a single right which any king or aristocrat needed to respect. To the men who made Missouri, the French Revolution was a very terrible thing that had happened only yesterday. Marie Antoinette under the guillotine, her head rolling into a basket, was not a mere pathetic picture in history—she was a real woman of flesh and blood whom perhaps some Missourians had personally seen. To them, too, Napoleon was no distant, mythical man—he was a mortal who still lived, and who did not die until Missouri was a full-fledged state of the Federal Union.

While thus closer to the things, and to the ideas, of the remote past than they were to the things and ideas that came soon after them, in some respects the Missourians of 1820 were better exemplars of modern democracy than are their descendants today. We of today have no first hand acquaintance with kings and the feudal system, nor with the tyranny comprised in those words. But the Missourians of 1820 had that knowledge.

Some of them had been subjects of Spain; others came from France, where they had suffered personally from an age-long system that exalted the few, cast down the many and finally perished in the cataclysm of a bloody revolution. Having that first-hand knowledge, the Missourians of 1820 were more jealous of their rights, more watchful of their lib-

erties, more prompt to resent a wrong, than are their descendants today. The passage of an Alien-Sedition act a few years before Missouri was born (in 1798) aroused a storm of anger and discontent; the act was repealed, and its authors were retired to private life, scorned and hated by the people. Today our people hardly heed, much less protest, a proposition to put above criticism, not only the President and the two branches of Congress, which was as far as the Alien-Sedition act of 1798 ventured to go, but to put beyond verbal assault *any employee of the Government!* There is now pending in Congress a bill which says:

"No person shall display * * * any flag * * * emblem or device which indicates a purpose * * * *to change* * * * the Constitution of the United States and the laws * * * thereof!"—(H. R. Bill No. 11430, Section 5.)

The punishment for violating any of the provisions of this bill may be as heavy as twenty years' imprisonment. Think of putting a citizen in prison for twenty years for wearing a button ("emblem") on the lapel of his coat of, say, a society organized to "change" the Constitution of the United States by granting votes to women, or perhaps to repeal the prohibition amendment! Such a proposal in 1820 would have aroused Missourians to political fury; today few seem disposed even to give the matter consideration, and it is not improbable that the bill mentioned, or a similar one, will be made a law.

So, too, modern legislatures and congresses may indulge in gross waste of the people's money without fear of arousing popular indignation. It was different in Missouri's early days. The Constitutional Convention which held forth for thirty-eight days in the dining room of a little hotel on Third Street in St. Louis in June and July of 1820 paid thirty dollars a week for the use of the dining room, and fixed the salaries of the Governor and of the Supreme Court Judges at $2,000 a year each. To us these figures seem moderate; they did not so seem to our forefathers. William Clark, Missouri's Territorial Governor, aspired to be the first gov-

ernor of the new state. A few years earlier, in conjunction with Meriwether Lewis, Clark had won fame as the result of a daring trip of exploration to the Pacific coast, over thousands of miles of trackless forests, across vast and desolate prairies, of waterless deserts, constantly facing the terrible dangers of savage Indians, and of the hardly less savage dangers of primitive Nature. Clark had been honored with important commissions from four presidents, including Washington and Jefferson; he was personally popular. And yet he was defeated for Governor by Alexander McNair, whose slogan in the gubernatorial campaign was: "Down with extravagance!"

Clark had favored fixing the Governor's salary at $2,000 a year (the Attorney-General's salary was fixed at only $500 a year). McNair denounced this as gross waste of the people's money, and largely on that issue he received nearly two-thirds of the nine thousand votes cast in Missouri's first campaign for Governor. The Legislature which convened after the election fixed the compensation of the lawmakers at four dollars a day. Governor McNair promptly vetoed the law as another piece of scandalous extravagance.

After making allowance for the greater purchasing power of the dollar of that day, it still remains plain that the Missourians of 1820 were more watchful of their public servants than are the Missourians of today. For one thing, there were then fewer public servants to watch, and the 1820 Missourians had more time then for politics. The Missouri of 1820, with only fifteen counties and 60,000 white population, possessed no factories where every ounce of effort of which the human machine is capable must be exerted steadily for not less than eight hours a day. In a modern factory, if even one of hundreds of men ceases for a single moment to do his task, the entire business becomes deranged. In the Ford factory endless belts move from one end of a big building to the other, drawn along over revolving drums. Spaced at three-foot intervals, stand working men. The movement of the belt is continuous, inexorable. It never pauses, never slackens. If a single one of hundreds of men fails to turn

the screw, or adjust the bolt, or do whatever trifle it is his task to do, nevertheless the belt moves on and the next man's task is made impossible because the preceding one has not been done.

With such a system, naturally workingmen must work with automatic, machine-like precision. There is no time in a modern Missouri factory for employes to pause in the midst of their labors to discuss political problems or to express resentment at a modern Alien-Sedition law. But in 1820 there were no factories in the sense that we understand the word, and the workingmen of that day were free to do pretty nearly as they pleased. They had no labor unions; none were needed, for labor was too scarce, and there was too much near-by, free fertile land to offer danger of oppression to labor. Under such conditions, employers dare not indulge in oppression, for if they do, their employees are free to quit work, settle on government land, and dig a living out of the soil. Because of these conditions, we find labor in Missouri a hundred years ago commanding a respect and possessing an independence unknown to the labor of other states of that time, and superior in some respects even to the labor of today. For no matter how strong, how effective a labor union may be, it can hardly secure for workingmen any greater advantage than that which flows to them from the existence of an abundance of near-by free, fertile land.

The singularly happy condition of labor in the Missouri of 1820 may be best appreciated by a comparison with conditions then prevailing in even the most enlightened states of the world. For example, although the England of 1820 contained less than half its present population, no English workingman of that period ever had a chance to say to his employer: "Treat me fairly or I'll quit you and make my living out of the soil!" Not that there was no unused land, for there was an abundance of it. But it was not unowned, it was not free; it was reserved for parks and playgrounds for their noble owners. Consequently, the English workingman of that day was denied the powerful protection which ever results from the existence of free land. Indeed, he was

even denied such protection as comes from combination and collective bargaining. When Missouri was admitted to the Union, and for years afterward, England had laws prohibiting workingmen from forming trades unions, from moving from one part of the country to another, and from emigrating to a colony or foreign nation. The laborer was bound to a particular place, and at a somewhat earlier period, fearing that even thus hampered, the laborer might demand too much, England's employers secured the enactment of a Maximum Wage law which imposed severe penalties upon the workingman who demanded or accepted more than the wage fixed by law. Thus in the early part of the seventeenth century the maximum wages a carpenter, stone mason or plasterer was allowed to demand was $60 a year. Blacksmiths and shoemakers were permitted to earn up to $50 a year. Tailors were limited to $40 a year. If they worked by the day and supplied their own meat and drink, stone masons and carpenters were allowed to demand as much as 54 cents a day; if the master supplied the meat and drink, the maximum daily wage was only 36 cents.

Women servants were graded in three classes, the maximum wages being $20.00, $15.00 and $12.00 a year, respectively, for the first, second and third classes. These yearly rates of course were in addition to food and drink. A women worker in the fields was permitted to demand up to 12 cents a day and food and drink, or 24 cents a day if she provided her own nourishment. From these figures it would seem as if 18 cents for men, and 12 cents for women, was deemed sufficient to cover the daily cost of food and drink. Even after allowing for the difference in money's purchasing power then and now, it is obvious that the labor of that epoch was willing to live on much less than is his descendant of today.

When Missouri was thirteen years old, the first serious effort was made in England to protect labor. Laws were passed in 1833 limiting a day's labor to ten and a half hours, permitting trades unions and regulating child labor. Some of these reforms were not attempted in Missouri until more than half a century after they had been at least partially

accomplished in England. For instance, as late as 1890 children of tender years were allowed to work in Missouri's mines, and the writer (then State Labor Commissioner) was denounced as an "idealist" and "trouble maker" because he objected to the practice and sought to abolish it. So recently as 1863 there were only four trades unions in our state, and these were unimportant, uninfluential and had a very small membership.

The reason for our delay in labor legislation is largely to be found in the primitive conditions above mentioned. In England, workingmen went about in riotous bands smashing newly invented machinery which spun and wove more cloth in an hour than twice as many men could make by hand in a week. They did this because they thought of work as of a scarce and precious thing. Arkwright's machines lessened the amount of work there was to be done; the introduction of flying shuttles threw thousands of woolen weavers out of employment—seeing which English workingmen looked on Arkwright, not as a benefactor, but as an enemy of mankind, and thought it right and the wise thing to go about the country smashing all the machines they could find. Our Missouri forefathers were not guilty of this fallacy, not because of any superior intelligence, but because with them the trouble was not to find work, but to find workers. There were vast forests to be cut down, miles of land had to be cleared, hundreds of thousands of stumps and roots needed to be blasted out of the soil, shelter for men and beasts had to be provided, crops had to be planted and harvested. And there were few, very few men to perform this prodigious labor—scarcely 12,000 able-bodied white men in the whole state.

It is in these figures that we read the reason for Missouri's being pro-slavery during the first forty years of her life. Of St. Louis' 1820 population of 10,000, fewer than 3,000 were able-bodied men. In the entire state there were fewer than 12,000 white men, and more white men were not coming to the western wilderness as fast as laborers were desired. Thus it was that, although the ethics of the question were all on the side of the Abolitionists, pro-slavery men dominated the

state down to 1861. The first mine ever operated in Missouri, Mine Lamotte in 1723, was worked by 500 slaves. A century later 11,000 slaves worked in the new state, clearing the wilderness, plowing the land and building homes for themselves and for their masters. Even Thomas H. Benton, with a record of thirty years' distinguished service in the Senate, was unable to induce Missourians to forego the fancied advantages of slavery, or even to approve restricting the system to such states as already had it. In May, 1849, Benton issued his celebrated "Appeal" to the people. The "Appeal" was followed by a speaking campaign in every county of the state. We of today admire Benton all the more for the statesmanship that enabled him clearly to see and fearlessly to defend fundamental truths many years before those truths were even dimly perceived by the men and women of his generation. The old Senator was a master of philippic; he knew all the arts of the public speaker, and he used them all in that campaign of 1850. Had he won, who can say what far-reaching results might not have followed? Slavery, restricted to a few states, might not have become the burning issue which ten years later set the republic on fire. But with the Missourians of seventy years ago, the supposed necessity of slave labor overcame all other considerations. Benton was defeated and for eleven years more Missouri depended upon human chattels as her hewers of wood and drawers of water.

For all these reasons, during her first forty years of statehood, Missouri knew little of trades unions or of labor legislation. And as mentioned above, it was not until 1863 that Missouri had any labor unions at all, and then she had only four small, unimportant ones. During the ten years following the Civil war the country was too busy with the work of reconstruction to think much of labor matters. True, as early as 1869 the Knights of Labor were organized, but for many years after its organization the Knights were little more than a paper affair. The Federation of American Labor was not yet formed, neither was there any other labor union of any real strength or importance. Not until well into the

seventies did labor begin to "find itself" and to know its power.

At the general assembly of the Knights of Labor held in St. Louis in January, 1879, the motto adopted was: "All for One, One for All," and six years later St. Louis was a witness to the very "striking" way in which that motto could be put in practice. The Wabash Railroad's shopmen had their wages cut; no other Wabash employes were involved, and on other railroads not even the shopmen were affected. But by 1885 it was "All for One and One for All!" Thousands of Wabash employees quit work; so, too, did thousands of the employees of the M., K. & T., of the Missouri Pacific and of other railroads. The engineers, firemen, brakemen and conductors supported the strike and thus almost in a day many thousand miles of railway were paralyzed. A restoration of the shopmen's wages was the only way to remove that paralysis, and so they were restored. But a few months later, in August, 1885, the Wabash management cut wages again, whereupon not only did practically all of its own employees quit work, but the employees of a number of other railroads declared they would not handle any cars, either passenger or freight, which originated on the Wabash system. Jay Gould was then one of America's railroad kings; he had no love for striking workingmen, but neither had he any love for chaos and bankruptcy. His roads were paralyzed. So laying aside his dislike of labor unions, he exerted every possible pressure to induce the Wabash management to restore the old scale of wages, and succeeded after a few weeks' effort.

This was the first time Labor was spelt with a capital L, the first time it had met Capital as an equal, the first time it realized the power of collective bargaining. Its victory was so complete that it did not tend to make the labor leaders either tolerant or conservative. Within six months after Jay Gould's desertion of his brother magnates and his unconditional surrender to striking workingmen, nine thousand of his employees struck because, as was alleged by the strikers, a foreman in one of the Gould shops had joined the Knights

of Labor. The reader whose memory goes back as far as 1886 undoubtedly will recall this strike and its local leader, Martin Irons, a man of limited education and intelligence; but with the force of that altruistic motto behind him—"One for All, All for One"—for a time that commonplace man wielded extraordinary power. Men enough to make a division of a modern army obeyed him blindly. The wheels of engines over thousands of miles of track, and with them the wheels of commerce, stopped revolving when Martin Irons waved his wand. Labor in Missouri and in a dozen other states was suddenly projected into a condition of wild upheaval and turbulent turmoil. This time, however, the employers believed the hour had come to resist at any and all hazards. They rejected overtures of compromise, and finally the great strike was lost and its leader, whose portrait and name had filled the front pages of the papers for weeks and weeks on end, was suddenly relegated to an obscurity from which, so far as the writer knows, he never afterward emerged.

The year of this great strike was the year when the Knights of Labor were at the apex of their power. They had in 1885 700,000 members. Twelve months later the roster had fallen to 500,000, from which time on the decline was rapid. In 1890 there were only 100,000 Knights of Labor. However, as they declined, the American Federation of Labor arose, in spite of the set-back it received in the early nineties because of a tendency then displayed to embark in politics, and pretty dubious politics at that. In three successive annual conventions the Federation declared in favor of free silver, and when Bryan was nominated in 1896 on that issue the Federation's leading managers actively supported Bryan for the presidency. But Gompers sent out a notice to all the unions, warning them that, by the Federation's fundamental law, politics were forbidden, and in the end the danger was averted, although by a narrow margin. Twelve years after that first Bryan campaign, the Federation again came near running on the rocks, this time because it disobeyed orders issued by Uncle Sam. Believing the managers of the Buck Stove & Range Company to be unfair to labor, the employees

struck. The Federation supported the strike and the war waged against the company comprised forms of boycott, and other tactics, which a federal court declared unlawful. No attention was paid to the injunction restraining the continuance of the unlawful tactics, and so a number of labor leaders were sentenced to terms in prison, including the federation's chief, Samuel Gompers. Mr. Gompers never served his sentence, though the writer does not recall whether this was because the lower court's decision was overruled or whether there was some other reason.

These labor movements were, of course, nation-wide, but they are not out of place in this hurried sketch for the reason that they included Missouri and left a marked impress upon the state's final action in labor matters. In Missouri's early youth there was some mining, some fur trading (although much less than the volume of fur business today), and a great deal of clearing of forests and opening of farms. But of factories in the sense we understood the word, there were none, and of railways there was not one until 1859. To a much later period was relegated the task of giving our state laws to protect labor. For instance, not until the administration of Governor Wm. J. Stone did the Legislature modify the harshness of the ancient common law doctrine regarding "Fellow Servants." In the Missouri of 1820, when a master and half a dozen workmen constituted a "factory," each employee knew the other. If A persisted in working with B, after he knew B to be careless and dangerous, perhaps it was just to deny A the right to recover from his employer for damages due to B's negligence. But in modern Missouri when a railway or factory employs thousands of men, and when it is impossible for any workman to know all his "fellow servants," the doctrine can not be so justly defended. Hence, it has been modified so as to be more in accord with twentieth century conditions.

Missouri has also enacted other just and valuable legislation for the protection of labor; and a Bureau of Labor was long since established for the purpose of reporting upon the enforcement of labor laws, and for the suggestion of such

additional legislation as experience and changing conditions seem to warrant. Such laws as that providing workmen compensation in case of injury, for proper sanitation of factories, for providing women workers with seats in stores, for the payment of wages in lawful currency, etc., are the direct result of a quickened sense of justice on the part of the people of Missouri.

As a rule, mines are not in the populous parts of a state; at any rate, Missouri's mines for the most part are in out of the way localities. And from this fact there followed the further fact that some employees conceived the notion they could mistreat their miners without the people of the state knowing or objecting. Originally, mine owners established stores near their mines as a convenience; the miners were willing to trade at these stores, even at an advance in prices, rather than lose the time necessary to go to stores in towns perhaps several miles away. Had the mine operators rested content with a reasonable profit, trouble would have been avoided, but in time some operators came to look upon their "Company" stores as a means of plucking their employees. They paid the miners in a private paste-board currency which nobody would accept except the operator himself. And so, being *forced* to buy at his employer's store, it followed that the miner had to pay almost any priced demanded. When the writer was State Labor Commissioner in Gov. Francis' administration along in 1890, he found this vicious system in full swing, resulting not only in strikes, but also in riots and even in several midnight murders. The facts were presented to the Legislature and made known to the whole state. Samples of the private paste-board money were exhibited and stern steps were at once taken to put a period to so gross an evil. It is now many years since this company store private money scheme of defrauding labor has been in vogue in Missouri, and many years since miners have been the victims of downright oppression. Indeed, such is the power of labor organizations today, the man in danger of oppression is not so apt to be the workingman as it is to be one of the plain people. Capital looks out for itself; or-

ganized labor looks out for itself. But if anybody looks out for the run of plain people, for lawyers, doctors, clerks, school teachers and unorganized workingmen, the writer would like to know who is doing that much-needed task.

There are labor conditions today which need betterment; doubtless there will always be some things needing amendment, or perhaps abolishment. In a live, progressive state this is inevitable. But after making full allowance for all this, it still may fairly be said of Missouri that among all the states of the Union none has higher ideals, none possesses a more intelligent, patriotic people.

Social Customs and Usages in Missouri During the last Century

BY MARY ALICIA OWEN.

Ever since the pioneers set their blaze on the trees along the river courses and built cabins whose sites were prophecies of cities, hospitality has been the dominant impulse of Missouri's social customs and usages. " 'Light and tie, Mister, the latch-string's out," was never an empty form of words as the weary traveler found, be he priest, peddler, circuit-rider, agent for ague pills, pelt-hunter, or explorer merely. For him, whoever he was, the ask-cake was baked on the hearth, the prairie-hen roasted in the Dutch oven, pork, if the wolves had spared the razor-back pigs, fried in a long-handled skillet over clear, red, hickory coals. For him was fresh coffee made, of the real berry if his hostess had it, of rye if she had not, while choice was given of "short sweetening" from the maple-sugar crock, or "long sweetening" from the honey jar.

Parenthetically, I must state that for every purpose "long sweetening" was the favorite. It is said that the famous Honey war, the dispute as to the ownership of the strip of land claimed by both Missouri and Iowa because of its bee trees, determined the stand of certain families during the Civil war. "Don't you take the side of Robert E. Lee, son," was the advice of parents along the Missouri border. "He's the man that gave our bee trees to Iowa," a mistake still prevalent. Major Albert Miller Lea was the government engineer sent to settle the boundary.

It was only after the guest had declared he "couldn't eat another bite" that it was proper to fill up the corncob pipes, reverse the little brown jug and ask eager questions concerning the outside world. Occasionally, but not as a rule, the hostess joined in the conversation and, if she made excuse that her hollow tooth needed the soothing effects of nicotine,

in the smoking. The children, according to the old time admonition, were seen and not heard—except in giggles. Certainly, girls of that day, unlike their modern prototypes, had no practical knowledge of cigarettes.

When the whippoorwills ceased marking the time and the owls began, it was the host who suggested that "we men folks better step out of doors a minute and let the women get to bed." On the return of the men, they found the tallow-dip extinguished, but by the glow from the fireplace they could discern the pallets of the family spread on the floor and the one bed reserved because of its tick of feathers, hay or shucks—"husks" is not a frontier word—for the weary traveler.

It must not be omitted that if the traveler happened to be a preacher, he read, or declaimed from memory, a chapter of the Bible ere preparations for bed were made, and followed it by a long prayer in which, to everyone's edification, he roundly abused himself and his entertainers to the Almighty.

When the refreshed visitor resumed his journey, he was pressingly invited to return when he could stay longer, unless he had offered remuneration for his visit, in which case he was coldly informed that he had not stopped at a tavern.

As the cultivated areas increased with the influx of Virginians, Tennesseeans and Kentuckians, who emphasized their common name, "American," in contrast to the French and Spanish who had fought no war of independence, but were reft from their mother countries by treaty and purchase, frolics and dances added to the zest of pioneer life. These frolics were of as many varieties as strong, bold, gay young people of exuberant health could invent from the peculiarities of their new environment, copy from the annals of their ancestors, or take over from foreign born or foreign bred acquaintances. They included: house-raising, house-warming, sap-collecting, sugaring-off, corn-shucking, all forms of helpfulness combined with fun and laughter and hospitality. Even plowing contests, races of mowers, cradlers and hacklers were followed by simple feasts prepared by the women and girls, and games where the forfeits were kisses. Of all the amusements, however, dancing was the most popular.

To the jigs and reels of the "Americans" were soon added the quadrilles, gavottes and boleros of the French and Spanish of St. Louis, Ste. Genevieve and Cape Girardeau and the waltzes and polkas of the Germans and Bohemians, who were pouring into the state as the new land of freedom and opportunity.

It seems almost incredible that, after the strenuous labors of the day, such as spinning, dyeing, weaving, making garments for both sexes, besides the ordinary labors of the household, for women, and clearing, tilling, tanning, shoemaking and all the other drudgery necessary where man has not yet conquered nature, for the sterner sex, whole families would ride twenty miles or more to a dance, even with babies on the saddle in front of them. Once there, only the young people danced, both sexes being arrayed in new suits of homespun—linsey-woolsey in cold weather, pure linen in warm. Only occasionally did some dandy make himself conspicuous by the addition of a calfskin vest with the red and white hair still on. Symbolical dancing such as the present day is accustomed to had not been heard of, but now and then an enthusiastic dancer with blistered toes took off her heavy calfskin shoes and continued her exertions in comfort. The matrons sat on benches ranged against the wall, and as the wails of their indignant offspring permitted, criticised the dancers, exchanged gossip and recipes, or tendered invitations to the quilting-bee to be held as soon as a few more patches were "pieced." The older men and the bashful boys stood near the door and discussed their labors, crops and sports. Golf clubs were not in fashion, but hoes were, and skill with the flail received as respectful consideration as their grandsons would accord a tennis championship. The whole state was, without gainsay, the most magnificent country club in the world.

Sometimes instead of a dance, there was a fiddlers' contest. There might be only two, but, more frequently, there were four or five, some of whom had come a long way to put their claims of superiority to the test. Quite often a zest was added by some local troubadour, who sang, to the

tune of a familiar hymn, a ballad of his own composition, treating of some absurd or tragic happening near by. In vain the indignant revivalist thundered his denunciation at these gatherings. He was met with a stubborn response of this sort:

"Now, see here, Brother Smith, you just render unto Caesar them things that are Caesar's and we'll render unto the Lord the things that are the Lord's. We don't aim to worship the Lord by machinery. Have your camp meetings and we'll raise the tunes without even the help of a tuning-fork, and sing all the hymns you give out, but, you please let this outside business alone. If Thomas Jefferson cleared his mind of care by playing the fiddle, it is good enough for us."

It was the school teacher in the new schoolhouse who took the place of the fiddler, with his singing school and spelling bee, and he in his turn was remanded to oblivion by what Judge Henry M. Vories of the Missouri Supreme Court characterised as the "piano epidemic of the late '50's." Every girl had to have a piano, which she played if she could and thumped if she couldn't—to the intolerable anguish of sensitive ears and the anathemas of mothers who sought vainly to put the children to sleep. It is not definitely known what benefactor shut those old square pianos and littered their covers with china-painting and decorated rolling-pins and other ordinarily undecorated kitchen utensils.

Men's games, such as wrestling, leaping, jumping, running, lifting weights, pitching quoits, or "shoes," as the old game with the discus was called, where no women were present, were not always peaceful. Disputes sometimes ended in bloodshed.

The "Americans" saw to it that the Fourth of July was celebrated properly, and their enthusiasm drew in the French and Germans. The French loved to hear Lafayette eulogized and the British abused, and, after all, this was their country whether they liked the newcomers or not. The Germans of that first immigration were enraptured with the new freedom, and sang "My Country, 'Tis of Thee" with as much fervor as any man whose great-grandfather had be-

longed to the Jamestown Colony. Very early the people began to assemble in front of the cross roads' store, at the schoolhouse, or the courthouse, if the county seat boasted of one. Some came on foot, some on horseback, in wagons, buggies, carriages. A minister opened the services with a prayer of thanksgiving, somebody read the Declaration of Independence, a flustered little girl in a white dress presented a bouquet of common or garden flowers embowered in sprays of asparagus to the orator of the day, and the orator of the day, who was, generally, a patriot who had held, was holding, or wished to hold office, after kissing the little girl and tickling his nose with the asparagus, plunged into that style of oratory technically described as "spread-eagle," and soared until a hungry audience drowned his voice in applause, or the singing of the national anthem. After the "exercises" came the barbecue, oxen, sheep and swine roasted over a pit of coals. For those who did not care for roast meat, there was burgoo, a highly seasoned stew of rabbits, fowls, venison and a great variety of vegetables. To the feast the women brought pickles, bread and cake—they never attempted a barbecue, and seldom, a burgoo.

In the afternoon were horse racing, sack and potato races, climbing greased poles and catching greased pigs. Sometimes the young men insisted on having a tournament, which little resembled the jousts of the Knights of the Round Table. With a wooden spear, the modern knight caught rings from a bar, and if he had more rings to his credit than his rivals, he received a wreath, with which he crowned the lady of his choice "queen of love and beauty."

In the evening, then as now, Missouri blazed with fireworks, and the day ended as it had begun with the noise caused by ignited powder. Every boy had been expected to wake his family with a fusilade, and did it—some thought, overdid it.

In the last hundred years Hallowe'en pranks and customs have not perceptibly varied, nor have those of Thanksgiving Day—the customs of the day, that is, but Christmas observances, are not quite the same. The open hearth is

gone, and with it the yule log, especially dear to the slaves of ante-bellum days because as long as it burned they need do no work. They were the ones who chose it, selecting carefully the largest and greenest log, not from the wood pile, but from the wood lot, so as to be sure that it was green as well as of large size. When it was burned down to the last charred brand, this was intrusted to a careful old mammy to be kept to light next year's log. Any work done while the Christmas back-log was burning must be paid for. If anyone chose to absent himself, he must have a "pass" written by his master, and return to his home by the morning of New Year's Day.

Until after the advent of the Germans, the "American" children hung up their stockings at the fireplace, in the happy confidence that St. Nicholas, the ascetic saint of Asia Minor, metamorphosed into a jolly Father Christmas, would come through the air in a sleigh drawn by reindeers, and fill them with toys and candy. Very early, Christmas morning, the children and slaves were awake and shouting "Christmas gift" at everyone. Later the stockings were examined, and breakfast was attended in disorderly fashion, but eaten only by the adults. With the Germans came the evergreen tree, supposed by some to typify Ygdrasil, Tree of Life, of Teutonic mythology, and renamed by the early Christian Church, while others maintained that Martin Luther, after watching the stars over a grove of firs one Christmas Eve, went home and prepared a little tree to put his children in mind of the Star of Bethlehem. Whatever its origin, we Missourians speedily made it ours, and have since dramatized St. Nicholas, or Santa Claus, to stand beside it. Also, commerce has captured both tree and saint, perhaps to the pleasure of the children who see them in shop windows.

The little French or Spanish children had no tree, but they placed their shoes on the hearth for the Christ-Child to fill with presents. To put them in mind of what the celebration meant, there was what the French called a "creche," the Spanish a "posada," a box or alcove prepared to look like a little cavern, and tenanted with little figures of the Holy

Family, the Magi and their camels, the donkey on which the Madonna rode and the oxen in their stalls. Our new citizens, the Mexicans, have the same observances, and, in addition, a great earthenware jar dressed in tissue paper, to look like a sort of Santa Claus. This is filled with sweets and toys and hung from a bracket. Every child is invited to break this "pinata" by striking it with a wooden wand. When it withstands youthful taps it is shattered by the father, who is not expected to join in the scramble for the presents.

Sir Henry Cole invented Christmas cards in 1846 and had John Horsley, the artist, make the design for him, but it took a score or more of years for us to incorporate them into our observances, along with holly and mistletoe decorations, Christmas trees, interchange of presents, banquets of turkey, cranberry sauce, mince pie and the national-pie a rich custard flavored with pumpkin and called by its name.

New Year's Day, which some of our foreign visitors referred to in their letters as "Gentlemen's Day," because it was the general custom for men to call on their friends on that day and partake of their hospitality, has been spoken of as a day whose observance was introduced by the French. Truly, it is a day beloved by that people in all climes and under all skies since the day of the Druids, who on that date cut the sacred mistletoe from the oak tree and, later, exchanged gifts in commemoration of their freedom from the hated Roman taxes, but the Scotch Covenanters who desired a "silent" or "silenced" Christmas as ardently as did Cromwell and the Puritans who substituted Thanksgiving in November for Christmas in December because the Cavaliers kept it, with noise and wassail, had Watch Night and saw the Old Year out and the New Year in, and brought the custom, as well as that of visiting, overseas.

The second of February, "Candlemas Day," so called because Jesus, "The Light to Lighten the Gentiles and the Glory of Israel," was presented in the temple on that day, has lost prestige with many. The general public call it "Ground Hog's Day," because of a folk tale almost forgotten.

It related how a marmot, alias ground hog, alias woodchuck, stepped out of his burrow to warm himself at the bonfire of withered Christmas decorations, which are burned on Candlemas Day, because every leaf of them left over means a trouble in the house. The sunlight was so brilliant that the "beastie" cast a very black shadow, which he concluded was a trouble for him. He ran into his burrow without warming himself, and shivered and shook till he heard the birds, six weeks later. Boys still hunt the woodchuck, making pretense that they wish to improve the climate, but we do not hear of their going to the Candlemass, or blessing of the candles that are to be used in the churches.

St. Valentine's Day, February the fourteenth, has always been observed with little feasts made gay with darts and hearts, and the supposedly anonymous missives composed of rhymes, roses, paper lace, cupids and other accessories of what some one has styled "tentative love-making," as well as that pictorial attack on the sensitive, the alleged "comic" valentine, but its interest is transient, owing to its proximity to Washington's birthday.

The Father of his Country, who was as great a dandy in his time and as fond of dancing as his enemy, George the Fourth of Great Britain and Ireland, who ceased to be regent and became king the year Missouri became a state, would feel honored if he knew how many hundreds of balls this state has given in his honor, and how many thousands of young Missourians have, for such revels, arrayed themselves in the costumes which were copies of his and his Martha.

There is nothing archaic about the bonnet show, excepting the name, seeing that even grandmothers wear hats at the present time, but it was once a title that fitted the recurring pageant. What it was and is, I quote from Mr. John Barber White, who quotes Col. D. C. Allen, who quotes Mr. W. S. Embree, who was ninety-six years old in 1918:

"Merchants of Liberty began to purchase for local trade fine goods, bonnets and the like in Philadelphia. * * * Their purchases began to arrive in Liberty during the latter part of March or the forepart of April. * * * It was a

race with all the girls for the first pick of the new bonnets. * * * The origin, then, of the bonnet show was near 1826. Then, and for many years later, there was no church in Clay county which attracted so many persons to its religious service, particularly on the second Sunday in May, the annual exhibition of the spring bonnet show, as did the Big Shoal Meeting House, the church of the Primitive Baptists * * * Nothing could be more natural than that the bells and beaux of all the surrounding country should instinctively flock to the Big Shoal Meeting House at the great annual meeting on the second Sunday in May to see and chat with each other. By that time the ladies, young and old, would have secured their new bonnets and dresses. The girls could display their charms to the very best advantage. The side of the church alloted to the ladies would be a mass of colors, topped by a gorgeous array of spring bonnets."

Bonnet day is still kept—one might almost say, practiced—in all the churches, but it is a day of hats and suits, and is a movable display, having been transferred to Easter Sunday, which is the better date. A sweet girl is at her sweetest hour when she looks from under the brim of her flower-crowned hat to the flowers that deck the altar of our risen Lord.

Of course, a girl's supreme moment is when she stands before the altar as a bride, but it is not always her prettiest. Her face may be pudgy from crying, or yellow from having partaken of many prenuptial entertainments. Her grandmother's fashion was better for the looks and nerves on the wedding day, but it must have been equally trying in the days that followed. She lived in complete seclusion for several weeks previous to the wedding, and even the bridegroom could not see her on the wedding day until she was ready for the ceremony, arrayed in

> "Something old and something new,
> Something borrowed and something blue."

to insure good fortune. Part of it, perhaps, was the omission of the rice and shoe-throwing. She stayed at home that night

and was ceremoniously escorted to her room by her bridesmaids, the one who had found the thimble in her slice of bride-cake taking off her shoes, and the maid who found the ring, and was therefore, to be the next bride, removing her veil.

Next morning, after a breakfast almost as elaborate as the supper of the evening, she and the bridegroom went to his people for the "infare," at which his mother did her best to outshine the entertainment of the night before. There was an elaborate dinner, a still more elaborate supper, and dancing. The bride's dress for the infare was a heavy silk of bright color, made low in the neck, with a little cape to fit over the decolletage like a yoke, and long sleeves set within short sleeves called caps. For dancing, the long sleeves and cape were removed. This dress made its second appearance at church. One Catholic bride, Miss Barada, told of, came to grief because of the fashion. The day was very warm, she was plump, she laid aside her cape. An indignant young priest, asperging the congregation, flung a whole vessel of holy water on the unguarded frontage. Such was the potency of the sacred liquid, that the beautiful green silk was turned an ugly yellow wherever the water ran.

The bridal festivities continued as long as either of the high contracting parties had a relative well enough off to give an entertainment, and wherever the bride went, the bridegroom, like Mary's little lamb, was sure to go. No doubt, a bridegroom invented afternoon teas, ladies' luncheons and other strictly feminine functions.

When mother was married, she had palms, flowers, bridesmaids, ushers, and, incidentally, father and a best man, at church. When supper at home was over, she donned a "going-away gown" and hat, and went off, of course, with father, on a "tour," starting amid a shower of old shoes and rice, for a railroad train.

When Sister Jane went into matrimonial partnership with William Smith, last fall, she entered the family drawing-room, through a lane bounded by white ribbons, and holding father firmly by the elbow to keep him from straying into anything.

When the best man handed William out of a corner into her keeping, they were married before an "improvised" altar, under a bell of white flowers. When the happy couple were ready to set out in a limousine, destination unknown, Sister Jane threw her bouquet of orchids and lilies among her bridesmaids, told her mother to be sure to get a man to pack the presents not later than the day-after-tomorrow, and, with the admonition, "Hurry, Bill, you know you're always late," set out on her adventures as a married woman.

Weddings, long ago, were expensive, but the expense was not comparable to that of funerals. Oftentimes, families were impoverished by the cost of funeral feasts and processions. Friends and acquaintances came from near and far. They must be entertained with lavish hospitality. The watchers who sat with the corpse during the night must have a midnight banquet. There must be an expensive coffin, an expensive shroud, an expensive hearse, flowers and very many hired carriages. When settlements were scattered and churches few and not provided with a settled minister, frequently, the funeral sermon was not preached for months, or even a year or more. One old lady enjoyed telling her grandmother's experience:

"I loved Mr. A., but my children were small and I could not afford to hire all the help I needed, so I married Mr. B., in a year and a day after Mr. A. died. In a year and five months, Brother C. came to preach Mr. A.'s funeral sermon. I had to go and take the children, but I just could not put on my crape again. I studied and studied as to what would be respectful to both gentlemen, and made up my mind to wear my new black silk Mr. B. gave me for a wedding-present and my purple bonnet. I took off the buttercups and purple strings from the bonnet and sewed on the black strings from my crape bonnet, and felt that all was genteel and suitable."

Those old churches were the scene of many cruious life-dramas, and what labor and self-sacrifice—mostly of women—they represented. Their foundations were laid in egg-money, their shingles were ice-cream saucers, the "main edifice"

was the result of festivals, socials, oyster-suppers, chicken-pie dinners, concerts and those humble forerunners of the movies, tableaux, not to forget Rebecca at the lemonade well, the post-office and gypsy-fortune-teller. The debt—there was always a debt, it is fair to say—was substantially reduced at times by some brother, who was unwilling to have all his religion in his wife's name.

The sewing societies of the various churches, then as now, were missionary institutions, but the supper that followed the sewing must have been worth more than the heathen received. A letter written by a Mrs. Sykes, in 1854, says,

"It is my turn to have the sewing society next week. How I dread it. I wish I had the courage to do as Mrs. Sarah Josefa Hale advises in the last *Godey's Lady's Book*, and have only four kinds of cake and preserves."

What could they have had to eat at those old donation parties the preachers hated so cordially? Nobody seems to remember. Missionary boxes are on the same order. Perhaps, the recipients hate them in the same degree.

After roads were made, the older members of the family went to church in a wagon or carriage, but the youths and maidens preferred to ride horseback, the maidens protecting their Sunday finery from horse hairs and lather by slipping on a long skirt of black "glazed muslin," which was dropped off at the horse-block. This skirt was very long. It had need to be, for there was a sort of chickencoop arrangement of tapes and steel called crinoline, underneath it and some other skirts. One old lady, after the lapse of half a century, was still indignant at one of our ex-Governors. "He was so clumsy," was her plaint, "that when he tried to help me off my horse he jerked me forward so that my hoop-skirt caught on the horn of my saddle and tore apart, so that it all flattened out. I had to go straight home." If the lady who could not appear unless she had a shirt—circumference of six yards or more, could see her grand-daughter in a street skirt, or riding-breeches!

It is said that more horses were swapped on Sunday mornings than during all the rest of the week.

More popular than even the Christmas tree, or the Easter egg-rolling, has always been the Sunday-school picnics, which is not to be wondered at, considering how popular all sorts of picnics are with Missourians. "As the twig is bent, so is the tree inclined," the youngster who starts with the Sunday-school picnic, progresses, as the years go by, through a series of entertainments in God's out-of-doors: the gathering of wild fruits, berries and nuts furnishing one set of excuses for eating chickens and pickles under a tree and boiling coffee in a pot balanced precariously over a fire of twigs; the county fair, another set for spreading a tablecloth where ants do least abound, and assembling thereon the choice from a well stocked larder, to which are added peanuts, popcorn balls and pink lemonade from the various "concessions" which really make part of the fair; while all sorts of associations, secret societies, and orders, political, financial and philanthropic, have their outings, at which the skill of housewives and the genius of orators are taxed to their utmost.

There was another sort of picnic, or near-picnic, which, of late years, has been taken over by the kindergarten, the May festival. Formerly, the prettiest and most popular girl from one of the upper classes of the school was crowned Queen of the May, in some pleasant glade, and sat on a little dais, with a chunky scepter of flowers in her hand, to watch her subjects tangle the ribbons of a May-pole. After the "exercises," it was the privilege of the parents and certain favored young gallants, to serve what was termed "a cold collation." It is in the chronicles of St. Joseph, that the May-queen of Mr. J. T. Robinson's Select School for Young Ladies, in 1856, was Vinnie Reame (Mrs. Hoxie), the sculptor.

It is said that the pioneers did not play cards, esteeming it beneath the dignity of a man who had a horse to bet on, but play was very high among those who came on the steamboats. We are told that the "dead man's hand"—according to gamblers' superstition, two black jacks, two red sevens and any fifth card—was drawn by some one on almost every trip, and the inevitable tragedy occurred before it could be played. In strong contrast was the card or trictrac game of

the French inhabitants. The farmer came to town early Sunday morning, attended mass, had a noon dinner of chicken—with rice, tartines, *pain d'epice*—a sort of glorified gingerbread—a compote of fruit and a cup of coffee "cleared" with a dash of ratafia, with his relations. Then he played a few games of cards, drank a glass of light wine, ate a cookie, which he called a *petite four*, and jogged, cheerfully homeward, behind his oxen or heavy-footed work-horses. Neither he nor his next-of-kin lived to see auction-bridge come into fashion.

Some of our guests—visiting statesmen, Chautauqua lecturers, club speakers, reformers, faddists, etc., have said, doubtless when feeling overly-cheerful from repletion, that Missouri could not begin, or end anything without a banquet. Why not? Brillat-Savarin said, "Tell me what you eat, I will tell you what you are (*Dis-moi ce que tu manges, je te dirai ce que tu es*). Providence has given us an unusual variety of the kindly fruits of the earth and in due time we enjoy them and share with the less favored, knowing that we are rendered cosmopolitan, and hoping to expand any narrow-minded Cassius who comes among us. However, it is not always necessary to refresh the body as well as the soul of the properly nourished. In the many clubs, scientific, civic, literary, musical, artistic, patriotic and athletic, the luncheons and dinners are occasional and an adjunct to toasts and speeches. When we attend the circus, "to take the children," the refreshments are very light, consisting mainly of peanuts, popcorn and pink lemonade. When we "dilate our emotions," to quote Rufus Choate, with the theater or opera, supper follows the performance.

Wholesome, healthy, cheerful people, with vigor to spare after the tasks of life are done, Missourians give banquets, but they do not enjoy them in supine contentment, their exuberant vitality finds outlet for itself in balls and processions, as well as in less elaborate forms amusements. It is a matter of history that when Lafayette came to this country, in 1824, by special invitation of the American people, Missourians fired national salutes and had torchlight processions

in his honor as if he had been present. In 1825, April 29, to be exact, Lafayette hurried away from a ball given in his honor at Natchez, Mississippi, and hurried up the river to what was then an outpost of civilization, St. Louis, where almost the entire population of the new state had assembled to greet him. An impromptu procession fell in behind the carriage in which he was seated, reaching almost from the levee to Pierre Chouteau's house, where a reception was held. In the evening, was a ball, as brilliant as any St. Louis has given in the subsequent years, and, at midnight, the great Frenchman parted from his entertainers with tears. Since then, what pageants of wealth, of strength, of beauty, have been exhibited in the streets and ball rooms of Missouri's towns and cities: Veiled Prophets parades, Priests of Pallas parades, flower parades, Shriners, Labor Day, all sorts and conditions of parades and processions of secret societies, bodies civic and military, and the balls that followed, besides debutantes' balls and balls for other epochs, or none. In a way, both marching and dancing have been a preparation. The feet that stepped so lightly carried heroes through the Civil war, the Spanish and the Battlefields of France.

Social Reform in Missouri 1820-1920

BY GEORGE B. MANGOLD

INTRODUCTORY.

Before Missouri became a state, it was part of the Territory of Louisiana and was therefore governed by the laws of the territory. At that time there was comparatively little need of social legislation and yet there were a number of problems which confronted the people. Elaborate social machinery such as that which now exists was unnecessary but nevertheless the beginnings had to be made. One of the important subjects was the insolvent debtor. In the Territory of Louisiana, the first law enacted on this subject was passed in 1807. This law was amended twice before Missouri was carved out of the territory and made an independent state. However, the people could not get away from the notion that a man who was bankrupt should be thrown into prison and it was not until 1835 that a comprehensive law protecting the insolvent debtor was enacted. The revision of 1841 stated that "any debtor imprisoned for debt may apply to the courts, offering to deliver all property to his creditors, except wearing apparel for himself and family and ask for the benefits granted by the law of 1835." Two years later the problem was finally solved by the enactment of a law providing that no person shall be arrested, imprisoned or held to bail for debt, process or execution founded upon any contract or debt. The Territory of Louisiana also began the development of legislation along a number of additional lines. In 1805 it fixed the age of marriage of males at seventeen and females at fourteen. The Legislature of 1815 proved particularly fruitful and enacted laws relating to three different subjects. The first steps were taken in the development of the county poor law. Each county was to provide for the

lame, blind, sick and others unable to support themselves because of age or infirmity. A nine months' residence was required of applicants for relief and the court of common pleas was authorized to provide maintenance.

The orphan had begun to appear and there was fastened on the state a system which has been abolished only in recent years. It was provided that by order of the court a girl might be apprenticed until she was eighteen and a boy until he was twenty-one. They were to be taught some art, trade or business and were expected to attend school where they were to be taught reading and writing, but if the apprentice was a boy he was required to study arithmetic, including the rule of three.

The vagrants in the territory also received attention. If they were under twenty-one, they might be apprenticed in a manner similar to the system applying to orphans but if over twenty-one, they might be hired out for three months to the highest bidder for their services. This system of punishment represented a form of personal slavery. If the vagrant had a wife and children, he was required to give bond to support them and if he was a recent immigrant to the territory, he was returned to his place of residence. If no one would take the vagrant off the hands of the court and employ him for the three months' period of enforced labor, a substitute punishment of twenty-five lashes was given. The law was sufficiently modern in one particular, to provide that money obtained from the employment of the vagrant should be used to pay off debts or to help support the wife and children.

The laws of the territory remained the laws of Missouri when it became a state in 1820. Being admitted as a slave state, it was naturally interested in the perpetuation of the institution of slavery and at one time protested in a memorial to Congress against a New York law allowing escaping slaves to become free. Like all pioneer states, it was anxious to grow in numbers and opposed drastic laws limiting the naturalization of immigrants on the grounds that such laws would impede immigration to this country. Apart from

problems such as these, the most important question in the realm of charities and corrections was the handling of the criminal.

CRIME AND PUNISHMENT.

The Missouri penal system began in 1831 when provision was made for the erection of a State Penitentiary at Jefferson City. In 1836, after five years of work, the penitentiary was opened and by the close of the year sixty convicts were gathered within its walls. At that time the penitentiary covered an area of four acres. The small space afforded the prisoners proved an inconvenience and efforts were made to adopt a system whereby convicts might be employed outside of the prison walls. The Legislature, however, was opposed and in 1841 passed a resolution stating "it is the deliberate opinion of the General Assembly that the object of the pententiary system will not be accomplished, nor the interests of the state promoted by working the convicts without the walls of the penitentiary." Biennial reports by the warden to the General Assembly were now required and information was asked in regard to the methods and kinds of corporal punishment inflicted. In 1843 a chaplain was also provided. In the same year a law was passed permitting St. Louis county, which at that time embraced the city of St. Louis, to build a house of correction. This act marks the beginning of the St. Louis workhouse, now under the exclusive control of the city of St. Louis. Perhaps there is no better illustration of the inelasticity of institutionalism than the following fact: The provision that convicted persons unable to pay a fine shall work out the fine in the house of correction at the rate of fifty cents per day was incorporated at that time and has remained the law for St. Louis until 1914 when the present charter was adopted under which the rate was abruptly raised to $3.00 per day. The law also provided that the overseer or superintendent of the house of correction be elected by the people for a term of two years, a system of popular control no longer regarded desirable. These two institutions, the penitentiary and the St. Louis county work-

house, were the leading correctional institutions in the state for many years.

The problems connected with the penitentiary remained a continual trouble to the Legislators. The number of convicts was increasing and, although the penitentiary was being enlarged, it was not possible to provide properly for the training and employment of prisoners. The prison warden was given authority to hire out some prisoners for work within the prison walls and to use prisoners outside of the walls in the work of improving the penitentiary plant. In 1855 the Legislature went a step farther and declared that if prisoners could be profitably employed inside, they might be used to grade and improve the public grounds around the Capitol and also the main street running eastward. It appears that very definite limitations were imposed upon the prison management and that it was difficult to appreciate the idea that different forms of employment might be profitable to the convict. During the Civil war the people of Missouri had little time to consider the problems of the penitentiary and no constructive or remedial legislation was enacted. The desire to use prisoners outside of the walls grew, and in 1870 the Governor was authorized to order the warden of the penitentiary to furnish not over twenty-five convicts to help build Lincoln Institute. The numbers in the institutions now became so great that additional provision for their detention was necessary. A committee of five was authorized to inquire into the feasibility of extending the present penitentiary plant or establishing a branch institution in the neighborhood of St. Louis. It had become impossible to work more than about one-third of the convicts either on contract labor or in any other way. The movement for a second institution failed, as did the attempt in 1885 when a law was passed providing for the location of a site and the establishment of a second institution. This law was repealed later.

The problem of finding work for the convict led to the adoption of the lease system in 1873. It was provided that the penitentiary be leased to the highest bidders but that convicts must not work at a greater distance than five miles

from the institution. Long term prisoners, however, were to remain within the walls. The contracts were to extend over a period of ten years and the compensation gained was to cover expenses of the institution. The men were not to work more than ten hours per day during the spring and summer months nor more than eight hours during the remainder of the year. The warden proceeded to call for bids and contracts were made with a number of leases. The results did not in all cases justify the anticipations of the Legislators and some of the contracts were annulled and certain sums of money were refunded in order to give the authorities freedom to carry out better plans. When the remaining contracts expired, the institution management definitely adopted the contract system of labor and made provision accordingly. The penitentiary was gradually transformed into a huge workshop and the manufacture of certain commodities commonly made in penitentiaries was begun. There were now from 1,200 to 1,500 prisoners in the institution. Nevertheless, it was difficult to develop plans for the employment of more than about one-half of these. Formerly the amount received from the contractors was fifty cents per day for male prisoners and thirty cents for female prisoners. At one time the rate for females was forty cents per day, but later on seventy-five cents was paid for all prisoners at work. In 1903 there were in the prison five shoe factories with a daily output of ten thousand pairs of shoes, a saddletree factory, a working-man's clothing and a broom factory, and by legislative act of that year a binder twine plant was introduced.

The prison reformers now became more insistent in their objections to the contract labor system. This had already been abolished in some of the states and increased efforts were being made here. The State Board of Charities, the State Conference of Charities and voluntary groups began the agitation in favor of a better plan of prison labor. The contract labor system had made the penitentiary more than self-supporting and the reactionaries were loth to surrender this advantage. Governor Hadley, however, insisted that the reform of criminals was more important than a system

which would not cost the state any money for the care of its criminals. Accordingly, the Legislature of 1911 passed a law providing for the elimination of the contract system after several years. Difficulties arose in connection with the carrying out of this provision and the system was temporarily restored but finally abolished in 1917. The State Account System was then adopted and in two years over seven million dollars' worth of goods were made. A farm of more than one thousand acres also was utilized and furnished employment to a large number of men. Most of this land is now owned by the institution.

Formerly there was a Board of Managers appointed by the Governor and empowered to select the warden and operate the penitentiary. In 1917 the system of administration was changed. Under the new law a State Prison Board, consisting of three members, not more than two of whom shall belong to the same political party, was established to operate the penal and reformatory institutions of the state, these institutions being the penitenatiry, the Missouri Reformatory, which handles juvenile delinquents and first-offenders up to the age of thirty, the Industrial Home for white girls and the Industrial Home for negro girls. Unfortunately, the law perpetuates the partisan control of these institutions but the concentration of management represents a distinct movement in the forward direction.

The efforts to provide for first offenders finally proved partly successful in 1915, but the plan adopted is undesirable and works serious hardships on the male juvenile delinquents. It was estimated that about fifteen hundred penitentiary inmates really belonged in a reformatory rather than in the penitentiary. The social workers of the state had endeavored to secure the establishment of an entirely new institution, but in 1915 the Legislature simply changed the name of the training school for boys at Boonville to the Missouri Reformatory and opened the gates of that institution to first offenders up to the age of thirty. As a consequence, juvenile delinquents and adult first offenders may be confined in the same institution and efforts to separate the two groups have not

yet succeeded. As a matter of fact, very few of the latter class have as yet been sent to the institution and the State Penitentiary remains, as far as population is concerned, the largest institution of its kind in the country. There were in the prison on January 1, 1920, 2,409 inmates.

In this paper no effort will be made to trace the development of our penal code but some reference must be made to certain crimes whose social significance is of particular interest. The unique law relating to vagrancy was amended so as to allow the vagrant to be hired out for a period of six months and accounts indicate that between 1840 and 1850 the law was enforced to a considerable extent in St. Louis and served to rid the town of many disreputable characters. A wife and child desertion law was passed in 1867 and partly displaced the vagrancy law which was finally repealed in 1897. Among the various laws we find that in 1835 the age of consent was fixed at ten years. It was furthermore provided that a negro committing rape on a white female or taking a white female under eighteen for purposes of prostitution or marriage or forcing the marriage of a white female should be sentenced to castration. Among the penalties imposed for certain crimes were such as standing in the pillory and the infliction of stripes. Public executions were abolished in St. Louis county shortly before the Civil war and in 1865 the criminal code was amended so that negroes and mulattoes were thereafter subjected to the same penalties for crime as were the whites. The word "slave" was also dropped from the code of laws.

Among the laws relating to prostitution was one providing that St. Louis might establish a social evil hospital and a house of industry. The hospital was intended for the free use of prostitutes who might not patronize any other public hospital and the house of industry was expected to give them a home and a place to learn some form of employment. Doctors were expected to report diseased cases to the police board, which was empowered to confine such persons in the hospital. The law was enacted in 1874 but, after several years, this method of meeting the problem was abandoned. It became

necessary to strengthen the laws relating to vice and in 1899 prostitution and illicit intercourse on public highways was made a criminal offense, it really being aimed specifically against persons who traveled about for this purpose. Since 1913 efforts have been made to secure the enactment of an injunction and abatement law similar to that in operation in many states but, so far, these efforts have failed. Nevertheless, the red light districts have been abolished in the large cities of the state and a new spirit has developed in respect to the handling of commercialized vice.

A number of measures were enacted from time to time to regulate the conditions under which pardons and paroles might be obtained. Conditional pardons had been granted by governors and in 1870 a law was passed requiring penitentiary convicts whose pardons were revoked to be brought within thirty days before the court for a review of the case. Such criminals might then be returned to the state's prison. In order to systematize the work of paroling prisoners provision was made in 1901 for a pardon attorney who was appointed by the Governor and reported to him on the cases investigated. Under this plan a large number of prisoners were paroled with very satisfactory results. However, in 1913 the office was abolished and a Board of Pardons put in its place. This board consisted of three members whose duties were similar to those of the pardon attorney. Four years later this board was abolished and the problem placed in the hands of the State Prison Board, thereby concentrating in the hands of one official body the penal problems of the state. An old law allowing prisoners a small part of their earnings has been resurrected and during the year 1918 more than twenty-five thousand dollars was set aside for the convicts. Among additional reforms of recent years are the abolition of stripes, which occurred in 1910, the better clothing of the prisoners and the abolition of the whipping post. Furthermore, in 1917 the Legislature abolished capital punishment, but owing to the insistence, particularly by officials in St. Louis, the death penalty was restored by the following Legislature.

The parole system has also been applied in the larger cities of the state, notably St. Louis and Kansas City. In 1897 a state law was passed empowering the courts of St. Louis to parole convicted felons not guilty of murder, rape, arson or robbery, provided they were under twenty-five years of age. The period of parole was set at a minimum figure of two years. A later law eliminated the age limitation and substituted "convicted for the first time of felony." In spite of the efforts of social workers, no adequate plan of supervision has been developed in connection with this system. Several measurably successful efforts have been made in behalf of minor offenders, the most notable of these being the establishment of the Board of Pardons and Parole in Kansas City in 1909, the functions of which were continued later on by the Board of Public Welfare. The establishment of a municipal farm by that city in 1909 also represents a distinct forward step in the handling of minor offenders. A few years later an adult probation system applying to violators of municipal ordinances was established in St. Louis. Adult probation and systems of after-care for discharged or paroled prisoners are not yet developed sufficiently to meet the needs of the state.

POVERTY AND DISEASE.

The original form of care given by the state to its poor consisted of outdoor relief by the counties. The territorial law was amended in 1835 when provision was made for the relief of persons who had resided one year in the community. The function of dispensing relief was given to the county courts in whose hands it has remained ever since. A more liberal provision for relief than that heretofore given was also permitted.

The need of almshouse care was soon recognized and in 1827 permission was given St. Louis county to accept a donation of land for the building of an institution. Later on, permission to buy land was granted and, by successive enactments, the amount that might be purchased was finally in-

creased to five hundred acres. Meanwhile, a demand for the establishment of poorhouses in other counties began to develop and in 1843 the county courts of the state were empowered to buy one hundred and sixty acres of land each for the use of a poor farm. Provision was later made for larger farms and at the present time a total of three hundred and twenty acres may be bought for this purpose. Two counties, however, have poor farms in excess of this acreage but most of them are far below. The number of almshouses has grown and in 1918 there were one hundred of them within the state. A few of the rural counties have found it unnecessary to establish any and St. Louis county makes use of the St. Louis City Infirmary.

The administration of both public outdoor relief and the county almshouses has suffered greatly from lack of competent management. It was estimated in 1897 that the annual amount expended by the counties on outdoor relief was approximately one hundred and eighty thousand dollars. A considerable portion of this sum was paid to the county physicians; some went to other physicians aiding the poor; there were a large number of regular physicians; and temporary relief was also given. An investigation conducted by the Missouri School of Social Economy in 1909 and 1910 revealed a very demoralizing situation and partly in consequence of this revelation the Legislature of 1913 passed a law requiring all outdoor relief of ten dollars or over paid by public officials to be reported to the State Board of Charities.

The large cities were not granting outdoor relief but in 1897 the Legislature made provision for a charity board in cities having from fifty to one hundred thousand inhabitants. These boards were authorized to care for the poor in their homes, to receive donations and to disburse public funds. The law was amended in 1901 and further amended in 1913 when a Board of Social Welfare was established. In practice, the law applied only to the city of St. Joseph, which now grants outdoor relief through this public body. The almshouse superintendent is appointed by the county courts and, owing to political considerations and little appreciation of the

need of trained service, almshouse conditions have been far from ideal. An investigation of almshouses by Professor Charles A. Ellwood in 1903-04 revealed grave abuses and shortcomings and in 1912 a study by W. T. Cross, then Secretary, State Board of Charities and Corrections, and Miss Charlotte B. Forrester, confirmed the former findings. Some progress has meanwhile been made through organization of an association of infirmary officials which holds annual meetings for the discussion of the administration and problems of almshouses. Such improvements as have recently been made are due to the functions of two public bodies; first, the State Board of Charities, which is authorized to inspect the almshouses of the state and which may make suggestions in regard to the construction of buildings and other matters of importance; second, the County Board of Visitors, an unpaid body of individuals appointed by the circuit court, which also inspects almshouses and other public charities and makes suggestions for their improvement. Nearly all of the counties are now provided with county boards of visitors, the law authorizing their appointment having been enacted in 1903.

The relation between poverty and disease is very close. Accordingly, the state has instituted a program of medical relief. The first public hospital in Missouri was authorized by state law in 1831 and was established in St. Louis. As early as 1841 overseers and sextons of graveyards were required to report interments to the register of the city of St. Louis and physicians to make weekly reports of deaths, specifying the name, disease, age and residence of the diseased. A general birth and death registration law, however, was not enacted until 1909. These laws require considerable information concerning each case reported but facts about the father may not be registered in case of an illegitimate birth. State-wide provision for county hospitals was authorized in 1907 and any county may purchase one hundred and sixty acres of land and use it for a hospital site.

In its effort to meet the problem of tuberculosis, the state established a sanitarium at Mount Vernon and has enacted several laws providing for county tuberculosis hospitals. One

of these laws was enacted in 1911 and a second one in 1915. So far, however, little advantage has been taken of this legislation. In the larger cities the municipal hospitals have made some provision for the care of tuberculosis. Private associations for the prevention of tuberculosis have also entered the field and promoted a campaign of education for the control and prevention of the disease.

In Missouri, as in other states, the problem of the aged and infirm veteran of the Civil war eventually appeared. In this state, moreover, there were a large number of men who had fought on the southern side. A number of private individuals formed an association and in 1891 founded a home for ex-Confederate soldiers. Appeals were made to the state to take over this work, which was done in 1897, and since that time the institution has been operated by the state. There was a parallel movement for the care of the Federal soldiers for whom the mayor and citizens of St. James founded an institution in 1893. Incorporation papers were secured the following year and a formal dedication occurred in 1896. The next year the state also took over this home and has made provision for its inmates ever since. The soldiers and sailors honorably discharged from the service of the United States, if in indigent circumstances, may be admitted to the Federal Home and, under certain conditions, wives and widows of soldiers are also entitled to admission. According to the last biennial report of the State Board of Charities, the average daily population in 1918 of the Confederate Soldiers' Home was 301 and of the Federal Soldiers' Home, 179.

THE INSANE AND FEEBLE-MINDED.

Before 1847 no systematic provision was made for the insane but in that year a legislative act was passed providing for a state institution. This was established at Fulton and opened in 1851. The institution was placed under the management of a board which was appointed by the Governor with the advice and consent of the Senate. A general plan covering the handling of insane was developed in 1855 and

provision was also made for pay patients at the state institutions. It was further provided that the counties should bear the expense of clothing inmates, pay the cost of transportation and burial expenses and should contribute to the state a sum of $2.50 per week for each inmate sent to the institution. A more liberal compensation is now required of the counties, a situation which in several instances has resulted in preventing certain counties from sending their insane to the state institutions. Frequently efforts have been made to bring about a system of complete state care and as early as 1870 it was claimed that many of the counties either sent depreciated warrants or were in arrears in paying for their insane. Although the institution at Fulton had a population in 1870 of 307 and during the year cared for about 450, the estimate of the number of insane in Missouri at that time was 1,263. The demand for a new institution resulted in the establishment of an asylum at St. Joseph. The institution was opened in 1874. An attempt made by the superintendent of the original asylum to estimate the number of insane cared for with the state in 1878 brought out the following facts: The two state institutions held 627 inmates, the St. Louis asylum established in 1869 had about 300 inmates; 124 were tabulated in the almshouses of eighty counties and 123 known cases were unprovided for. The facts for thirty-four additional counties were not secured. It appears from this survey that more than one thousand insane were at that time within the walls of some institution and that considerable progress had been made in caring for this unfortunate group. It became necessary, however, to establish two additional state institutions, one at Nevada and the other at Farmington. The census of 1890 revealed 3,417 insane persons within the state. Many of these were in the almshouses of the state, some of them in the St. Louis Infirmary. However, the enlargement of the four state institutions and the St. Louis City Sanitarium absorbed the greater part of the insane population and at the end of 1918 their combined population was 7,416. It appears that the great bulk of the insane are now being cared for in these in-

stitutions. A few are still cared for in local almshouses and some are being sent to private sanatoria. At one time the St. Louis Sanitarium received state aid, but these appropriations were later discontinued.

The public attitude toward the insane has gradually changed. The idiots and lunatics formerly confined in the St. Louis workhouse were later transferred to the sanitarium, while the counties gradually recognized the fact that better care could be given by the large hospitals than they could provide directly. Furthermore, the words "insane asylum" fell into disfavor and in 1901 the state changed the name of these institutions to "hospitals for the insane," thereby emphasizing the medical aspect of the problem. In 1910 a uniform classification of insanity was agreed upon by the heads of the four state hospitals and, in recent years, improved methods of treating insanity have been provided as well as better recreational activities for the inmates. The chief present obstruction in the way of the successful handling of the insane is the frequent change of the superintendents of the hospitals and of other important officials.

The Superintendent of State Hospital No. 1, in his report of 1871, spoke of the need of a school for idiots and feeble-minded. Some of these defectives were being received at that institution but could not be properly cared for. The federal censes of 1890 reported 3,881 feeble-minded in Missouri and still no definite provision was made by the state for them. Not until 1899 was the Colony for the Feeble-minded and Epileptics authorized by the State Legislature. The institution was opened at Marshall in 1901 and has been greatly enlarged since that time and at the end of the year 1918 enrolled 565 inmates. This figure represents somewhat less than ten per cent. of the feeble-minded of the state. However, a considerable number are, at present, found in our jails, almshouses and reformatories. A clinic for the examination of defective children was established by the St. Louis Board of Education in 1914 and a similar clinic works under the direction of the juvenile court in Kansas City. A small number of examinations have been required by the

St. Louis juvenile court. In both St. Louis and Kansas City special classes have been provided by the boards of education for feeble-minded and backward children and in 1919 the State Legislature made provision for the establishment of special classes in districts throughout the state provided ten or more children could be found within a district. Attempts have been made in recent years to establish a second colony for the feeble-minded and to separate the epileptics from the feeble-minded but both measures have failed. In a similar way the bills of the Missouri Children's Code Commission, providing for the establishment of a state bureau for mental defectives and for the mandatory colonization of dependent and delinquent feeble-minded, failed. The provision for the feeble-minded in this state is still far from adequate.

CHILD WELFARE.

Problems of child welfare, although they have received much more attention in recent years than formerly, were not entirely neglected then. Deaf and dumb children were the first group to receive attention and as early as 1831 the clerks of the circuit courts in the districts throughout the state were requested to inquire into the number of deaf and dumb in each county and to report to the Secretary of State; and a few years later provision was made for a quadrennial census of the blind, deaf and dumb, the sheriff of each county being authorized to do the work. In 1843 an act was passed entitling deaf persons to the enjoyment of benefits of the deaf and dumb asylum at Carondelet. The School for the Blind, however, was not authorized until 1851. Nevertheless, provision was made before this time for the education of both blind and deaf. Charity subjects were to be granted eighty dollars per year for education and a total of one hundred and sixty dollars was allowed each person, but the annual appropriation was limited to $1,200 for the blind and $2,000 for the deaf. As a result, only a few persons might be accommodated. Later, the individual allowance was increased and the age limit applied to persons was also extended. The

School for the Deaf continued to grow and in 1871 deaf and dumb persons were declared wards of the state with the privilege of remaining in the institution for a period of ten years. For those unable to pay education, board and lodging were provided. Some provision for the education of the deaf has since been made in the larger cities and several private institutions for their care and training have been established. Not until 1919 was a law passed providing for the education of the deaf in the smaller communities where only a few might be found. The law applying to the blind, deaf and feeble-minded provides that where ten or more children belonging to any one of these groups are found in a school district, the board of education of such district may establish a special class for the education of the group. These classes must be approved by the State Superintendent of Public Schools, with the advice of the superintendent of state schools for the deaf and blind. A certain amount of state aid is to be provided so that the teacher selected to instruct the special class may receive a salary large enough to insure the selection of a competent person to train the child. The law also provides that in the case of adjoining school districts collectively having ten or more such children these districts may combine to establish a special class for any one of these groups.

The work for blind children has practically paralleled that of the deaf. The School for the Blind was founded in 1850, but was operated under private auspices. State aid to the extent of $15,000 was granted, provided private citizens furnished at least $10,000. In 1855 the institution was taken over by the state and has been operated under its auspices ever since. Among the efforts to prevent blindness may be mentioned the Missouri law providing that midwives must report babies' sore eyes; however, this law alone does not meet the situation and in St. Louis a local ordinance supplements the state law. The Missouri Association for the Blind, formed in 1911, has also carried on a program for the prevention of blindness and has furthermore interested itself in obtaining better legislation.

The first legislation relating to the dependent child has been previously mentioned. The next steps taken by the state consisted of acts incorporating orphan asylums, particularly at St. Louis. The St. Louis Association of Ladies for the Relief of Orphan Children was incorporated in 1841 and the incorporation papers of a second institution begun a few years later contained the following significant clause: "Any parent whose child or children shall have relief and support or been bound out as aforesaid shall have liberty to receive such child or children upon paying to the treasurer the expense incurred." As late as 1920 one of the children's institutions refused to surrender a child to its mother because the expenses incurred in caring for the child had not been paid, and court procedure was necessary to enable the mother to obtain her child. Provision was made in 1857 for the adoption of children through the passage of a general law according to which adoption was by deed in a manner similar to the transference of real estate. After the Civil war, interest in orphans increased because of the many children left without fathers. Accordingly, a soldiers' orphans' home was established in St. Louis by private initiative. However, the state appropriated a certain amount to the institution. Later on, the state took over from a private group the Industrial Home of Orphans and Indigent Children of Missouri but in 1877 after three years' experience returned the institution to its former management. Thus ended the first experience of the state with a state institution for indigent children.

Toward the close of the century a number of new problems arose. It became necessary to legislate in regard to cruelty and neglect. Accordingly, provision was made in 1889 for turning cases of neglect and cruelty over to a society that may have been formed for the protection of such children. In 1897 permission was given the courts to take children from their parents and to place children in nonsectarian institutions or in the custody of some private individual. To protect the abandoned child, a measure was enacted enabling its custodians to adopt the child in some private family if the period of abandonment was two years

or more. About the same time, some of the child-caring agencies of other states began to send carloads of dependent children to this state and attempted to place them in family homes. Owing to the dangers confronting the people of Missouri, a law was passed requiring outside organizations to furnish guarantees to the State Board of Charities that no diseased, feeble-minded or vicious children would be brought into the state. Furthermore, if any of these children became a public charge within five years after their admittance, they were to be taken back by the organization placing them.

Meanwhile, private institutions for the care of dependent children grew up in various parts of the state and the Missouri Home Society, which cares for orphans and dependent children by placing them in private homes, was founded. However, there was no outside public plan of care and as a consequence many small dependent children were temporarily placed in the almshouses of the state where their environment was hardly uplifting or advantageous. Some way of meeting the growing pressure on philanthropy had to be devised and in 1911 the Legislature passed a Mothers' Pension law applying only to Jackson county, in which Kansas City is located. This law was the first one of its kind in the United States, preceding by a short time the well-known Illinois law on the subject. Provision for dependent children was made in St. Louis by municipal ordinance and the Board of Children's Guardians was established in 1912. The board was authorized to place children in family homes and pay for their support and it may also, under certain conditions, board children with their mothers, a form of mothers' pensions. The statewide mothers' pension law, very comprehensive in its provisions, was passed in 1917. This law is one of the few laws of the kind in the country which enables the unmarried mother to receive a pension. Efforts have been made by social workers to persuade the state to establish a state school for dependent children, but owing to the cost of such an institution it was decided to work for a Children's Bureau connected with the State Board of Charities. This effort succeeded in 1913 and the Bureau began to operate with the prospect of excellent

success when a curtailment of appropriations rendered the Bureau inactive. Since then a bill providing for a temporary state home for dependent children was passed by the Legislature, but was vetoed by the Governor. As a consequence, Missouri is still without a state-wide plan for meeting the problem. Among recent reforms, however, may be mentioned the adoption law of 1917, which abolishes the old method and substitutes in its place a plan whereby an investigation by the juvenile court and a court decree are preliminary to the actual adoption of children. In spite of the fact that hundreds of children are annually handled through the child-placing agencies and under the operation of the Mothers' Pension law, the private children's institutions of the state still have a daily population of about five thousand children, efforts to establish a system of state supervision of these agencies have so far failed, and the work of these organizations is not systematically correlated nor are the institutions standardized according to any state plan.

Juvenile delinquents were handled in the old way until 1901 when a law was passed providing for a probation officer in St. Louis. This officer was to be nominated by the State Board of Charities, but his appointment depended on approval by the St. Louis Circuit Court. This law was repealed two years later and in its place a juvenile court law was enacted, which made definite provision for the organization of a juvenile court with probation officers. This law defined a delinquent or defective child as one under sixteen years of age. By later enactment, the age was changed to seventeen and provision was made for the establishment of juvenile courts in all counties having a population of fifty thousand or more. For a number of years the state had but six juvenile courts, but in 1913 a new measure was enacted providing for such courts throughout the state. The jurisdiction of juvenile delinquents was placed in the probate court and a number of juvenile courts were established. The constitutionality of the law was tested and the supreme court finally declared the law invalid. As a consequence, new legislation became necessary and this was enacted in 1917. In the majority of cities,

probation officers have in recent years been appointed and the methods and program of the juvenile court are being instituted. Jackson county and the city of St. Louis have made local provision for the care of the minor juvenile delinquents and the three state institutions are providing institutional care for delinquents throughout the remainder of the state. Until the advent of juvenile courts, comparatively small children were being sent from the counties to these institutions, but the development of a system of probation has lessened the tendency to do this. Furthermore, in 1919, neglected children were prohibited by law from being sent to the state institutions. Young boys, fifteen and sixteen years old, have from time to time been sent to the penitentiary for such crimes as burglary, grand larceny and arson and in recent years a boy of fifteen was sent to that institution to serve a twenty-five-year sentence. Increased protection is being afforded young girls through the changes effected in the age of consent which was raised in 1913 to fifteen years. An additional measure is the contributory delinquency law passed in 1907, which provides for the punishment of persons contributing to the delinquency of a child. Owing to the fact that cases coming under this law are tried in other courts than the juvenile court, little success has been attained in convicting offenders against the child.

Before the Civil war the negro was not educated and was prohibited from receiving instruction in school. In 1868, however, provision was made for an extension of the educational system so as to include the negroes and in the large cities a well-developed plan was finally instituted. Previous to 1905, efforts to obtain a compulsory attendance law were defeated, but in that year the measure was passed, although with many exceptions and provisos. For example, children were not required to attend school if their labor was necessary for the support of the family, nor if the parent was unable to provide clothing. These exceptions have been removed, thus strengthening the laws relating directly to child labor. The law of 1919 strengthens the compulsory education law and places obligations on the boards of education throughout

the state for the education of its children. It assists materially in the enforcement of the child labor law. The first legislation to prevent the exploitation of working children was enacted in 1905. Subsequent amendments have made the Missouri law an advanced piece of legislation compared with that of many other states. However, numerous amendments were proposed by the Missouri Children's Code Commission in order to bring the law in harmony with the best standards in respect to child labor legislation.

In order that the child welfare legislation of the state might be properly co-ordinated an attempt was made by the social workers to secure an appointment of a Children's Code Commission. Such a commission consisting of members of the State Legislature was authorized in 1915, but no appropriations being available for the carrying on of the work, the attempt failed. Subsequently, a voluntary commission of twenty-three citizens was appointed by the Governor. This commission studied the laws of the state and the conditions relating to child welfare and presented a report to the Legislature of 1917 embodying its conclusions. Over forty bills were advocated, but only ten of these were enacted into law. In 1917 a second Children's Code Commission was appointed in a similar way and this group extended the investigations and the work of the previous commission. It reported fifty-one bills of which twenty were enacted into law. About one-half of the legislation advocated by the commission has been realized, but many important measures advocated were defeated.

BOARDS OF SUPERVISION AND WELFARE.

In Missouri the various state institutions were each originally placed under the control and management of a board selected by the government. This board met regularly but only occasionally and received little or no compensation outside of their expenses. In many other states some supervisory body had been established and, due to the influence of such action, the State Legislature in 1872 authorized

a State Board of Guardians. This board was to consist of four persons appointed by the Governor; it was empowered to employ a secretary and its chief function consisted in the investigation of the public charitable, reformatory and penal institutions of the state. Two years later the law was repealed and not until 1897 was the present system of a State Board of Charity finally established. This board consists of six persons, two of whom may be women, appointed by the Governor. The board may employ a secretary and assistants and is empowered to investigate the whole system of public charitable and correctional institutions. One of its first acts consisted of an investigation of the almshouses of the state. The board has been gradually vested with increased power and in addition to its advisory functions has many administrative responsibilities.

In 1913 the state authorized an administrative commission to take charge of the work for the adult blind. A workshop was established in St. Louis and since then branches of the service have been established in Kansas City and Jefferson City. The original appropriation was contingent on the donation by the citizens of the state of an equal amount but the last Legislature made no such provision.

No accounts of boards of administration would be complete without reference to the Kansas City Board of Public Welfare, a municipal institution established in that city in 1910. The board is appointed by the mayor and selects its superintendent and other officials. The philanthropic work of the city is all co-ordinated under the direction and supervision of this board. Many lines of activity have been carried on, including the investigation of social problems of the city, the operation of a Legal Aid Bureau, municipal quarry, municipal farm and women's reformatory, the censorship of amusements, factory inspection, the parole of minor offenders, charities endorsement and the better development of social agencies. This board was the first of its kind in the country and its development has been watched with great interest by social workers everywhere. Like other municipal institutions, its efficiency has suffered somewhat

from the perversity of politicians. Nevertheless, it has accomplished much good and has given an impetus to the establishment of such boards throughout the land.

AGENCIES FOR THE PROMOTION OF SOCIAL REFORM.

The enactment of social legislation and the improvement of social conditions have been greatly accelerated in recent years because of the development and the activities of numerous social agencies. The State Conference for Social Welfare, organized in 1901, is constantly promoting a social program. The Children's Code Commission has been responsible for much beneficial legislation. The National Public Welfare League, with headquarters at Kansas City, the Missouri Association for the Blind, Missouri Consumers' League, Missouri Social Hygiene Society, State Board of Charities and Corrections and the Central Council of Social Agencies, of St. Louis, are all interested in social improvement and are laboring for better legislation or better administration of existing agencies. In addition to these organizations, there are women's clubs and special societies that deal with particular phases of social reform.

Historical Notes and Comments.

This issue of the *Review* contains the first part of the Missouri Centennial articles, the remainder will be published in the January, 1920, number. The length of the contributions submitted prevented their inclusion in one issue, as had been planned; some of the authors requested more time for compilation and revision. Individual comment by the editor on the character of the articles submitted is unnecessary. These contributions are all from eminent authors. A glance at the brief contributor-sketches makes this evident.

The purpose of these articles is to summarize Missouri's century of growth along historical, economic, and social lines. Such a summary is necessarily incomplete, but if the general features are accurately delineated, the main purpose has been accomplished. Such a summary makes available to all those historical facts that are fundamental to a better appreciation of our annals. Material is now freely available for those county centennial organizations that desire to commemorate Missouri's one hundred years of statehold.

Owing to the enlarged size of this number of the magazine, several serial articles were omitted. Among these were the two by Dr. Wm. G. Bek and by Major John N. Edwards. These will be resumed in April at the latest, and if space permits, they will be continued in the January issue.

COMMENTS.

"*The Missouri Historical Review* is fine."

Judge John A. Oliphant,
Tulsa, Oklahoma,
May, 1920.

"Allow me to congratulate you on the April-July number of *The Missouri Historical Review*. Personally I think it exceeds many of the others in point of timely interest."

W. Earle Dye, Editor,
Richmond Missourian,
Richmond, Missouri,
May 15, 1920.

"I received the October and January copies of *The Missouri Review* for which I thank you most heartily. The *Review* interested me greatly, especially the article by Dr. William Bek. I wish to subscribe to the *Review* and also obtain a complete set of same."

Frank Garlichs,
Brooklyn, New York,
February 24, 1920.

"I greatly appreciate your good letter of March 9, together with enclosures, and I shall look forward with pleasure to receipt of additional matter. The two copies of the *Review* reached me and I find them filled with most excellent matter."

Hon. W. I. Nelson, Congressman,
8th Congressional Dist. of Mo.,
Washington, D. C.,
March 16, 1920.

"I thank you very much for the copy of *The Missouri Historical Review* which I have received and read with pleasure. I could well believe that so excellent a publication should have the appreciation in Missouri as shown by the very material increase in its circulation during the last four years. I am indeed glad to affiliate with The State Historical Society of Missouri and be a reader of your magazine."

H. F. Woods, News Editor,
Standard Statistics Co.,
New York City,
February 26, 1920.

"The January number of *The Missouri Historical Review* has failed to reach me. I would regret losing a single copy, as I have every number in my file. I prize the *Review* very much. Will it be possible to furnish me with another copy?"

Solon McCoy,
Bennett, Idaho,
April 6, 1920.

"I have been very much interested in the articles in *The Missouri Historical Review* entitled "Early Days on Grand River and Mormon War."

William E. Connelly, Secretary,
Kansas Historical Society,
Topeka, Kansas,
May 24, 1920.

Missouri Centennial Celebrations

In commemoration of the centennial of the passage of the Missouri Enabling Act on March 6, 1820, historical programs were presented in a number of Missouri schools and an elaborate Missouri pageant was presented in Columbia. The public schools of Holden, Lee's Summit, Otterville and Tipton held exercises during March, which were very successful. This letter from Prof. C. O. Williams, Superintendent of the Tipton Public Schools, is indicative of the new historical spirit that is being aroused over the State:

Tipton, Missouri,
March 22, 1920.

Mr. Floyd C. Shoemaker,
Columbia, Missouri.

Dear Mr. Shoemaker:

I wish to express my personal appreciation of your interest in our Missouri Centennial Program. I thank you for your suggestions and for the song. Do you wish the copy of the song returned?

Our program was largely attended and proved quite interesting to those present. Briefly outlined, our program was as follows:

History of Tipton.....Miss Schricker
Missouri Song.....Eleanor Adams (7th grade)
Lives of Great Missourians.....Eighth grade children
Missouri's Fight for Statehood..M. C. Hudson
100 Years of Politics.....Prof. C. H. McClure

Your book, Missouri's Hall of Fame, was used as a basis for the study of the lives of great Missourians.

It seems quite likely that the women of Tipton will take up a study of Missouri institutions as a result of having received this start.

Gratefully yours,
C. O. Williams.

Other communities and counties are already planning Centennial celebrations and in many instances are perfecting organizations for establishing county historical societies. The latter is most commendable. Such societies can be made to play a very useful service, even aside from their primary purpose of collecting local history. They can serve as social forces between the country and the small city. This has been successfully performed by the Adair County Historical Society, at Kirksville, Mo. Plans are under way to establish similar societies in Macon, southern Jackson, Jasper, Johnson, Livingston and Nodaway county. Clark county effected the organization of an historical society on January 22, 1920. The following extract is copied from the *Clark County Courier*, of Kahoka, Mo. (Jan. 30, 1920):

Jan. 22, 1920, may be classed along with the eventful and important days in the annals of Clark County, for on that date the Historical Society was organized and legally established as a vital force and element in the affairs of the district. Sufficient numbers who are heartily at work in the cause assembled in the business hall of C. T. Llewllyn and assumed the power of directing the transactions of the assembly, and the mission of the hour were acted upon and legally adopted. The following chief actions of the meeting are here recorded: President of the Society, S. S. Ball, Editor, *Gazette-Herald;* Vice-President, E. Hitt Stewart; Treasurer, C. T. Llewllyn; Secretary, Jasper Blines.

The Society has appointed a committee to solicit and promote membership and has elected a number of honorary members from out of the county.

The Society has a worthy mission and its labors will be extensive and of vital importance to the entire county. The county Society will work in mutual interest with the State Historical Society in collecting data of our citizens and the settlement of the district. The records will include histories of families, geology and other science, collecting of old books, papers and relics of historic value and other articles.

Missouri now has five county historical societies located in Adair, Clark, Howell, Lafayette and Pike counties. The Missouri Historical Society and The St. Louis Catholic Historical Society are located in St. Louis, the Missouri Valley Historical Society in Kansas City, and the Missouri Baptist Historical Society in Liberty.

No more fitting or permanent memorial of Missouri's Centennial could be left to posterity than an active local historical society. Governor Frederick D. Gardner points to this in his letter of May 4, 1920, which was published over the State. Following is a copy of Governor Gardner's letter:

Jefferson City, Missouri,
May 4, 1920.

Dear Sir:

The year 1920 is Missouri's preliminary centennial year. One hundred years ago on March 6, 1820, the Missouri Enabling Act was signed by President James Monroe. On May 1, 2, 3, 1820, Missouri elected forty-one delegates to frame a State constitution. These "Fathers of Missouri" met in St. Louis on June 12, 1820, and on July 19, 1820, adopted a State constitution. A State election was held on August 28, 1820, Missouri's first State General Assembly met on the 18th of the following month, her first State Governor took the oath of office on September 19th, and the great Barton and Benton were elected her United States Senators on October 2nd. State officers, State courts, and State representatives in Congress, superseded the old Territorial regime. A year later, on August 10, 1821, Missouri was formally admitted into the Union.

In view of these historic facts, permit me to suggest to you, as a member of The Missouri Centennial Committee of One Thousand of The State Historical Society, the advisability of your county taking under serious consideration this year plans for commemorating Missouri's preliminary centennial of Statehood. By co-operating with and enlisting the support of the civic, commercial and patriotic organizations in each community, your county should easily be enabled to hold a local celebration. Public meetings, addresses, school exercises, homecomings, and pageants, lend themselves to appropriate observance of the occasion. Each Missouri county could and should do proper honor to our State's One Hundredth Birthday.

The organization of a county historical society would be a most fitting permanent memorial if you do not already have one. Such an institution would be the nucleus of a new patriotism born of that revered heroism of our pioneers—the State founders and the State makers of Missouri. If housed in fitting quarters, it could also be the home and memorial to Missouri's veterans of the late war. The marking of historic places in your county could be another way of appropriately honoring your annals.

For data on our general State History, suggestions regarding your celebration, you will find the Secretary of The State Historical Society at Columbia, Mr. Floyd C. Shoemaker, at your service. There is reason to hope that preliminary centennial preparations will be under way in each Missouri county this summer.

Sincerely,

Frederick D. Gardner,

Governor of The State of Missouri.

Two state-wide centennial celebrations are now being planned for 1921. The State Fair Board proposes to hold a one or two weeks celebration at Sedalia in August, 1921. The citizens of St. Louis are planning a large celebration next summer. The pageant will probably be the main feature in both celebrations. Other Missouri cities will probably hold worth-while observances that will be more than local celebrations in scope and attendance.

ANNUAL MEETING OF THE STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

The sixteenth annual meeting of the Society was held in Columbia on March 25, 1920. President Walter B. Stevens, of St. Louis, opened the meeting and read a most interesting address on "Missouri Taverns," which will be published in the January *Review*. The reports on behalf of the Executive Committee and the Society's Treasurer were made by the Secretary. The report of the Finance Committee was read by Dean Isidor Loeb.

The following Trustees were re-elected for a term of three years, ending 1921: Wm. C. Brechenridge, of St. Louis; George A. Mahan, of Hannibal; Wm. R. Painter, of Carrollton; H. S. Sturgis, of Neosho; Jonas Viles, of Columbia; E. M. Violette, of Kirksville; J. B. White, of Kansas City; R. M. White, of Mexico, and Walter Williams, of Columbia.

The following Trustees were re-elected for a term of three years ending 1922: Philip Ganz, of Macon; J. West Goodwin, of Sedalia; Louis Houck, of Cape Girardeau; Isidor Loeb, of Columbia; C. H. McClure, of Warrensburg; G. W.

Martin, of Brookfield; Rollin J. Britton, of Kansas City, and John Rothensteiner, of St. Louis.

Hon. Elmer O. Jones, of La Plata, was elected a Trustee *vice* the late Judge John F. Phillips, of Kansas City, and Forrest C. Donnell, of St. Louis, *vice* the late Wm. L. Thomas, of Maplewood, for the term expiring in 1920.

Prof. E. M. Violette nominated His Excellency, Minister Plenipotentiary M. Maurice Casenave, of the French Republic, to honorary membership in the Society. The Secretary was instructed to record the unanimous vote of the Society. His Excellency made some brief remarks in appreciation of the honor conferred.

The report of the Secretary showed that the membership of the Society totaled 1,258, divided into 1 honorary, 4 ex-officio, 10 corresponding, 546 editorial members, and 697 annual members. This indicated an increase of 214 annual members during the previous year, a net increase in one year of 44 per cent.

The Society's library included 80,000 titles and 100,000 official duplicates. The newspaper department had reached a total of 10,300 bound volumes. This is an increase of 41 per cent. in three years. The Society receives 443 current Missouri newspapers, 60 Missouri magazines, and 33 Missouri college periodicals—a total of 564.

The report showed that the Society's work was rapidly progressing in the photostatic reproduction of old Missouri newspapers in the Library of Congress and in the preservation by silk-process covering of the Society's valuable file of the *Missouri Intelligencer*, the first country newspaper in Missouri. The manuscript of the Journal of the Missouri Constitutional Convention of 1875 was ready for the printer and would be published by the Society late in this year. The report closed with a summary of the Society's war activities, remarks on the enlarged library staff, and comments on the last state appropriation.

At the meeting of the Executive Committee held in the afternoon, the following officers of the Society were elected for a term of three years, ending in 1922: President, Walter

B. Stevens, of St. Louis; vice-presidents, George A. Mahan, of Hannibal, Louis Houck, of Cape Girardeau, Cornelius Roach, of Kansas City, Louis T. Golding, of St. Joseph, Walter S. Dickey, of Kansas City, Albert M. Clark, of Richmond; treasurer, R. B. Price, of Columbia.

Following adjournment of the annual meeting, the members took luncheon at the Daniel Boone Tavern. The walls of the dining room were decorated with large United States, French, and Missouri State flags, and the tables were decorated with small silk flags of the United States and the French Republic. These decorations were obtained through the courtesy of the Assistant Secretary of State, Hon. Breckenridge Long.

Hon. N. T. Gentry, of Columbia, was chairman of the afternoon, and His Excellency, Minister Plenipotentiary, M. Maurice Casenave, of the French Republic, was the Society's guest of honor. Monsieur Casenave delivered an historical address on the "Influence of the Valley of the Mississippi on the Development of Modern France," and Hon. Elmer O. Jones spoke on "Cornbread and Bacon." A complete account of the day and of the "Missouri Pageant"* given that evening is found in the following account by Mr. Walter Ridgeway, formerly editor of *The Fayette* (Mo.) *Advertiser.*

MISSOURI ONE HUNDRED YEARS OLD.

On March 6, 1920, the Enabling Act was passed. Visualizing the dramatic and picturesque events of the history of these one hundred years and of the eighty or more years preceding, which contributed to the making of the first state born of the virgin Valley of the Mississippi in the West, "Missouri, a Masque and Pageant," was presented in Columbia, Missouri, by over three hundred people, representing the faculty of the State University, the town of Columbia, the public schools, and Stephens and Christian Colleges. The Pageant was written by members of the Parchment Club of the English Department of the University of Missouri. The pageant was the culmination of a day of festivities at the annual meeting of the State Historical Society.

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*Note: Printed copies of the "Missouri Pageant" can be obtained from this society. The Pageant could be adapted to any community.

The chief address at the noonday meeting held at the Daniel Boone Tavern was delivered by His Excellency, M. Maurice Casenave, Minister Plenipotentiary in the French diplomatic service, whose American address is New York City. Monsieur Casenave was sent to the United States during the war to protect France's financial operations prior to the entering of this country into the war. He is now called the "Director General of French Activities in the United States" and he was secured as the speaker for the annual meeting through the influence of Hon. Breckenridge Long, Third Assistant Secretary of State. Monsieur Casenave reviewed the relationships of France to America in the colonial days in the establishment of French settlements in the Mississippi Valley, and later of the fraternal relationships growing out of the revolutionary spirit in both countries resulting in the final sale of the Louisiana Territory to the United States by Bonaparte. He told dramatically how the two republics later shouldered arms and fought together on a new frontier when the republican governments and institutions were endangered by monarchism. He assured America that France would repudiate none of her financial obligations to her sister republic.

Hon. N. T. Gentry was toastmaster at the annual luncheon held at the Daniel Boone Tavern. He spoke briefly of the early history of the state and of Columbia's and Boone county's part in the early history. Hon. E. O. Jones, of Macon county, gave a humorous and interesting address on the subject, "Corn Bread and Bacon."

The pageant was arranged as the first of a series which will be held in the State in celebration of the many spectacular events in the territorial and state histories involving the governments of Spain, France, England, and the United States.

The theme of the pageant is beautifully expressed in the legend of the great state seal, "Salus Populi Suprema Lex Esto," and the pageant itself presents in dramatic form a series of symbolic and realistic scenes representing the working out of the thought that the safety and welfare of the people should be the supreme law of the land.

The pageant is an epilogue and five episodes, written in order by Miss Myrta Ethel McGinnis, Thaddeus R. Brenton, Paul M. Fulcher and Marion E. Ryan, Miss Minnie M. Brashear, and Ida A. Jewett. The masque was written by Miss Vivian H. Bresnehan and Ralph G. Taylor. The "Song of Missouri Waters" was written by Miss Mariam Thurman.

In the prologue the Spirit of the Missouri River inquires of Time:

What means this darkened tapestry
On which thou gazest? What art thou?

Time:

I am the Weaver of the Ages;
This is my tapestry of years.
I weave the destinies of human kind into its fabric.
Not often is it granted men to see the pattern that I weave
And even then but dimly,
But who art thou, bold spirit, thus to question me?

The Spirit of the Missouri River:

I am the Spirit of the broad Missouri.
My waters flow by hill and valley through a virgin land
Rich in the wealth of nature. Forests fringe my banks.
The red man hunts within the forest shades,
Or floats upon my flood in his canoe.
The changing seasons clothe my banks with tender green
of spring,
Rich foliage of summer, autumn's wealth of hue,
Winter's dark somberness and snowy purity.
From out of the hills flow other streams to me;
I send my waters ever on their way
To join the Mississippi, Father of Waters.
Strange tales he whispers me of legends told by eastern
streams,
Of men, too, fair and tall-white gods they seem—
Who come over mightier waters in winged ships like great
white birds
To seek for treasures of the sea and land.
Tell me, O Time, shall I behold these pale-faced strangers?

Time:

As yet, O River of the Cloudy Waters,
Spirits of Wood and Hill and Stream frolic upon thy banks
Untroubled by the red man, Nature's child.
But yet a little while and I can see
The coming of the stranger to thy stream.
Sometimes he dreams of gold, and finds it not;
Sometimes he comes in somber robe, bringing the Cross;
Sometimes he bears away rich furs and ore of lead.
And though he merely halts, and tarries not,
Still with his passing I shall weave, dimly as yet,
Into my darkened tapestry of years
The spirit of the mighty state that is to come.
I see the coming presently of those
Who seek not gold, or other treasures they may bear away;

They come to build them homes, to found a commonwealth;
Still others join them, makers of the future state.
Two flags I see that come and pass away;
A new tri-color follows with its stars and stripes,
The standard of a young democracy.
Farmsteads and villages and cities I behold,
Broad fields and busy factories and shops,
Churches and schools erected everywhere.
Then shall I weave into my fabric's plan
The figure of a state but newly crowned,
Whose watchword is the welfare of her own.
Even when I see the coming of a war
In which Missouri's sons shall bear them well,
Followed by a more dreadful civil strife—
Hunting of brother by brother, bitterness—
Still shall I weave my pattern, for I know
That though the people's safety is endangered for a time—
Yet it must be the final shaping force
Of the great Commonwealth.
Beyond the ending of the civil strife
I see prosperity and health and happiness.
But when a final test of blood and fire,
Greater than any other test, shall come,
Missouri will send forth her sons to uphold
The welfare of all peoples.

Ceaselessly do I weave my tapestry of years.
The time has not yet come when men may see the fabric that I weave.
Perhaps the pattern may not ever be revealed save in rare glimpses;
Yet men know that ever fuller, richer grows the plan.
I weave the destinies of a mighty state
Whose people's welfare is her law supreme.

The Spirit of Gold enters, dancing alluringly, and beckoning to a band of Spaniards. As the Spaniards enter, and eagerly approach the dancing figure, she disappears with a mocking laugh. The Spaniards cross the stage wearily and go out. French priests and monks then enter and pass slowly across the stage. Behind them come hunters, trappers, and fur traders. Lead miners follow. As these groups are crossing the stage, a faint light reveals the Spirit of Missouri, as yet but dimly woven into the tapestry of years.

The first episode pictures the founding of Sainte Genevieve in the year 1735 by Phillipe Renault, Father Dennepin and others.

The second episode gives the coming of Daniel Boone, the transfer of Upper Louisiana Territory in 1804.

The third episode portrays the passage of the Missouri Compromise by Congress, the arrival of the Independence, the first steamboat to thread the Missouri River channel, at Franklin in Howard county, the very heart of the Missouri territory. When the news of the compromise arrives at Franklin by courier, Nathaniel Patten, editor of the *Missouri Intelligencer and Boonslick Advertiser*, the first newspaper published west of St. Louis, asks to have the letter read announcing that Missouri is to be a state.

The fourth episode features the Mexican war, Doniphan's Expedition and the Battle of Sacremento Pass. The fifth episode shows realistically the outbreak of the Civil War with all of its domestic heartrending tragedies in "Order Number Eleven" and guerilla warfare. The last scene of this episode is laid in Columbia, Missouri, in the election of 1870 and the beginning of a new era in the state's development.

The masque told the story of the development of the state from the Civil War to the present day and of the coming of all nations of the earth to St. Louis during the Louisiana Purchase Exposition in 1904. Democracy appeals to Missouri when the great European struggle overtook the world to send her sons forth to help make the world safe, but Prejudice warned her to keep her sons from the desolate pathway of destruction. Missouri heeds not Prejudice and sends her sons forth to a glorious victory. Then speaks the Spirit of the Mississippi:

> For all wounds time brings healing, old Time the physician
> Even for war-scars.
> Already Missouri, in moment of triumph doffing her war
> panoply,
> Throws all her strength into labors of peace.
> 'Tis well that strife be forgotten, but may she forget not
> The new vision of duty learned in war-travail.
> As in the old days the sons of Missouri,
> Gave their lives freely to conquer the wilderness,
> To leave their children law as a heritage,
> So now the youth of a new generation
> Have proved themselves worthy of the great tradition.
> Though faint and far came the echoes of conflict,
> They heard the summons, and, quick to obey it,
> Scorning to dwell in unshared security,
> Poured out their life's treasure for mankind's ransom;

With their blood they wrote a new creed for Missouri,
The creed of world fellowship.
They held high the torch that America lighted
To beacon the way to new civilization
When the safety of man
Shall be the law of all nations.

—Walter Ridgeway,
Columbia, Missouri.

KANSAS CITY, THE HEART OF AMERICA.

In the January (1920) issue of the *Review* (pp. 268f.) comment was made regarding the great and lasting work that had been accomplished by the Liberty Memorial Association of Kansas City. Reference was made to those public spirited men and women who were conspicuous in the leadership of the campaign for funds. These should also have been mentioned, according to Mr. R. A. Long, Chairman of the Liberty Memorial Association: Mr. J. C. Nichols, Mr. B. A. Parsons, Mr. Jos. M. Bernardin, and Mr. Howard McCutcheon, vice-chairman of the campaign.

ST. LOUIS COUNTY HISTORY.

The Clayton *Watchman Advocate* began the publication of a history of St. Louis county early in 1920. This valuable historical contribution has been continuing for months and has aroused much interest. It is hoped that other papers in the State will take occasion to follow this example when opportunity presents itself. The exploitation of local histories is both interesting and instructive. History is no longer an academic question but a subject of benefit to all concerned.

JOURNAL OF MISSOURI'S CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION OF 1875.

In 1913 the State Historical Society presented in its sixth biennial report to the Forty-seventh General Assembly a request for funds to publish the Journal of Missouri's Constitutional Convention of 1875. The request was refused,

but every two years the request was renewed. No definite reason was given for declining to have done this important work, except the State's limited income. Finally, the Fiftieth General Assembly in 1919 made the appropriation and Governor Gardner endorsed the proposed work. The single manuscript copy of the official proceedings of the body that framed Missouri's present fundamental law, was to be published and made accessible to her judges and lawyers and to all citizens interested in that document.

The original, official Journal is in long hand. There are two volumes—one of 640 pages, and the other of 99 pages. When published, the work will be in two volumes, size of the session acts, of about 450 pages each. Besides the Journal proper, the work will include a chapter on "Missouri's Constitutions and Constitutional Conventions," by Dr. Isidor Loeb, of the University of Missouri; an article on the "Personnel of the Delegates," by Floyd C. Shoemaker; and "Biographical Sketches of the Delegates," by Miss Buel Leopard, Document Clerk in the State Historical Society. Dr. Loeb and Mr. Shoemaker are the editors. The work went to the press in June and will be finished this year.

The ravages of Time are indeed presented to the historian when he works in the field of biography. About the first of last December (1919) the Society began to compile the biographies of the delegates of the Constitutional Convention in 1875. At that time nine of the sixty-eight members were living—Dewitt C. Allen, of Liberty; Henry Boone, of Eldorado Springs; L. F. Cottey, of Edina; L. H. Davis, of Huntsville, Alabama; B. R. Dysart, of Macon; N. C. Hardin, of Louisiana; E. A. Nickerson, of Warrensburg; George H. Shields and Amos R. Taylor, of St. Louis. In May, 1920, six months later, only four survived. Henry Boone died at El Dorado Springs, December 10, 1919. Amos Riley Taylor died at San Luis Obispo, California, January 7, 1920. Lowndes Henry Davis died at Cape Girardeau, February 5, 1920. DeWitt C. Allen died at Liberty, February 12, 1920. Edmund A. Nickerson died at Warrensburg, April 21, 1920. The sole survivors of that eminent body that sat in Jefferson

City forty-five years ago to frame Missouri's present constitution are Messrs. Cottey, Hardin, Shields, and Dysart. Cottey and Hardin are seventy-four, Shields is seventy-eight, and Dysart is eighty-six. (Mr. Cottey recently deceased.)

In this connection it may be appropos to make comment on the press reports relating to the constitutional convention that have been circulated over the State. For the last five years articles have been published annually regarding the survivors of the 1875 convention. The number given is usually four and never more than five. The inaccuracy of such statements is based on inadequate investigation. In 1900, thirty-four of the delegates were living; in 1910, the number of survivors had been reduced to fifteen; the following five years witnessed the passing of five, reducing the roll to ten; only one died between 1915 and 1919; while between December, 1919, and May, 1920, five died.

The co-operation of scores of editors, and of hundreds of relatives and acquaintances of the delegates, has been enlisted in obtaining biographical data. Without such unselfish co-operation it would have been impossible to collect the large mass of material now on hand. This data relates to every important fact in the life of nearly every member of the 1875 convention. Always interesting, frequently amusing, and sometimes pitiful is this work of trailing a human life. The dead live again in spirit, their successes and failures stand out of the past as vividly as in bold-face type on the morning page. Some came forth from the convention to serve in congress, some to serve in the capacity of constable. Some had a hobby for poetry, some for poker. Some died on their native heath, some far from home. The youngest man in the convention rose the highest, the oldest passed away before fortune could favor him more.

The most difficult man to trace was Horace B. Johnson. He was a well trained lawyer, a man of much legal ability. He once held the office of Attorney-General of Missouri and later the office of assistant United States district attorney for western Missouri. He was a leading Republican, one of only four to sit in that convention. He lived and practiced

in Jefferson City, Kansas City, Leadville (Colo.) and Denver, and perhaps elsewhere. He served in the Union Army. He was cultured and had a fine library. He seems to have later incurred unpopularity. But at the time of this writing, we have not been able to learn either the date or place of birth or death; who his parents were or from whence they came; whether or not he was married or has any relatives living. Judges, lawyers, politicians; old friends and acquaintances; Congressmen and United States Senators; officials of the War Department, the Pension Bureau, and the Federal hospitals—all have been importuned without complete success. The web of his life is being gradually woven but some of the strands still are missing.

ANOTHER MISSOURIAN IN THE CABINET.

When Logan Uriah Reavis back in the eighties began his country-wide campaign of writing and speaking to make St. Louis the capital of the Nation, Missouri attracted much attention and no little ridicule. Reavis wrote books, issued pamphlets, and lectured from coast to coast, to support his conviction that Missouri was the logical center of the United States and St. Louis its predestined seat of government. The new generation has forgotten Reavis' hobby and his failure to move the Nation's political center westward, but somehow some of the author's virus must have been assimilated. Missouri failed to get the capital, so Missourians moved eastward and took partial possession in Washington.

The last son of the State to increase Missouri's plurality in President Wilson's corps of executive officials is Hon. Bainbridge Colby, of New York City, born in St. Louis in 1869. Appointed to the premier position of Secretary of State last February, Secretary Colby is the first Missourian to hold this office. Mr. Colby is one of the leading lawyers in America, has served in the New York State Assembly, has held important appointive positions, has been a candidate in several policial campaigns, and was one of the founders of the National Progressive Party in 1912.

Secretary Colby's recent appointment gives Missouri three representatives in the Cabinet, if both birth or adoption is the criterion—Alexander, Colby, and Houston. Hon. A. M. Dockery and Hon. Breckenridge Long, of Gallatin and St. Louis, respectively, should also be mentioned, owing to their high positions in the Post Office and State departments. Never before has such a Missouri complexion been stamped on the American Cabinet. The nearest approach was Lincoln's, with Montgomery Blair, formerly of St. Louis, and Edward Bates, of St. Louis, holding respectively the offices of Postmaster General and Secretary of War.

DR. JOSEPH S. HALSTEAD.

Dr. Joseph S. Halstead of Breckenridge, Missouri, celebrated his hundred and second birthday on March 4, 1920. He was born in Louisville, Kentucky, but the family removed to Lexington in 1820. He was graduated from the medical department of Transylvania University in 1840. In 1841 he came to Missouri, making the journey on horseback. He located in Richmond but returned to Kentucky the following year. For the next eighteen years he practiced his profession at Lexington. During that time he had among his patients, some of the men who have made Kentucky famous—General Morgan, Colonel John C. Breckinridge, James B. Beck and Henry Clay. In 1855, Dr. Halstead made a second trip to Missouri to buy land. The land purchased was in Caldwell county. In 1860 he gave up his practice for a time on account of failing health and moved to his farm in Missouri. Since that time, he has been a resident of Caldwell county and, until a few years ago, practiced medicine and took an active part in all the affairs of the town. In spite of his advanced age, Dr. Halstead enjoys reasonably good health.

PERSONALS.

Hon. D. C. Allen: Born at Allen's Landing, Clay county, Missouri, November 11, 1835; died at Liberty, Missouri, February 12, 1920. He was educated at William Jewell

College, graduating therefrom in 1855 with the first honors of his class. The following year he was principal of preparatory courses in the Masonic College at Lexington, Missouri. He then took up the study of law and began the practice of his profession at Liberty in 1860. In November of that year he was elected circuit attorney of the fifth judicial circuit, composed of the counties of Clay, Clinton, Caldwell, Carroll and Ray. He was removed from this office in December, 1861, because of his refusal to take the test oath of loyalty. He was a member of the constitutional convention of 1875.

Hon. Henry Boone: Born in West Virginia in 1831; died at Eldorado Springs, Missouri, December 10, 1920. He served as a Colonel in the Confederate Army during the Civil War, emigrating to Missouri at the close of that struggle. He located at Union Star, where he practiced law until 1914, when he moved to Eldorado Springs. He served one term as prosecuting attorney of DeKalb county about 1880 and was a member of the Missouri State Constitutional Convention of 1875.

Hon. Thomas J. Braswell: Born in DeKalb county, Tennessee, September 28, 1852; died at Nevada, Missouri, January 9, 1920. He came to Missouri in 1858 and was educated in the public schools and the School of Mines and Metallurgy at Rolla. Later he studied law and was admitted to the bar in 1878. He served Vernon county as school commissioner and eight years as prosecuting attorney and was its Representative in the lower house of the 31st, 32nd, 44th and 45th General Assemblies of Missouri.

Hon. John E. Carter: Born in Indiana December 21, 1836; died at Trenton, Missouri, March 19, 1920. He came to Missouri in 1856. During the Civil War he served as musician in King's Battalion and was later Captain of Co. E, 3rd E. M. In 1864 he purchased the plant of the Trenton *Grand River News*, which he conducted for about six months. In 1880 he became editor of the Trenton *Star*, giving up that position upon being elected to the office of county treasurer, which office he filled for two terms. In 1891 he was elected to the Missouri General Assembly as Representative from

Grundy county and was re-elected to this office in 1893, 1900 and 1902. He then served three more terms as treasurer of Grundy county, being elected to that office in 1904, 1906 and 1908.

Hon. Benjamin F. Clark: Born at Louisville, Kentucky, in 1853; died at St. Louis, Missouri, February 29, 1920. He came to St. Louis about 1870 and began the practice of law. During the administration of Mayor Noonan he served the city of St. Louis as attorney and from 1912 to 1916 was judge of the Court of Criminal Correction of the city of St. Louis.

Hon. Lowndes H. Davis: Born at Jackson, Missouri, December 14, 1836; died at Cape Girardeau, Missouri, February 5, 1920. He was educated at Yale University and the Louisville (Kentucky) Law School. From 1868 to 1872 he was attorney for the tenth judicial circuit. He was a member of the State Constitutional Convention of 1875 and in 1876 was elected to the General Assembly as Representative from Cape Girardeau county. In 1878 he was elected Representative in the United States Congress and later re-elected twice.

Hon. Thomas J. Delaney: Born at New Orleans, Louisiana, May 10, 1859; died at Springfield, Missouri, February 1, 1920. He was educated at St. Mary's Academy in New Orleans and at Washington University in St. Louis. He was elected city attorney of Springfield in 1882 and the following year was appointed prosecuting attorney of Greene county, serving two years. In 1886 he was appointed assistant United States attorney for the western district of Missouri. He was at various times a member of the Democratic State Central Committee and was widely known as a criminal lawyer.

Hon William Harlan Haynes: Born at Monticello, Kentucky, April 28, 1848; died at St. Joseph, January 22, 1920. He came to Missouri in 1858 and was admitted to the bar in 1870. He practiced law in DeKalb county for eleven years, locating at St. Joseph in 1881. He served three terms as a member of the lower house of the Missouri General Assembly, in 1879 as Representative from DeKalb county and

in 1885 and 1889 as Representative from Buchanan county. In 1898 he was elected State Senator and served as chairman of the senate judiciary committee and as a member of the statute revision committee. In 1914 he was appointed by Governor Major to fill a vacancy on the circuit bench, division No. 1, and held this office until the next regular election.

Levi Hopkins: Born in Crawford county, Missouri, February 16, 1867; died at Steelville, Missouri, March 7, 1920. At nine years of age he became an employe of the *Crawford Mirror*, published at Steelville, and maintained this connection until 1908. During that year he became the owner of the paper and was its editor and publisher until his death.

Hon. William Hunter: Born in Mississippi county, Missouri, September 11, 1848; died at Benton, Missouri, December 30, 1919. He worked on a farm and attended School in Mississippi county until he was 18 years of age, when he entered Jackson College at Louisiana, Missouri. After one year at college he taught school in Kentucky, entering Georgetown College in that state in 1869 and graduating therefrom in 1872. He was graduated from Harvard Law School in 1874 and began the practice of law in Cairo, Illinois, moving to Benton, Missouri, in 1880. In 1884 he was elected State Senator from the twenty-third district. He was an extensive owner of southeast Missouri land, his holdings, at the time of his death numbering 55,000 acres, valued at $3,000,000.

Hon. Charles P. Johnson: Born at Lebanon, Illinois, January 18, 1836; died at St. Louis, Missouri, May 21, 1920. He was admitted to the bar in 1857 and elected city attorney of St. Louis in 1859. In 1863 he was elected to the Missouri House of Representatives and re-elected in 1865. During this time he was a leader in House activities as a member of the committee on emancipation. He also aided in recruiting the famous 8th Missouri Volunteers and himself served for a short period as Lieutenant in the 3rd Missouri Infantry. In 1866 he was elected circuit attorney of St. Louis county and in 1871 Lieutenant-Governor. In 1881 he was elected for

the third time to the General Assembly. In his profession he was prominent as a criminal lawyer.

Hon. H. W. Johnson: Born in Pike county, Missouri, December 25, 1844; died at Montgomery City, Missouri, February 25, 1920. He studied law privately as a young man and was admitted to the bar in 1868. In 1884 he was elected to the General Assembly of Missouri as Representative from Montgomery county. Two years later he was elected State Senator from the tenth district; at that time composed of Callaway, Montgomery, St. Charles and Warren counties. Due to the death of Governor Marmaduke, Senator Johnson at this time was for several weeks acting Lieutenant-Governor of the State. In 1903 he was appointed by Governor Dockery as judge of the eleventh judicial circuit to fill out the unexpired term of Judge E. M. Hughes, deceased. He was prominent in the Democratic State organization, president of the Montgomery County Bar Association and of the Montgomery County Historical Society.

George R. Lingle: Born in Benton county, Missouri, November 19, 1842; died at Clinton, Missouri, February 16, 1920. He learned the printing business when a boy at Warsaw, Missouri, and in August, 1864, established at Sedalia a newspaper which he called the Sedalia *Advertiser*. Later he was interested in the Sedalia *Independent*, forerunner of the present Sedalia *Democrat*. In 1879 he moved to Clinton and, with his brother, purchased the *Henry County Democrat*, conducting it until 1893. Since the sale of the *Democrat* he has been principally interested in banking.

Hon. A. W. Mullins: Born in Marion county, Kentucky, April 12, 1835; died at Linneus, Missouri, February 8, 1920. He came to Missouri in 1844 and was admitted to the bar in 1857. In 1861 he enlisted as a private in the 1st Missouri Militia, but was soon afterwards appointed a Major by Governor Gamble. In the 24th General Assembly he served as Representative from Linn county and in 1877 he was appointed by President Grant as United States attorney for the western district of Missouri. For a number of years past he had been

interested in banking and at the time of his death was president of the Moore & Mullins Banking Company of Linneus.

Hon. John B. Newberry: Born in Orange county, New York, May 25, 1829; died in Bates county, Missouri, January 18, 1920. He came to Missouri in 1853 and located at Papinsville, then the county seat of Bates county. In 1862 he was enrolled in Co. F, 16th Missouri Militia and was elected Captain of the company and served until the close of the war. In 1870 he was elected sheriff and collector of Bates county and served in this capacity two terms. In 1874 he was elected to the State Senate to represent the district composed of Bates, Cass and Jackson counties. He also served in the lower house in 1889 as Representative from Bates county.

Hon. Edmond A. Nickerson: Born at Baltimore, Maryland, August 31, 1832; died at Warrensburg, Missouri, April 21, 1920. He studied law and was admitted to the bar in Maryland, practiced for a time in Virginia and later came to Missouri. He had practiced law at Warrensburg for more than fifty years. He was a member of the Missouri State Constitutional Convention of 1875.

Hon. Edwin H. Peery: Born in Grundy county, Missouri, July 27, 1856; died at Yuba City, California, January 29, 1920. He received his education at Grand River College (Gallatin), the University of Missouri and George Washington University (at that time Columbian University) in Washington, D. C. He was admitted to the bar in California and Oregon and also to the bar of the Supreme Court of the United States. In 1894 he entered the government service as examiner on the Civil Service Commission and was afterwards transferred to the Treasury Department, and thence to the Reclamation Service, always performing duties of a legal nature. Later he was assistant attorney to Brigadier-General Enoch H. Crowder when he was a supervisor in the provisional government of Cuba. At the time of his death he was district counsel at Portland, Oregon, in charge of land titles for the Reclamation Service.

Lee Price Roberts: Born at Monticello, Missouri, March 14, 1864; died at Memphis, Missouri, December 24, 1920.

He followed the work of an engineer in early life, then entered newspaper work with the purchase of the Monticello *Journal.* He spent several years as editor of this paper and in 1900 purchased the Memphis *Democrat,* continuing as editor of that paper until his death.

A. H. Rogers: Born at LeClaire, Iowa, February 2, 1858; died at Los Angeles, California, March 6, 1920. He was graduated from Harvard College with honors in 1878 and was admitted to the Kansas bar in 1889, but never undertook the practice of law. He was interested at various times in several banking projects in Kansas and Southwestern Missouri and at the time of his death was president of the Joplin *Globe* Publishing Company, the Southwest Missouri Railroad Company; vice-president of the Inter-State Grocery Company and a director of the Joplin National Bank.

John Scullin: Born in St. Lawrence county, New York, August 17, 1836; died at St. Louis, Missouri, May 28, 1920. As a young man he entered the railroad service in a minor capacity and gradually worked up to railroad construction in the late '60's. He built a considerable part of the M. K. & T. Railroad and parts of the present St. Paul, Union Pacific and Rock Island systems. In St. Louis he built up the Union Depot system of horse cars, and later of electric lines. He was president, in more recent years, of the St. Louis, Kansas City and Colorado Railroad, extending from St. Louis to Union, Missouri, now a part of the Rock Island system. He was also president of the Missouri and North Arkansas Railroad. At the time of his death he was active as chairman of the board of directors of the Scullin Steel Company and as a member of the board of directors of the Mercantile Trust Company.

Edward Campbell Simmons: Born at Frederick, Maryland, in 1839; died at St. Louis, Missouri, April 18, 1920. He came to St. Louis early in life and received a high school education in that city. After his schooling was ended he was employed by a hardware firm and a few years later became a partner in another firm. The Simmons Hardware Company was incorporated in 1874 and was the first mercantile

corporation in the United States with a capital of $200,000. The firm is now the largest dealer and manufacturer of hardware in the world. He was a director in the National Bank of Commerce of St. Louis and in 1881 served as police commissioner of that city, under Governor Crittenden.

Hon. Charles B. Swift: Born in Weakly county, Tennessee, July 31, 1851; died at Reeds Spring, Missouri, January 13, 1920. He came to Missouri in the '60's and located on a farm. For a time he taught school and was later active in the organization of two banks, one at Galena and one at Reeds Spring, being president of the latter institution at the time of his death. From 1881 to 1895 he was postmaster at Billings. He was elected to the Missouri House of Representatives from Stone county in 1919, to fill the unexpired term of Hon. Truman S. Powell, deceased.

Hon. Amos R. Taylor: Born near Owensboro, Kentucky, January 23, 1842; died at San Luis Obispo, California, January 7, 1920. He served during the Civil War in the Confederate Army as a private, Second Lieutenant and Captain. In 1865 he was admitted to the bar of Kentucky and in 1866 was elected prosecuting attorney of Daviess county, Kentucky. He came to St. Louis about 1868 and practiced law in that city until his death. He was a member of the Missouri State Constitutional Convention of 1875.

Hon. James R. Vanzandt: Born at Chattanooga, Tennessee, October 1, 1824; died at Kirbyville, Missouri, March 10, 1920. At the outbreak of the Mexican War he enlisted in the army and served in several campaigns with General Scott's division. About 1855 he moved to Missouri and when the Civil War came on he organized a Union company and served as its Captain throughout the war. In 1883 he served in the lower house of the Missouri General Assembly as Representative from Taney county.

Ada L. Wightman: Born at Bethany, Missouri, August 19, 1876; died at Bethany February 6, 1920. With her brother, the late W. S. Wightman, she founded the Bethany *Clipper* October 14, 1905, and was its editor at the time of her death.

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THE MISSOURI HISTORICAL REVIEW

Vol. XV January, 1921 No. 2

MISSOURI CENTENNIAL NUMBER

CONTENTS.

	Page
The Missouri Tavern — Walter B. Stevens	241
A Century of Missouri Agriculture — F. B. Mumford	277
A Century of Education in Missouri — C. A. Phillips	298
A Century of Missouri Politics — C. H. McClure	315
A Model Centennial Program for Local Celebrations — E. M. Violette	337
One Hundred Years of Banking in Missouri — Breckinridge Jones	345
Historical Notes and Comments	393

FLOYD C. SHOEMAKER, Editor

The Missouri Historical Review is published quarterly. The subscription price is $1.00 a year. A complete set of the REVIEW is still obtainable—Vols. 1-14, bound, $50.00; unbound, $30.00. Prices of separate volumes given on request. All communications should be addressed to Floyd C. Shoemaker, Secretary, The State Historical Society of Missouri, Columbia, Missouri.

"Entered as second-class matter at the postoffice at Columbia, Missouri, under the Act of Congress, Oct. 3, 1917, Sec. 442."

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F. B. MUMFORD, author and teacher, is a native of Michigan, where he received his collegiate education. Since 1895 he has been associated with the University of Missouri, and since 1909 has been dean of the College of Agriculture and director of the Agriculture Experiment Station. In the field of agricultural teaching and authorship, he is one of the Nation's greatest authorities on animal husbandry. During 1917-19, Dean Mumford was chairman of the Missouri Council of Defense and federal food administrator for Missouri.

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C. H. MCCLURE, author and teacher, is head of the history department in the Central Missouri State Teachers College. His hsitorical researches in local history have been in the field of politics, especially of the Benton period. Prof. McClure has done much to stimulate interest in Missouri history in his district, both in organizing local societies and in interesting others in the work of this Society. His Missouri history class is the largest in the State. He has recently published *A Centennial History of Missouri* for use in the public schools.

E. M. VIOLETTE, author and teacher, is professor of history in Washington University in St. Louis. Until this school year he held a similar position in the Northeast Missouri State Teachers College at Kirksville, with which institution he had been connected for twenty years. Prof. Violette is the author of several historical works, his latest compilation being *A History of Missouri.* He has contributed a number of valuable articles to *The Missouri Historical Review*, and has done much in the cause of State history.

BRECKINRIDGE JONES, lawyer and capitalist, is a native Kentuckian but a Missourian by adoption, having lived in this State since 1878. In 1882-84 he was a member of the Missouri House of Representatives. Mr. Jones has been an officer of the Mississippi Valley Trust Company of St. Louis, since 1890, and is now president and counsel of that institution.

THE MISSOURI TAVERN.

By Walter B. Stevens.

In the Missouri tavern the pioneer settler and the wandering stranger were first welcomed to our soil. In this early wayside inn business was transacted, religion preached, duels decided, politics discussed and frequently settled, towns founded, courts convened, and hospitality dispensed. It served as home and mart, court and forum. An institution which flourished in Missouri a century past, its romance is still preserved in story and legend. The Missouri tavern is almost extinct. Conditions produced it that will never return. It was the product of a pioneer community, peopled by an honest, fearless, hospitable folk. Ratiocination was stranger to its walls, but common sense, wit and logic there found place. The author of "The Missouri Tavern" has drawn aside the curtain of history and permitted us to share bread and board with our forefathers who made possible our heritage and who founded a "free and independent republic, by the name of 'The State of Missouri.'"

The Editor.

It is told of the wife of the first Missouri editor that no one in need of food or shelter was turned away from her door. Mrs. Sarah Charless lived to be eighty-one years of age. Her home was in Missouri more than half a century. St. Louis was notably lacking in taverns when Joseph Charless came to start the first newspaper west of the Mississippi. Strangers, whose credentials or appearances justified, were made welcome at private houses not only in St. Louis but in the homes of Missouri pioneers generally. Thus, a hundred years ago, was begotten that spirit of hospitality which became a marked characteristic of the Missourian and which gave the Missouri tavern distinction. The trait was a natural evolution of two influential elements in the pioneer population—the French who were the first families of Missouri, and the Virginians and Kentuckians who came in great numbers with the dawn of statehood.

To accommodate newcomers Mr. and Mrs. Charless opened their house, which was a large one on Fifth and Market

streets. A sign swung from a post; it bore the announcement "Entertainment by Joseph Charless." With the house was a large garden, one of the finest in St. Louis, occupying half of the block bounded by Fifth, Market, Fourth and Walnut streets. Therein fruit and vegetables were grown for a table which became famous. In a card, Mr. Charless told through the *Missouri Gazette* that at his house strangers "will find every accommodation but whiskey." Mrs. Charless was one of seven women who, with two men, organized the first Presbyterian church in Missouri.

Twelve years Joseph Charless edited and published that first Missouri newspaper. At the top of the title page of the *Missouri Gazette*, he printed in black type his slogan:— "Truth without Fear." And he lived up to it, defying Benton carrying a big stick and dodging bullets. Then he retired from journalism and devoted himself to the tavern with this announcement.

JOSEPH CHARLESS

informs the gentlemen who visit St. Louis, and travelers generally; that he has opened a house for their reception at the corner of Fifth street on the public square of St. Louis, where, by the moderate charges and attention to the comfort of his guests, he will endeavor to merit general approbation.

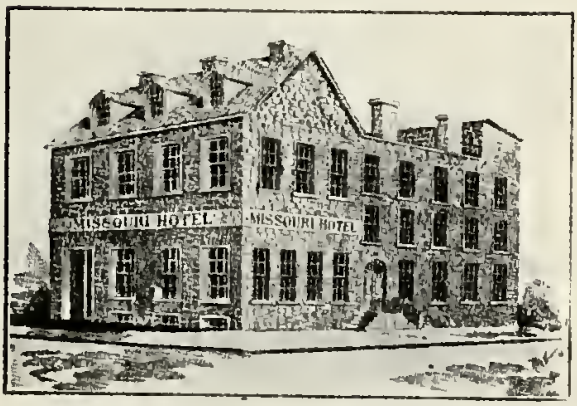
Board and lodging per week.....$4.50
Boarding only.....3.50
Do, less than a week, per meal..... .25
Lodging per night in separate bed..... .25
Where two occupy one bed..... .12½

The state paper of Missouri and Illinois will be taken at a fair discount.

The Missouri tavern was of its own class. Identified with the vocation of tavernkeeping in Missouri's pioneer days are the names of some of the best known and most highly esteemed families in the state's history. Taverns were established for "accommodation" in the true sense of the word. Immigration came in successive high tides. In not a few cases, homes were opened as a matter of private "accommodation" which led to public "entertainment,"—as in the

"MANSION HOUSE" HOTEL

Where the First Constitutional Convention of Missouri met. Courtesy of
Hon. Cornelius Roach



THE "MISSOURI HOTEL"

Where the Legislature of Missouri met. Courtesy of Hon. Cornelius Roach

case of the Charless family. About the wide fireplace the host and his family visited with the travelers. They listened to the latest news from the outside world and they gave the desired information about local conditions and advantages for settlement. Court sessions were held in the taverns. Counties and towns were organized and political caucuses were held in Missouri taverns. In brief, the Missouri tavern was the center of public life during those pioneer decades. In no other state does it appear from somewhat cursory investigation that the tavern filled such an important part in early history.

THE MISSOURI HOTEL.

In a tavern, Missouri, the state, was born. The first legislature met in that hotel. The first governor, McNair, and the first lieutenant-governor, Ashley, were inaugurated there. The first United States senators, Barton and Benton, were elected there.

In accordance with the fitness of things that tavern was called the Missouri. Begun in 1817 and finished two years later, the Missouri hotel was ready just in time for its place in the history of the state's making. Major Biddle became the owner. He went east and obtained the best landlord he could find and induce to come west. The Missouri was opened with equipment and appointments which made it for more than a generation the pride of the Mississippi Valley.

The Missouri hotel was the scene of banquets and balls. There his admiring fellow citizens entertained Barton with a grand dinner when he came back from Washington after a speech which made him the great Missourian of that day. Benton was second fiddle. St. Patrick's days were celebrated at the Missouri, for newcomers from Ireland were among the foremost and most enterprising business men of St. Louis in that generation. Expeditions were planned at the Missouri. Principals and seconds met there to arrange meetings on Bloody Island. General William Henry Harrison, afterwards president, General Zachary Taylor, afterwards presi-

dent, and General Winfield Scott, who wanted to be but was not president, were entertained at the Missouri hotel.

The oddest tavern in Missouri was not built with hands. It was a cave, forty feet wide and twenty feet high, in St. Charles county. Boatmen steered their pirogues and longhorns to the bank and took shelter in that cave from the driving storms on the Missouri. They called it "The Tavern."

On the walls, in those days, were to be seen the rudely carved names of many who had found refuge there and who had registered. Drawings and carvings of birds and beasts, said to have been done by the Indians, were the mural decorations of this nature tavern. A stream of considerable size empties into the Missouri near this cave and at the present day is known as Tavern creek.

VAN BIBBER'S TAVERN.

To Van Bibber's tavern at Loutre Lick came Colonel David Craig when he immigrated to Missouri in 1817. He brought with him two suits of black clothes. On Sunday morning, not long after his arrival, he put on the good clothes, after the Virginia custom of Sabbath observance, and went in to breakfast. The women folks crowded around and with much feminine curiosity examined the store clothes. One of the girls touched the clothes and exclaimed admiringly. "Oh! Ain't he nice!" The tavernkeeper, who either didn't favor so much style or wished to check further enthusiasm by his family, said, "Nice! He looks like a blacksnake that has just shed its skin."

Van Bibber was somewhat of a philosopher. He believed in transmigration of souls, and carried out his theory in detail. Every 6,000 years was a complete cycle, according to his theory, and at the end of a cycle everything started over again. A party of Kentuckians stopped with Van Bibber one night, and as usual the tavernkeeper expounded his philosophy of transmigration. The Kentuckians listened with apparent interest and asked many questions. The discussion went on until bedtime. Van Bibber told his wife he believed he had

OLD ROBIDOUX HOUSE, ST. JOSEPH

converted the Kentuckians. In the morning the spokesman of the party said to the landlord:

"We were much impressed with your argument last night. Believing there may be some truth in your doctrine, and being short of cash, we have decided to wait until we come around again at the end of 6,000 years and settle our bill."

"No," said Van Bibber, "You are the same blamed rascals who were here 6,000 years ago and went away without paying your bills, and now you have to pay before you leave."

When Long's expedition was on the way up the Missouri one hundred years ago to discover and map "The Great American Desert" as it appeared in the geographies for two generations, a stop was made at Van Bibber's. As usual the tavernkeeper had something to discuss. This time his information was in the realm of science. He told of startling occurrences in the vicinity of Loutre Lick. At the end of winter, or in unusually rainy seasons, according to Van Bibber, lights or balls of fire were seen apparently coming out of the ground. At other times large volumes of smoke arose from the soil. A son of Daniel Boone was one of the witnesses of these phenomena. Van Bibber told Long that two preachers riding late at night, about nine miles from Loutre Lick, saw a ball of fire at the end of a whip. In a short time another ball of fire appeared at the other end of the whip. Almost immediately the preachers, their horses and the objects around them seemed to be enveloped with "wreaths of flames." The preachers were so overcome with the spectacle that they couldn't tell more than this, Van Bibber said. The scientists with Long concluded that "combustion of a coal bed or decomposition of a mass of pyrites" must be the explanation of these strange things. They dismissed Van Bibber's stories of these strange happenings with so little interest that the tavernkeeper was disgusted.

Van Bibber married a granddaughter of Daniel Boone. He had two sprightly daughters, Fanny and Matilda. His first tavern was of logs and as business developed Van Bibber added other cabins. Loutre Lick became the first Missouri spa. The earliest settlers went there for bodily ailments

which were relieved by the waters. Later Loutre Lick became a widely known health resort. Benton visited there and told in Washington of the beneficial results. He advertised Loutre Lick so enthusiastically that Henry Clay referred in a speech to the Missouri senator's "Bethesda." Washington Irving, with his traveling companions, the Swiss count, M. de Portales, and the Englishman, Latrobe, stopped at Loutre Lick. He was so pleased with the surroundings that he told Van Bibber "When I get rich I am coming here to buy this place and build a nice residence here." But Irving spent so much time abroad that he never carried out his impulse to become a Missourian.

Van Bibber prospered to the degree which called for better than log cabins. A carpenter, Cyranus Cox, and a blacksmith, MacFarland, stopped at Van Bibber's one day. The tavernkeeper persuaded them to stay and build him something more pretentious than the cabins. Cox was charmed with Fannie Van Bibber. When the time approached for the wedding, carpenter and the girl decided that his clothes were too badly worn for the ceremony. Cox walked to St. Louis and bought a wedding suit. Matilda Van Bibber married James Estill, a pioneer Missouri merchant. As late as 1912, a great gathering of people, estimated at 2,000, assembled at Mineola, the modern name for Loutre Lick, and, under the auspices of the Old Trails association, discussed the possibility of preserving the Van Bibber tavern. To feed the multitude, forty sheep, one hundred chickens and several beeves were barbecued. Mrs. Mary Sharp, born in the tavern, was the guest of honor. Champ Clark told of the Missouri politics which had been associated with Van Bibber's tavern.

MANN'S TAVERN.

Mann's Tavern, in Bowling Green, was the scene of an historic incident which merits place in the history of Missouri duels. Judge Thomas J. C. Fagg told the story in his reminiscences which were published by the *Pike County News* twenty years ago.

"Sometime in the twenties, possibly after 1825, two squads of travelers dismounted in front of the hotel. There being no other house of entertainment in the town, they were necessarily compelled to stop at the same place. They came from the same direction, all on horseback. The mystery deepened as the strangers hovered over the big log fire that blazed on the spacious hearth. It was a rainy, chilly day in November, and the two parties had evidently had a long ride from the west. Two separate groups of three gentlemen, what could it mean? The first three to enter the house finally approached the bar and called for something to drink. Then, in turn, the other three did the same thing. This was repeated before supper. The hot coffee and broiled venison, added to the whiskey, had a wonderfully softening influence upon the crowd.

"As they returned to the barroom, one of the party felt called upon to make a brief speech. In substance he said they were about to relapse into a state of barbarism. No true gentleman ever drank by himself when there was another man standing by, who could enjoy the exhilarating draught with him. No two parties, no matter how bitter their feelings might be to each other, could afford to go up to the bar in separate squads and gulp down their liquor in silence and without an invitation to all to join. 'Boys, I move we all drink together.' The entire crowd responded by going up to the bar in a body. As they stood with glasses in hand, the same speaker said, 'Gentlemen, I have another proposition to make. Let us forgive and forget all past differences and drink to the good health and perpetual friendship of each other.' They touched their glasses and drank most heartily to the sentiment. As they set their glasses upon the counter, they grasped each others' hands with a pledge of undying friendship.

"The mystery came out at last. A bitter personal quarrel was amicably adjusted as they took the last drink. The two parties had traveled from Fayette and Boonville in order to cross the river at this point to fight a duel on Sny island the next day. The party consisted of the two principals, each with his second and surgeon. Their object was to fight in Illinois so as to avoid the penalties imposed by the laws of this state against dueling. Instead of crossing the river in the morning to meet in deadly combat, the two principals, with their seconds and surgeons, journeyed back to their homes together, delighted with the outcome of the expedition. The parties consisted of Peyton R. Hayden, of Boonville, and Charles French of Lexington, the two principals; and Abiel Leonard and Hamilton Gamble, the seconds. My impression is that neither Hayden nor French ever sought

political honors, but both were eminent lawyers and highly gifted. It is barely possible that I may be mistaken as to Hayden being one of the principals, but as to the rest of the story there is no doubt. I give it substantially as Judge Leonard told it to me. The conclusion of his narrative was that 'it was the only instance in all his life that he had known any good to result from a drunken frolic.'"

A power to be reckoned with along the Missouri-Kansas border in the fifties was Uncle John who kept the Mimms hotel in Kansas City. Red Legs and Border Ruffians, Jayhawkers and slave drivers, stopped with Uncle John. They were entertained impartially, and, strange to tell, the peace was preserved among these warring elements so long as they remained his guests at the Mimms hotel. Uncle John was an ordained minister of the Missionary Baptist church. He was from Kentucky, a fearless man, a character of that peculiar reserved force which made other men feel peaceful in his presence.

THE MISSOURI AND THE FIRST LEGISLATURE.

In the First General Assembly of Missouri there was a man who called himself "Ringtail Painter." His name was Palmer and his cabin home was in the Grand River valley. While the first Legislature was holding its sessions in the hotel, Palmer insisted on occupying the same bed with Governor McNair for one night so that, as he said, he could go back and tell his friends of Fishing river that he had "slept with the Governor of Missouri."

This first meeting of the Legislature in the hotel was enlivened by one of the most unparliamentary scenes in the legislative history of Missouri. During a sitting of the senate, Duff Green and Andrew McGirk became involved in a hot argument. McGirk threw a pewter inkstand at Green. The two men started a fist fight. Governor McNair came forward to interfere. He caught hold of Green and was pulling him away when Palmer grabbed the governor and shouted: "Stand back governor; you are no more in a fight than any other man. I know that much law. I am at home in this business. Give it to him, Duff. Give it to him."

Thomas H. Benton owed his first election to the Senate to tavern environment. His friends had been able to muster only a tie vote against the opposition. And one of Benton's votes was that of Daniel Ralls who lay in the last stages of fatal illness. Benton's friends won over one vote from the opposition, giving the necessary majority if the dying man could be kept alive and brought in when the Legislature met on Monday. The fact that the Legislature was meeting in the hotel and that the dying man was in a room upstairs made the plans of Benton's friends practicable though desperate. The sick man was carried down stairs by four stout negro servants and voted for Benton. He died shortly after being taken back to his room.

In 1835 the Missouri was still famous. Isaac Walker obtained possession of it and installed a tavern keeper in whom he had confidence. The result was so disappointing that Walker said publicly this man "was not fit to keep tavern; that his butter was so strong he could hang his hat on it." The tavernkeeper sued Walker for slander and employed Uriel Wright, the foremost orator at the Missouri bar in those days, to push the case. The old Missouri hotel stood until 1873 and then gave way to a business structure.

When St. Charles became the temporary capital of the new State of Missouri, the tavernkeepers made good their reputation for square dealing by furnishing the members of the General Assembly board at $2 50 a week. At that time pork was a cent and a half a pound; venison hams, twenty-five cents each; eggs, five cents a dozen; honey, five cents a gallon; but coffee cost a dollar a pound.

Men who became prominent in affairs of the state and successful in business undertakings were numbered among the tavernkeepers. James H. Audrain, whose family name is borne by one of the Central Missouri counties, advertised in July, 1818, that he "had opened a house of entertainment fourteen miles west of St. Charles, at Peruque, on the road from Boone's Lick to Salt River, where he hopes from his unremitted attention to make travelers comfortable and to share a portion of the public patronage."

In the *Gazette* of November 15, 1817, appeared this "Notice" over the name of Benjamin Emmons:

"The subscriber gives information that he keeps public entertainment at the village of St. Charles, in the house lately occupied for that purpose by N. Simonds, Esq., where the hungry and thirsty can be accommodated and the weary find rest."

The popularity which Mr. Emmons achieved was well shown later in 1820, when his fellow citizens elected him a member of the convention which framed the first constitution of the State of Missouri. The selection of Mr. Emmons was the more notable in that he was the only delegate elected who favored some degree of restriction on slavery in the new state. Mr. Emmons had been president of the last territorial legislative council. Later, after the organization of the state government, he was a member of the state senate, and notable for his independence of opinion. Descendants of this Benjamin Emmons have been in every one of the wars in which the United States has been engaged. Two of them, Charles Shepard Emmons and Wallis K. Emmons, were in the World war, serving in France.

Duden, whose marvelous letters set Germany afire for migration to Missouri, told that on the south bank of the Missouri, opposite St. Charles "there lives a jolly Frenchman who manages the ferry, is postmaster and an innkeeper. His name is Chauvin; he was born in Canada. He told me that Prince Wuertemberg had spent the night with him some time ago."

Duden was mistaken about the nativity of this tavern-keeper. Lafreniere J. Chauvin was a native of St. Louis. He bore the name of the leader of the first revolution for freedom on American soil, the revolt against Spanish domination at New Orleans. The Chauvins came from France to New Orleans and thence to Ste. Genevieve and later were among the first families of St. Louis. Lafreniere J. Chauvin was of the second or third generation. He was born in St. Louis in 1794. A daughter of this Chauvin was the wife of one of the Emmons family of St. Charles.

Charles Joseph Latrobe, an Englishman who accompanied Washington Irving in his travels through Missouri and who wrote the "Rambler in North America," told of the party stopping at the tavern opposite St. Charles, "where we found shelter for the night in a little French inn, which, with its odd, diminutive bowling green, skittle ground, garden plots, and arbors, reminded us more of the Old World than anything we had seen for many weeks."

Judge Quarles, an uncle of Mark Twain, kept tavern in Paris. A guest came to the landlord with the request for a clean towel in the common washroom. "Sir," said the judge, with some show of reproof, "two hundred men have wiped on that towel and you are the first to complain."

On the stage route from the Mississippi to the Missouri river, passing through Florida, was one of the historic taverns of Northeast Missouri. It was kept by William Nelson Penn, a Kentuckian by birth, who became a man of no small consequence in that part of the state. Mrs. Penn was one of those good Missouri women whose motherly instincts went far beyond her own household. The Penns were extensive landowners. They rented some acres to a family less well to do. When an interesting event occurred in the renter's family, Mrs. Penn gave the baby clothes which had been her little daughter's and thus, when he came into the world, Mark Twain found a wardrobe awaiting him. Mr. Penn not only kept tavern, but was a merchant. He served in the Legislature, and later was, for eighteen years, one of the officers of Monroe County.

An impressive structure for its generation was the Buchanan tavern in Florida. It was of brick and equipped on a scale of cost which befitted a community with strong hopes of being the county seat of one of the rich counties of Missouri. The time came when Florida and Paris engaged in a county seat contest, one of the most exciting in the history of the state. A compromise settlement was offered. It was proposed to make two counties out of Monroe with Paris and Florida as county seats. One of the Florida boomers was John Marshall Clemens, father of Mark Twain. The compromise was defeated. Major Howell and Dr. Flannigan

were members of the Legislature and both favorable to Paris. They got through the act cutting off a slice of Monroe county and adding it to Shelby. This reduced Monroe to the extent that it spoiled the argument for two counties. It also made Paris the more natural location for the county seat. This was a great victory for Paris but the people who were moved into Shelby long insisted that they belonged in Monroe.

Housing the members of the general assembly for the first session held in Jefferson City was a problem. The new capitol was ready before the taverns were. John R. Musick, in his "Stories of Missouri," says that one man hung out his sign to entertain when all that he had, apparently, was a board structure with office in front and dining room and kitchen in the rear. There was no floor. A legislator applied for board and lodging. "Certainly," said the affable tavern-keeper. "That is what I am here for. Plenty of good rooms and beds. I will give you Number 15." After supper the legislator said he would go to bed. The landlord picked up a candle, led the way outdoors and around back of the wooden building where there were several tents. In front of one of the tents was a piece of board stuck in the ground and painted "Number 15." Inside of the tent was a cot.

Morgan B. White was sent by Callaway county to the Legislature in the thirties. He found lodgings in the house of a widow, who assigned him a bed with four high posts and heavy damask curtains. When it came time to go to bed, Uncle Morgan said he could not imagine how he was to get in. He had never seen that kind of a bed and he didn't want to ask questions. So he pulled a table and chair to the side of the bed, climbed over the top of the curtains. Instead of stopping when he reached the feathers, he went through and struck the floor.

William G. Rice, who kept tavern on the Boone's Lick road in Montgomery county, had a scale of prices. Perhaps it might be said that he kept the first Missouri tavern on the European plan. His guests were informed that the price for dinner consisting of corn bread and "common fixins" was twenty-five cents. For wheat bread and "chicken fixins" the

charge was thirty-seven and one-half cents, or three bits according to the vernacular of that day. If the traveler wanted both kinds of "fixins" he paid sixty-two and one-half cents, or five bits. Rice was noted for precision and accuracy in his business. He became assessor of the county when there was quite a debt. He cleared off the debt and left a surplus in the treasury. Tradition has it that when he made his canvass of the county he rode a steer.

The combination of tavern keeping and preaching was not uncommon. Rev. Andrew Monroe at one time kept a tavern near what is now Danville. This was the place where another preacher, a tenderfoot in Missouri, acquired the name of "Gourdhead" Prescott. He stopped at the tavern for dinner. There being no one else to take care of his horse, the minister went out to the barn. There he found a heap of gourds, common in Missouri in that day. The minister mistook the gourds for a new kind of pumpkin, and gave a mess to the horse. Thereafter he was known as "Gourdhead" Prescott.

Rev. Andrew Monroe was one of the first prohibitionists in Missouri. The governor of the state was a guest at the Monroe tavern and called for a stimulant. Waiving his own scruples out of consideration for his distinguished visitor, Preacher Monroe sent to the store for a bottle of whiskey. And thereby he created a precedent which conflicted with his strict enforcement of church rules. Sometime afterwards, Preacher Monroe met David Dryden carrying a jug. Dryden had settled in Montgomery county recently. He was a steward in the Methodist church. He had built a mill, a horse mill, an industry much needed. Altogether he was a man of affairs. But the parson was no respector of person when it came to church discipline. He eyed the suspicious looking package and asked: "Well, Brother Dryden, what is that you have in your jug?" To Dryden came in a flash the recollection of what he had heard of Tavernkeeper Monroe's experience with the governor, "It's some whiskey I have just purchased for the governor who is at my house." The preacher smiled and passed on.

When Lafayette was entertained in St. Louis he was astonished to see approaching him an old man in the full uniform worn by the French at the surrender of Yorktown. He was delighted when the old soldier saluted stiffly but correctly. He was moved deeply when Alexander Bellissime identified himself as a native of Toulon who had come over with Lafayette's forces to fight for American independence. After the War of the Revolution Bellissime had settled in St. Louis and was conducting a tavern which was the popular resort of the river men. He was known to everybody as "Old Alexie." His tavern was on Second street near Myrtle, in the French section. After Lafayette's departure, the veteran, who had been embraced publicly by his old commander, was in higher esteem than ever. He lived to be eighty-seven. On the red letter days of St. Louis "Old Alexie" did not fail to appear in that well preserved uniform and the three-cornered cockaded hat. When "Old Alexie" died, Captain Easton turned out the crack military company, the St. Louis Grays, and gave the veteran what would have been his heart's desire—a military funeral.

Audubon, the world-famed naturalist, in his travels about Missouri in the early forties, was impressed with the abundance of natural food supplies, and with the cheapness of things eatable. He wrote to James Hall:

"The markets here abound in all the good things of the land and of nature's creation. To give you an idea of this, read the following items: Grouse, two for a York shilling; three chickens for the same; turkeys, wild or tame, twenty-five cents; flour, two dollars a barrel; butter, six pence for the best; fresh and really good beef, three to four cents; veal, the same; pork, two cents; venison hams, large and dried, fifteen cents each; potatoes, ten cents a bushel; ducks, three for a shilling; wild geese, ten cents each; canvasback ducks, a shilling a pair; vegetables for the asking as it were."

In a land of such plenty, Audubon felt that the tavern rates were altogether too high. He complained:

"And only think, in the midst of this abundance and cheapness, we are paying nine dollars a week at our hotel, the Glasgow; and at the Planters' we were asked ten dollars.

We are at the Glasgow hotel, and will leave the day after tomorrow as it is too good for our purses."

Criticism of the management of those pioneer hotels was attended with some risk. John Graves kept the first tavern in Chillicothe. He started "the tavern house" as he called it, so early in the history of the community that many consider him the founder of the city. Graves did the best he knew how, and he thought that was good enough. One day a commercial traveler grumbled about the cooking. Graves caught the critic by the collar jerked him out of his chair at the table and kicked him out the front door.

"The blamed skunk," he said, "insulted my boarders and I won't stand for it. My boarders eat my fare and like it; and when a man makes fun of my grub, it is the same as saying they haven't sense enough to know good grub from bad. I am bound to protect my boarders."

In the earliest days of the American colonies, the house of public entertainment was often known as "the ordinary." But when that term went out of use, Americans did not take kindly to the English name of "inn." "Tavern," of good full volume of vowel sound, was adopted, and it was applied almost universally in Missouri, outside of the principal centers of population, as settlement spread. When a Missouri community reached the metropolitan class, "tavern" gradually gave place to "hotel" or "house." But tavern continued to be the popular term along the rivers and the stagecoach routes.

Upon a Missouri tavern was based one of the largest of the lottery enterprises which excited the American people about the time of the Civil war. The Patee house was the name. With two acres of ground adjoining it in the City of St. Joseph, this building, owned by John Patee, was disposed of by raffle in 1863. The property, which included all of the furniture and fixtures, was valued at $140,000. The tickets were two dollars. They bore the stipulation that $25,000 of the receipts from the sale of tickets would "be apportioned between those cities and towns in proportion to the number of tickets sold therein, the amount to be placed

in the hands of the authorities for any benevolent object they may deem proper."

Missouri hotel hospitality was almost the undoing of a President of the United States. President Andrew Johnson was escorted to St. Louis, September 8, 1866, by a fleet of thirty-six steamboats which met his party at Alton. With the President were General Grant, Admiral Farragut, Secretary of State Seward and General Hancock. Andrew Johnson was the first President of the United States to visit Missouri. At the Lindell hotel a welcoming address was made by Mayor Thomas, and hospitality was extended. President Johnson responded. The speeches were made from the portico over the main entrance on Washington avenue. A reception followed in the drawing room, with more hospitality and another speech by the President.

From the Lindell, the presidential party was taken to the Southern for more hospitality and more speechmaking. In the evening the banquet was given, with a menu that occupied half a column in the newspapers. President Johnson spoke again at considerable length. These St. Louis speeches were used by the House of Representatives in the prosecution of the impeachment charges. L. L. Walbridge, who reported the speeches, was summoned to Washington to testify in the trial to the accuracy of the report. The speech which gave the most offense to the Republican party in Congress was the one delivered from the Walnut street front of the Southern shortly before the banquet. Stimulated by the hospitality of the day and by encouraging interruptions of the audience, the President used very bitter language referring to his controversy with Congress. It was at St. Louis that the President described his tour as "swinging round the circle."

At Fayette was a tavern famous through two generations of Missourians. It was three stories high, a regular skyscraper for its day. Behind the hotel was an immense barn. In front of the tavern was a large block provided especially for ladies arriving on horseback. The mounting block was a part of the equipment of most Missouri taverns. It had

its place as indispensable, along with the swinging sign and the bell on the post. The rates at this Fayette tavern were fifty cents a day for man, and the same for beast. Negro hostlers were on duty day and night to take the horses to the barn. It was customary for the departing traveler to tip the hostler who brought around his horse. The tip was not a nickel, but a half dime. The bell on the post was rung when meals were ready.

In the Missouri tavern advertisements of one hundred years ago hostler was spelled without the "h." Dowling's tavern, kept by one of the pioneers, at the north end of Main street in St. Louis, announced:

"Every exertion will be made to furnish his table, so as to render comfortable those that stop at his house.

"His Bar is well supplied with the best of Liquors and an attentive keeper. His Stable is well supplied with provender and attended by a careful ostler. In short he will spare no expense to please."

Bar, Liquors and Stable were printed in large type. Tavern announcements constituted no small feature of the advertising columns of a century ago. William Montgomery advertised the opening of his tavern "at the sign of the spread eagle" in Jackson.

"He has furnished himself with all kinds of liquors of the best quality. He has provided good ostlers, and his stables well furnished with hay, corn and oats. From his long acquaintance with business in his line, and his wish to please, he is induced to believe that no person wiill leave his house unsatisfied."

The card of J. J. Dozier, of St. Charles, was a model of good taste. He told through the *Missouri Gazette* in 1818, that he had "commenced keeping a house of entertainment for travelers and all genteel and orderly company. He flatters himself from the accommodations his house will offer, with his strict attention and desire to please, to render all his guests general satisfaction. His charges will be as low as the country will afford; he tenders his thanks to his former customers in this line of business, and hopes a continuance of their favors with a share of public patronage."

Hampton Ball, one of the best known of Missouri stage drivers, recalled that James Huntington, a wealthy contractor, put $6,000 in an open drawer of the public room of a Missouri tavern and left it there until morning.

"I told him," said Ball, "that it would be dangerous; that there might be some stranger, not a Missourian, of course, who would steal the money."

"You don't think any of the guests of this hotel, would be mean enough to steal do you?" Huntington said, incredulously.

Stagestand keepers, the tavern men were called where the stages made their regular stops. Hampton Ball said that "Kenner, of Paudingville, was one of the most famous. He could play a fiddle that would almost make the trees dance. He was jovial and generous and one of the most profane men I ever knew. He did not mean to be profane but he swore almost as readily as some people whistle. Although he ran a public house there was never any meal served at his table on which he did not ask the blessing. The great pioneer Methodist, Rev. Andrew Monroe, stopped at Kenner's house. The stagecoach driver suggested that Kenner ask Parson Monroe to say the blessing.

"No," said Kenner, "I ask my own blessings at my own table." And he did. On another occasion, in a single breath, Kenner concluded the blessing thus, "And for all these blessings we thank Thee, O Lord, amen; kick that blamed dog out from under the table."

Tavern keeping was honorable and tavernkeepers were honest in Missouri, as a rule. The exceptions were so notable as to be long remembered. On the old Boone's Lick road where it ran through the northern part of Callaway, a man named Watson kept tavern. He made a great deal of money for a few years. Travelers could not understand why their horses seemed to fail in appetite when they put up at that tavern. After a long time it was discovered that the tavernkeeper rubbed grease in between the rows of kernels on the corn cobs to such an extent that the horses left much of the corn untouched.

A fine representative of the type of Missouri landlords was "Weed" Marshall who furnished "entertainment" at Mayview for twenty-nine years. "Weed" was the familiar name by which the traveling public knew him. The proper initials were "J. W." Marshall was courteous to a punctilious degree, but it did not do to presume upon his good nature. A young traveling man left a call for three o'clock in the morning and in a rather unpleasant manner impressed the importance of it. Marshall had no night clerk and sat up to make sure that the guest did not miss the train. At three o'clock to the minute he pounded on the door. A grunt was the response.

"Get up;" shouted Marshall. "It's three o'clock."

"I've changed my mind," growled the traveling man. "I'm going to stay and take a later train."

"No, you're not," said Marshall. "Confound you. You get up and get out this minute. You can't fool me." And the young man left on his early train.

Marshall had been in the Confederate army. He was "with Shelby" and proud of it. When he retired from the Mayview tavern, the *Kansas City Star* told this: Traveling men found it entertaining to start a controversy as to the war record of Shelby's brigade just to arouse the ire of "Weed." One night a burly drummer, new in that territory, and under the prompting of other traveling men, started something. He began with a reference to the Civil War and his own alleged part in it. He said his command had met a body of Missouri Confederates under Shelby.

"We not only made them run," he said, "but we captured a lot of them. I captured one myself. And I made that fellow do all sorts of stunts. He was so scared he would do anything I told him. I made him roll on his back like a dog and bark when he wanted food; and lick the mud off my boots. Funny thing about it, Mr. Marshall, you somehow remind me of that man. You weren't ever with Shelby, were you?"

"Yes sir. I was with Shelby. I was that very man you captured. I have been looking for you ever since. I made a vow then that if I ever met you, I'd kill you."

With that, Marshall opened a drawer of his desk and pulled out a revolver. The big traveling man apologized hastily, said his war reminiscence was all a joke and that the other traveling men had put up the job on him. The honors of the hour were with Marshall.

Far and wide in that part of Missouri the Mayview house of entertainment under Marshall was famed for immaculately clean beds and good living.

When Zadock Woods built the first tavern in Lincoln county, one of the first houses in Troy, he enclosed not only the building but the spring with a high stockade, to afford protection for his guests, and the settlers, as well, from the Indians.

The Missouri tavern was often the outpost of civilization. When Zadock Martin, in 1828, built the tavern on the bluff at the Falls of the Platte, his nearest neighbor was fifteen miles away. Landlord Martin used hewed logs for the main part of his tavern. He attached shed rooms so that he could accommodate quite a number of guests. The Martin tavern was on the main road to Fort Leavenworth. Martin was not lonesome. He had half a dozen sons and three handsome daughters. A retinue of slaves, well drilled, enabled him to enforce his rights. He was a man of commanding presence, had flashing eyes, wore a broadbrimmed hat, carried a stout hickory cane and talked loudly. His word was law at the Falls, whether with officers or soldiers passing to or from the Fort, and also with the fishing parties which came to the Falls to carry away wagonloads of catfish and buffalo fish weighing from ten to seventy pounds. Martin raised large crops, had droves of hogs which ran wild and fattened on acorns and nuts. His herd of cattle wintered on the cane along the streams. Zadock Martin was the baron of the Falls. One of his boys attempted to play a joke on an Indian and got the worst of it. The Indian wanted sugar. Young Martin agreed to give him three pounds if the brave

would promise to eat all of it. The sugar was weighed and the eating began. The Indian ate until he had swallowed about a pound. Then he wrapped up the rest in a fold of his blanket. "Hold on!" said Young Martin, "you promised to eat all of it. Stand to your bargain." "All right," said the Indian. "Me eat him all—maybe some to day—maybe some to morrow—maybe some one odder day, Injun no lie—me eat him all—good by."

The Missouri tavernkeeper had his way of classifying his guests in pioneer days. The shibboleth was not of dress or speech so much as it was of taste. The tavernkeeper said to himself this man is a southerner and that man is a northerner after the first meal. If the guest said he would take a glass of sweet milk, that showed he was from north of the Ohio river—from a New England or a Middle state. If the traveler called for sour milk, he was at once set down as from a southern state. In St. Louis sweet milk sold at twenty-five cents a gallon; sour milk, at eighteen and one-half cents a gallon.

General Owens kept tavern in Fayette. He was a man of keen observation and wit. In his time Randolph county was the border line of Missouri settlement. The general said he could always tell his guests from Randolph by the color of their clothes. Randolph people wore jeans which were dyed with walnut bark.

Colonel W. B. Royal, a Virginian and a highly educated man, kept one of the early taverns in Columbia. He added "Semper Paratus" to the customary wording of the swinging sign. Buck Lampton, of historic memory for his readiness of speech, told people that "Semper Paratus" stood for "Sweet Milk and Potatoes."

It was customary to give the tavern the name of the owner or keeper, but occasionally originality was shown, as was the case of the first tavern built in Franklin, now Pacific. That tavern went by the name of "Buzzards' Roost."

At the old tavern in Potosi, kept by Roberts, the charge was twenty-five cents a meal; or "dinner and whiskey, thirty-seven and one-half cents." An account book kept in 1824

shows that most of the charges included the whiskey. Sometimes the whiskey was sold by the pint and then it was twenty-five cents.

Some of these Missouri taverns outlived the stage-coach. The old Ensign tavern, at Medill, in Clark county, was razed within the past half decade. It was once a popular stopping place on the road from Alexandria to Bloomington, by which the traveler journeyed from the Mississippi landing into the interior of Northeast Missouri. At Bloomington, Squire Abasalom Lewis kept tavern in what was the first house in that part of the state, with the chimneys inside of the walls. Squire Lewis came honestly by his judicial title. For years he entertained the judge and the lawyers and the clients during court sessions. A rule of the tavern, during this periodical congestion of patronage was that only the judge could have a bed with himself. From years of close association with his guests, Lewis came to have such familiarity with law and practice that he was prompted to run for justice of the peace. When a tavernkeeper went out for office he was generally successful, such was the esteem in which the vocation was held by Missouri constituencies. Squire Lewis was elected and proceeded to administer justice according to his previous observations. In one of his earlier cases he was called upon to to pass upon many objections raised by opposing counsel. With strict impartiality, the squire ruled in favor of the lawyers alternately. But at the end of the trial, two consecutive rulings were made in favor of the plaintiff.

"Look here!" said the lawyer for the defense, "Squire, you decided for the other side last time, and this was our time to get the decision."

"I know how I done," said the squire, with dignity. "In order to be fair to you fellows, I give half the pints to the plaintiff and half to the defendant, and never put one single pint for myself till the close of the case. And then you kick! Seems to me you don't appreciate fair treatment."

Squire Lewis believed in upholding the dignity of his court. On one occasion he left the bench and whipped a lawyer for contempt.

What happened at the old Glenn house in Paris furnished the ground for a church trial which agitated a large section of Missouri when the church was divided on the question of dancing. David Peavy, known from the Mississippi to the Missouri, was the first landlord, the tavern then consisting of a combination log and frame structure. His sign announced the usual "Entertainment for Man and Beast."

There was the bell on the post in front of the tavern. When a traveler rode up on a horse, Uncle Davy went out to greet him, and rang the bell as if to call a stable boy. After the guest had gone inside, the landlord took the horse to the stable and attended to it. The ringing of the bell for a mythical stable boy was a harmless bluff.

After Peavy, the tavern was kept by Anderson Woods, a Baptist preacher, and his wife Betsy. The dining room back of the hotel had been for years used for dancing parties. Preacher Woods suspended these parties. Aunt Betsy did not have the same scruples as her husband. When Mr Woods went away to fill a preaching appointment, Aunt Betsy readily yielded to the pleas of the young people and gave permission for a dance. The preacher found a creek too high to cross. He came back when the fun was fast and furious, stood for a few moments looking in at the door and said: "I can see no harm in that." But the church authorities disagreed with him, preferred charges and brought him to trial. For some years after that there was no more dancing in the tavern dining room. During more than sixty years the Glenn house was the social center of Monroe county.

W. M. Paxton attended court in November, 1839, at what is now St. Joseph but which was then Robidoux, named for the first settler. He stopped with Robidoux who kept tavern. He left this recollection of his entertainment:

"His house was pearched on the hillside. It was of logs on a stone basement. I was shown to my bed on a plank frame in the base-

ment, and was given two blankets. I spread one blanket on the boards and covered with the other.

"It was a cold blustery night and I nearly froze. In the morning, before day, I heard Robidoux stirring in the room overhead, and I went up the rude ladder. I told him I had suffered with the cold. 'What,' said he, 'cold with two blankets?' I explained how I had used the blankets. He replied with contempt, 'You haven't even got Indian sense, or you would have wrapped up in them.'

"The old man built a roaring fire, and two prairie chickens and half a dozen ears of old corn on the cob were boiling in the pot. I made a hearty breakfast on these viands. Before court met, I took a survey of the future site of St. Joseph. I saw but two houses; that where I had spent the night and the store above the mouth of the creek. The Blacksnake hills were romantic. They seemed to be composed of red crumbling earth, with here and there tufts of grass. From the sides of the hills, at intervals, broke out oozing springs of pure water which gathered into a bold stream that coursed the prairie bottom to the river. In the rear of the house, on the hillside, stood four or five scaffolds, supported by poles. On these scaffolds lay the bodies of Robidoux's children. His wives were Indians, and he buried his dead in Indian fashion.

"Court was held in one room and the elevated porch. The docket was short. The most interesting cases were several indictments against Robidoux for gambling. All the bar, except W. T. Wood, the circuit attorney, entered our names on the margin of the docket as for Robidoux. We got the old man clear on some quibble and he was happy. We charged him nothing, but he made all of us pay our tavern bills."

In the collection of the State Historical Society of Missouri, at Columbia, is preserved the register of the City hotel at Boonville, for 1843 and 1844. Guests not only wrote their names and homes and destinations but enough information about themselves to make the book interesting reading. There was room for "remarks" and one man who must have arrived in a storm wrote after his Kentucky address, "Blanked poor weather for fools who have left the sunny South." The landlord, Edward B. McPherson, was an ardent politician and a frequent contributor to the comments on his register. On Sunday he would enter, "Let us all go to church." After one name the landlord wrote, "Left without paying his

JOSEPH ROBIDOUX
Founder of St. Joseph.

ST. JOSEPH IN 1867

bill." McPherson was for Clay, aggressively so. He made many comments on the progress of the campaign and encouraged his guests to write after their names "Clay and Frelinghuysen" or "Polk and Dallas," as they preferred. In a number of cases the guests told why they were for their favorite ticket, or offered wagers on the result. When the returns finally showed the defeat of Clay, his political idol, Landlord McPherson wrote on the register:

"Snowstorn, Polk and Dallas, Oregon and Texas, Free Trade, War with Mexico and Great Britain, Hard Money, Relapse into Barbarism, but a Division of Property first."

The signature of Thomas H. Benton appears a number of times on this register, which might seem rather remarkable in view of his antagonism to the outspoken politics of the Whig Landlord, but Secretary Shoemaker of the State Historical Society has ressurected the fact that when "the Magisterial," as Benton was sometimes called, was questioned about the propriety of stopping with a Whig landlord, he replied: "Sir, do you think Benton takes his politics into his belly?" When it was suggested that guests double up in time of congestion at a tavern, Benton's reply was, "Benton sleeps in the same bed with no other man."

There were taverns in communities so strongly Whig that Benton would not put up at them. It is a tradition well preserved in Columbia that Benton rode through the university town and went out three miles to a small tavern in the country to pass the night, rather than accept better accommodations where the opposition was so strong.

Realization of his waning hold came as a shock to Benton at a tavern during his losing campaign of 1849. Judge Fagg told the story in his graphic way.

"Still clinging to the policy of driving everything by force, and unconscious of the fact that hundreds and thousands of his old friends and supporters were gradually falling away from him—that the slavery agitators were constantly alarming the slaveholders more and more as to the security of their property—he still believed that he had the power to maintain himself in the state. He started out again 'solitary and alone' in his private

carriage, and, crossing the Missouri river at St. Charles, he took what he had been in the habit of calling in the early days, 'the Salt river trail.' He passed up through St. Charles and Lincoln counties, scarcely meeting a solitary man that he could call his friend. Late in the evening he found himself at the village of Auburn. He recognized the place and remembered that more than twenty years previously he had been in the habit of stopping with his old friend, Daniel Draper. There was the same old, hewed log house. The same old signpost from which was suspended an old sign with the letters so faded that he read with difficulty, 'Entertainment by D. Draper.' It was like an oasis in the desert. He had journeyed through an anti-Benton wilderness, but he would now be cheered and refreshed by the hearty greeting and cordial entertainment of his old friend. Stepping out of his carriage and approaching the house he was met by the old landlord, tottering with age and looking at his visitor in a sort of listless, indifferent way. He said, referring to himself as usual in the third person: 'You will have Colonel Benton with you to-night.' Still looking at his visitor, the old man replied in a voice that betrayed no emotion or surprise, 'Yes, I reckon so; all sorts of people stop here.' "

James O. Broadhead used the same incident to illustrate alike the independent spirit of the Missouri tavernkeeper of early days and the want of respect the Whigs had for Benton near the close of his career. He said that on the state road which ran through Auburn, in Lincoln county, old Daniel Draper kept tavern. Draper was a stalwart Whig and made no concealment of his political sentiments. Benton stopped in front of Draper's one day toward night and said, "Senator Benton wishes to stay all night with you." Draper was chopping wood. Without looking up he said, "Get down and hitch your horse. We are not particular about whom we entertain."

Foreigners commented upon the independent character of the American tavernkeeper. When Lafayette made his triumphal tour of this country in 1824, his party stopped at fifty taverns. One who was of the party wrote:

"We were received by the landlord with perfect civility but without the slightest shade of obsequiousness. The deportment of the innkeeper was manly, courteous, and even kind, but there was that in his air which sufficiently proved that both parties were expected to manifest the same qualities."

Lieutenant Francis Hall, an Englishman, traveling in this country in 1817, said:

"The innkeepers of America are, in most villages, what we call vulgarly, topping men—field officers of military or militia, with good farms attached to their taverns, so that they are apt to think what, perhaps, in a new settled country is not far wide of the truth, that travelers rather receive than confer a favor by being accommodated at their homes. The daughters officiate at tea and breakfast, and generally wait at dinner."

James Stewart, a Scotchman, who wrote "Three Years in North America," devoting his attention to "a faithful and candid representation of the facts which the author observed and noted in the places where they presented themselves"—those were his words—said:

"We arrived in St. Louis on Sunday, the 25th of April, (1830) on so cold a morning that the first request I made on reaching the City hotel, in the upper part of the town, was for a fire which was immediately granted. The hotel turned out a very comfortable one. It contains a great deal of accommodation. The only inconvenience I felt arose from the people not being accustomed, as seems generally the case in the western country, to place water basins and a towel in every bedroom. The system of washing at some place near the well is general, but the waiters or chambermaids never refuse to bring everything to the bedroom that is desired. It is, however, so little the practice to bring a washing apparatus to the bedrooms that they are apt to forget a general direction regularly to do so. We had a great quantity of fine poultry at this house; and the table, upon the whole, was extremely well managed."

Mellish, an English traveler, gave high praise to American taverns. He told of one place he visisted where there were sixty houses, of which seven were taverns. He described the breakfast table on which there were: "tablecloth, tea tray, teapot, milkpot, bowls, cups, sugar tongs, tea spoons, castors, plates, knives, forks, tea, sugar, cream, bread, butter, steak, eggs, cheese, potatoes, beets, salt, vinegar, pepper—all for twenty-five cents."

In his "American Notes" and "Martin Chuzzlewit," Charles Dickens with his severe criticisms, rasped the pride of Americans and set this country by the ears after his visit

in 1842. But Mr. Dickens was well pleased with his experience at a famous Missouri hotel:

"On the fourth day after leaving Louisville, we reached St. Louis. We went to a large hotel called the Planters' house, built like an English hospital, with long passages and bare walls, and skylights above the doors for free circulation of air. There were a great many boarders in it, and as many lights sparkled and glistened from the windows down into the street below when we drove up, as if it had been illuminated on some occasion for rejoicing. It is an excellent house and the proprietors have most bountiful notions of providing creature comforts. Dining alone with my wife in her own own room one day, I counted fourteen dishes upon the table at once."

Almost contemporaneous with Missouri statehood was J. S. Halstead, of Breckenridge, who celebrated his one hundredth birthday in 1918; he had been eighty years a resident of Missouri. In his younger days he was on close relations with Henry Clay. He carried a cane presented to him by Clay who had received it as a gift from Senator Jenifer of Maryland. The cane had a history. The Maryland senator brought it from an olive tree near the burial place of Cicero. He gave it to Mr. Clay on the occasion of the latter's speech expounding the Missouri Compromise. One day a dog attacked Clay on the street in Washington. Defending himself with his cane, Clay hit a fence and broke the cane. He tried to have it repaired but was dissatisfied with the result and passed the historic stick along to his young friend, Halstead. At the observance of his centennial, Mr. Halstead told a correspondent of the *Kansas City Star* this tavern story as he had it from Mr. Clay:

An English nobleman traveling in the United States called upon Mr. Clay. He stopped at a tavern, having with him his valet. The tavernkeeper noticed that the valet seemed to keep at a distance but did not take into consideration any difference in station. When it came time to go to bed, the tavernkeeper showed milord and the valet to the same room. The nobleman protested. He said: "But I am not accustomed to being in the same room with my valet."

"I can't help that," said the tavernkeeper. "It's there for you. You will have to make the best of it."

When the Englishman got away from Lexington he wrote Mr. Clay a letter telling of his Kentucky tavern experience and commented good naturedly on the democratic ideas of American tavernkeepers.

He was a Missouri tavernkeeper who got the better of George G. Vest in a match of wits. The occasion was in old Georgetown, once the county seat of Pettis, where Vest, a young bachelor, lived at the tavern while he devoted his time to hunting and fishing and practising law. Judge Henry Lamm tells the story.

"In 1854, Vest went back to Kentucky and married, bringing his wife to Georgetown. It is said that Vest had nettled his landlord a little by intimating it was unsafe to eat his pies without first pounding on the crust with a knife handle to scare out the cockroaches. Be that as it may, the said landlord, Captain Kidd, felt no occasion to be otherwise than frank, and, when Vest brought his bride to the house and took him to her for an introduction and proudly asked what he thought of her, Kidd replied: 'By Gum! George! You must have cotched her in a pinch for a husband.' "

Hinkson creek, originally called something else, derived its name, according to E. W. Stephens, the historian of Boone county, from what befell Robert Hinkson, a tavernkeeper and one of the first settlers in that county. Hinkson had quite a herd of cattle. He started from home one morning in early winter to drive his cattle to the river bottom, intending to leave them there, as was the winter custom, to rough through till spring. When night came he stopped and camped on the bank of the stream. The next morning he drove out into the forest and kept the course as well as he could guess all day. At night he found himself on the identical spot where he had camped the previous night. The other settlers fastened the joke on Hinkson and made it a living tradition by giving the creek his name.

There are towns of considerable population, and even cities, in Missouri, the beginnings of which were taverns. The first house built in what afterwards became Columbia was General Gentry's. It was of three rooms, two of which

accommodated the young family. The third room was set apart for the traveling public. The next year General Gentry added a fourth room. His neighbors thought he was becoming extravagant. When General Gentry led his thousand mounted Missourians out of Columbia for the long journey to subdue the Seminoles, the march began from in front of the Gentry tavern where the farewell ceremony took place. The command was drawn up and the flag made by the young ladies of Miss Wales' academy was presented with its stirring inscription:

"Gird, gird for the conflict,
Our banner wave high;
For our country we live,
For our country we die."

Tavern keepers, with foresight as to coming settlement and as to prospective main traveled roads, located their houses of entertainment. When the Daughters of the American Revolution entered upon their patriotic work of placing monuments to mark the Boone's Lick road from St. Louis, they found that many of the points of most historic interest were the sites of the pioneer taverns. In St. Charles county, Kenner's tavern shared with Daniel Boone's judgment tree the honor of a marker. In Warren county Rodger Taylor's tavern was one of the spots chosen. Saunder's tavern was another. In Montgomery county monuments were placed where stood Cross Keys tavern, Devault tavern and Van Bibber's tavern. Callaway county's section of the Boone's Lick road was marked at Drover's inn, and Grant stagestand. Among the Boone county sites selected were Vivion's stagestand and Van Horn's tavern. In Howard county Arnold's inn was commemorated.

On the Grand Pass, in the thirties, when the stream of migration and commerce flowed strong along the Santa Fe trail, John and William Early, cousins of Bishop Early, of Kentucky, kept tavern. Grand Pass was a strip of high land between Salt Fork and the Missouri bottoms. Two bodies of water in the bottoms were known as Davis and Grand Pass lakes.

"The Washington Lewis Place," in Saline county, served as a tavern fifteen or twenty years. The tradition that a considerable quantity of whiskey was buried there is still current. Washington Lewis was one of three brothers who came out from Virginia about 1830, with a retinue of slaves and an abundance of household goods. The tavern was built of brick. A crack in one of the walls was said to have been caused by an earthquake in 1846. One of the first post offices in Central Missouri was in this tavern. In an upper room the pioneer Dr. Yancey had his office.

Social standing of the tavernkeeper in Missouri was of the best. So it was in many other places. It is an historic fact that the first tavern in Cambridge, Massachusetts, was kept by a deacon of the church, who afterwards became the steward of Harvard college. Religious services were held in Missouri taverns before churches were built and when bad weather interfered with the campmeeting custom. Not infrequently the Missouri tavern was conducted by a woman, usually a widow, and it was well kept. When John Smith T added another notch to his record of straight shootings, he surrendered his deadly weapon to a woman who kept a tavern. The affair had taken place in the living room of the tavern. Coming into the room at the sound of the firing, this intrepid Missouri woman did not faint because of the prostrate figure on the floor, or of the pool of blood, or at the acrid smell of the powder smoke. She went up to John Smith T and coolly demanded the pistol. "Take it, my daughter," said Smith.

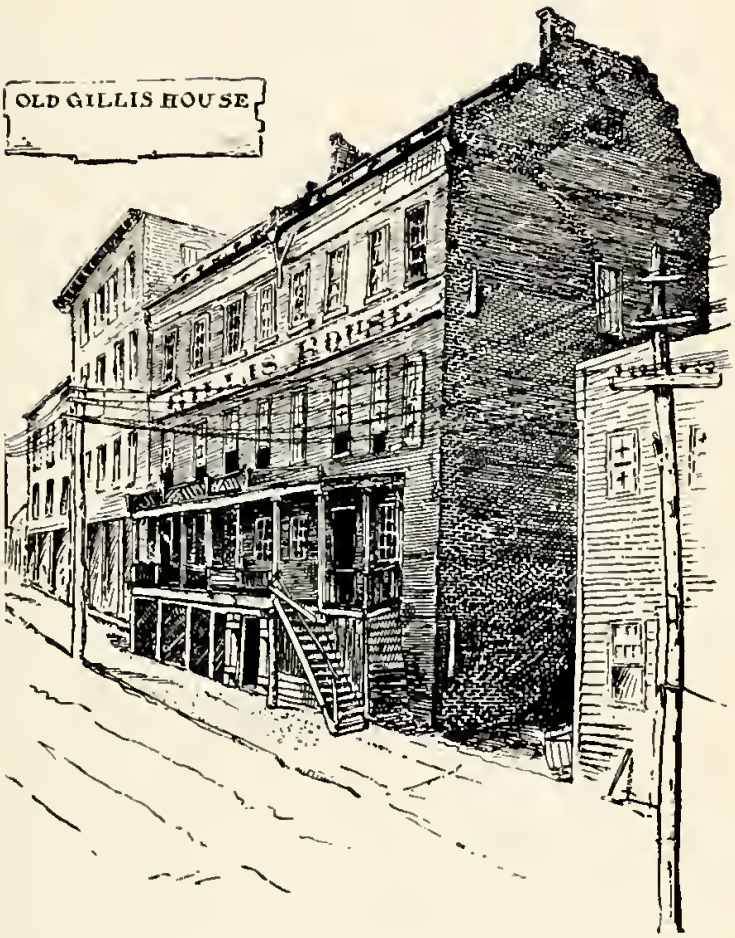
An historic hotel in Kansas City was known variously as the Western, the American and the Gillis. It was built by Benoit Troost in 1849, and was on the river front, between Delaware and Wyandotte streets. In two years, 1856 and 1857, there were 27,000 arrivals at the hotel, which was enlarged by additions until it was an architectural curiosity. In May, 1856, this hotel was the hiding place of Governor A. H. Reeder, of Kansas, when he was a fugitive, trying to escape from the Missourians. Friends disguised the governor as a laborer and gave him an ax to carry. In this

way they got him out of the hotel and out of town. H. W. Chiles kept the hotel at that time. He was a strong pro-slavery man, and became the landlord of the Gillis house to save it from destruction. The property had been owned by the New England Emigrant Aid Society of Boston, and was intended to be operated to encourage migration of anti-slavery settlers to Kansas in order to make that a free state. It became known among Missourians as "The Free State hotel." As the border troubles increased, the Emigrant Aid Society, fearing that the property would be destroyed, put it in the hands of Chiles under a lease.

Pro-slavery travelers made another historic hotel their stopping place in Kansas City. That was the Farmers' hotel, built in 1856 and run by E. N. McGee, a leader in the pro-slavery party. "The Wayside Inn" was the first name of this tavern. The location was on Sixteenth street, between the river landing and Westport. Overland stages started from the Gillis house. The purchase of the Gillis for the Boston people was made by S. C. Pomeroy, afterwards a United States senator from Kansas. Pomeroy came out with the first party of anti-slavery immigrants from New England. The colonizing of Kansas was planned on such a scale that it seemed to the leaders in the movement necessary to have headquarters in Kansas City. This investment by the New Englanders, in 1854, had much to do with inflaming the Missourians, arousing them to the magnitude of the Boston intentions.

About the time that the New Englanders began coming in numbers to Kansas City, Thomas H. Benton and his son-in-law, John C. Fremont, arrived by boat and stopped at the hotel. They were on one of the strangest business enterprises of that period. Among those who met the visitors and discussed the project with them was Dr. Johnston Lykins. The wife of Dr. Lykins, afterwards the wife of George C. Bingham, the Missouri artist, told this:

"Benton and Fremont had arrived in order to complete arrangements for an experiment with camels as beasts of burden in crossing the plains during the hot season. Colonel Benton



THE PRINCIPAL HOTEL OF KANSAS CITY IN THE EARLY DAYS.
(From Steven's Missouri The Center State.)

entered heartily into the plan and gave his assistance in every way possible. He thought that camels would stand the travel over the sandy plains better than oxen or horses. Owing to the shortness of the season in this northern latitude the project failed, although camels were imported for the purpose. Late in the evening Dr. Lykins returned to the house to inform me that he had invited the gentlemen to dine with us the following day. Colonel Benton and Mr. Fremont came, also Lieutenant Head, and the day was long to be remembered. The conversation was mainly upon the great possibilities of the West. At the conclusion of the dinner, we stepped out upon the porch, which commanded a delightful view of the river and surrounding country. Colonel Benton appeared in the height of good spirits and turning to me said: 'Mrs. Lykins, you will take a trip to California on one of the camels, won't you?'

" 'Hardly,' I replied, laughing, 'I would prefer a more comfortable mode of travel.'

"The great statesman's face grew solemn. As if in a spirit of prophecy, he said: 'You are a very young woman, and you will live to see the day a railroad will cross the plains and mountains to the Pacific coast.'

" 'Colonel Benton,' I replied, 'with all due reverence to you as a prophet, your prediction is as visionary as a trip to the moon.'

" 'I will not live to see the prophecy verified, but the next generation will,' he responded firmly. That was the last visit of Colonel Benton to Kansas City. The party left by steamboat for St. Louis on the evening of the same day."

The Gillis house, in the days when it was known as the American, was four and one-half stories in height, and had a cupola, or tower, in which was a bell. The ringing of the bell gave notice that the meals were ready. Guests sat at a table sixty feet long, accommodating sixty people. Three times that number were fed frequently, in relays. In one long room there were twenty beds. To take care of the overflows, the parlor floor was covered at night with shakedowns.

Through two generations much Missouri history was made in the McCarty house of Jefferson City. John N. Edwards said of it:

"What crowds it has seen and combinations, caucuses and conventions! Secesh, union, claybank, federal, confederate, radical, democrat, liberal, republican, prohibition, tadpole, granger,

greenback and female suffrage, have all had their delegates there who wrought, planned, perfected and went away declaring a new dispensation in the shape of a hotel, and that Burr McCarty was its annointed prophet. If that old house could think and write what a wonderful book it could publish of two generations of Missourians, the first generation having to do with the pioneers! The state knows it. And to the politicians of the state it has been a hill, a ravine, or a skirt of timber from behind which to perfect their ambushments. Its atmosphere is the atmosphere of a home circle. It has no barroom, and therein lies the benediction which follows the prayer."

Burr Harrison McCarty, or "McCarty of the McCartys" as Judge Henry Lamm liked to call him, came to Missouri when the state was only fifteen years old. Interested in stage lines with Thomas L. Price, Mr. McCarty built a fine home in Jefferson City in 1836. Of Virginia birth and a born host, he made his home such a favorite and popular place with Benton and Linn and the pioneer statesmen and lawyers, that he drifted into the hotel keeping, making additions from time to time to the old residence. He became the model Missouri host, with a friendly greeting to all comers. He set the pace for the landlords of a whole state with what one of his guests many years later called honest coffee, honest butter, honest eggs, corn bread baked in the skillet, poultry and game. From the McCarty house came the ways of making chicken dinners for which Missouri landlords gained fame far beyond the borders of the state. For more than half a century Burr Harrison McCarty made the McCarty house a Missouri institution. After his death, a daughter, whom a later generation of Missourians knew affectionately as "Miss Ella," maintained the traditions. When the doors closed there were Missourians in every part of the state who recalled the open wood fires, the scrupulous cleanliness, the old-fashioned cooking, and asked themselves, as did Major Edwards, "why can't a landlord like him renew his youth and make that old house of his endure forever?"

Barnum's hotel stew was a Missouri distinction in the forties and fifties. Every noted visitor—the Prince of Wales,

who was to become King Edward, included—was made acquainted with this famous ragout. Thereupon Barnum was, in popular estimation, one of the most important citizens of St. Louis, ranking with the mayor on many occasions when guests were to be paid unusual honors. He was a Vermonter, coming to Missouri in 1840 with the reputation of being the newphew of the Barnum who had kept the best hotel in Baltimore about 1825. The wife of Theron Barnum was a Connecticut woman, Mary L. Chadwick, who helped her husband make their first hotel on Third and Vine streets so famous that St. Louis capitalists raised $200,000 and built one of the most popular hotels west of the Allegheny mountains. George R. Taylor, George Collier, Joshua B. Brant and J. T. Swearingen were the men of means who headed the movement to build the hotel. Theron Barnum guarded jealously the recipe for that stew which made all visitors wonder.

When "Dad" rang the dinner bell in the good old fashioned way, on the porch of a West Plains hotel one September noon, the guests who gathered about the long table, running the length of the dining room, counted fruit in eleven different forms before them. In the center was a pyramid of apples, peaches, pears and grapes. The fried chicken was in a setting of boiled apples. With the pork was a dish of fried apples. The dessert was the choice of apple dumpling or peach cobbler, or both. By way of relishes there were pickled peaches, plum butter and applejelly—eleven forms of fruit, and it was no extra occasion.

In a reminiscent letter to the Saline county Index, published in 1900, Dr. Glenn C. Hardeman testified to the good fare and moderate charges of a famous Missouri tavern:

"On my first visit to Saline, in 1840, I landed at Arrow Rock from a steamboat in the night, and, as I intended going to the country in the morning, I took lodging only at the hotel kept by that well known and popular citizen, Joseph Huston, Sr., for which I was charged the sum of twelve and one-half cents, or I should say a 'bit.' On my return in a few days, I dined at the same hotel and was charged another 'bit' for an excellent dinner. The currency of that day was exclusively Mexican or Spanish coin."

One Missouri tavern has not only survived Missouri's first century of statehood, but, with the marking of historic trails and the promise of good roads to encourage leisurely motor travel, has entered on a new era of popularity. The fame of the tavern at Arrow Rock is growing rapidly with the tourist. Built of brick burned by slaves long before the Civil war, with wide fire places, with solid walnut wood finish, with antlers of Missouri elk, Arrow Rock tavern charms the visitor to-day. Patriotic women have added relics and draperies. What has been done at Arrow Rock with such popular approval, suggests the possibilities of the renaissance of the Missouri tavern to accommodate the travel by motor certain to develop with paved highways.

OLD
TAVERN

A Century of Missouri Agriculture

By F. B. Mumford.

A history of a century of Missouri agriculture is a history of the state. A record of agricultural development is a record of the economic, social and political history of the commonwealth. The reputation of Missouri, its resources, its income, its social institutions and political organization have been chiefly determined by its agricultural industry and by the rural population. Only during the later years of the century has the rapid growth of cities tended to change the general character of the industries and activities of the state from an agricultural community to one in which the difficult problems of modern life in cities of large population have become significant. It still remains true that Missouri is an agricultural state. Its agricultural interests, economic and social, are very largely the dominating forces in the commonwealth.

Any adequate history of agriculture must necessarily include a history of rural social institutions and especially the church and the school. But the limits of this article and the further fact that others are to write on the subjects of education and religion, suggest the propriety of the writer confining his discussion to the agricultural practices and institutions primarily the direct outgrowth of the activities of farmers as such rather than the broader relations of the agricultural peoples to commonwealth. It must therefore, be admitted that this article is imperfect, because of its limitations. Agriculture is not only an industry it is a type of life and a discussion of the industry minus a consideration of the human relations, is entirely inadequate and withal uninteresting.

THE FRENCH AS MISSOURI FARMERS.

In the early years of the century, the French had made many settlements in eastern Missouri. Land grants made to

French settlers by the Governor were usually located along streams, and the homes if possible were almost invariably located near a spring. The most common plan of settlement was an allotment to each farmer of a building lot in a village with lands adjacent in the country to which the farmer went to his daily labor. These lands radiated from the villages in long, narrow strips and it was upon these that the early farm operations of the French were conducted. In addition to the building lot in town and the farm land in the country, large areas of forest to be used in common were set aside for fuel and pasture. The farmers were required to guarantee that the land allotted to them would be used for some needed agricultural commodity. The usual method of procedure on the part of the farmer who desired land was to petition the Governor asking that he be given a certain quantity of land in a certain place and assigning reasons why the land should be alloted to him. Some of the reasons set forward were out of the ordinary. For example, in one case a gentleman petitioned the Governor for a grant of land to be used for the production of peach brandy, stating in his petition that he had become "impressed with the fact that the people of the country were suffering for the want of peach brandy." The Governor was evidently also impressed with the real necessity for supplying this lack and, therefore, granted the petition. At a later time the same man secured a grant of timber land to supply wood to run his distillery. The lands were free, no pecuniary return of any sort was required by the Government.

The agricultural implements used in the early days of the French settlements were exceedingly simple and primitive. The most important was the axe and this was usually made by the local blacksmith. The plows were made of wood by some carpenter except the point which was of iron fashioned by the blacksmith. All grain was cut by hand and in the early years of the century the sickle was the only available instrument for cutting grain. The grain was beaten out with a flail or trampled out by horses or oxen. The carting of products on the farm to market was done chiefly on two-

Norman J. Colman

Missouri's Great Agricultural Journalist and Cabinet Official.

wheeled carts. The wheat and corn for the use of the family were usually carried on horse back to a water or horse power mill.

There were also larger grants of land made to individuals. These were often very irregular in shape, the lines running in a zigzag manner enclosing especially desirable areas. The result of these crooked and irregular boundary lines made it very difficult to locate the limits of land ownership in later times. These large grants varied in size from eighty acres to nine square miles.

The early settlers occupying the small strips of land radiating from farm villages, produced chiefly wheat for the family bread, corn for feeding the farm animals and for human food, garden vegetables, fruits and small areas of cotton to supply the lint used in the fabrication of the lighter clothing used by the family. In addition to field and garden crops the settlers raised horses for draft and transportation, cattle for work, milk and meat, and sheep for wool and meat. The wool was manufactured into clothing by women of the family and on the smaller farms there remained little for sale. The farmers occupying the large grants of land produced agricultural products for profit. Their chief commodities were cattle, horses and sheep, although later as the land was gradually cleared of the forest trees considerable areas of corn and wheat were produced.

There are few authentic records of early agricultural practices in this state. One record which covers a period several years later than the French settlements is Duden's Reports. These were the letters of a citizen of Germany writing to his friends in the fatherland. This man settled on a farm near Dutzow in Warren county, in 1825, and his enthusiastic messages to his compatriots in Europe were instrumental in influencing large numbers of Germans to immigrate to Missouri in the early periods of the nineteenth century. These interesting letters have been translated and published in *The Missouri Historical Review* for 1918. They constitute a most important record of the very earliest settlements and are freely used in this brief article.

Duden expected to pay $2.00 per acre for the lands selected by him but discovered that the price had been reduced to to $1.25, which was the prevailing price of Government land in Missouri in 1825.

THE PIONEER AMERICAN FARMER.

The restless pioneer farmer of this period as for many years following, sold his farm in Kentucky, Ohio, Virginia and Pennsylvania and traveled westward to Missouri, where in the primal forest or on the broad prairie he established a home, and by hunting and the practice of the most primitive agricultural methods, provided the barest necessities for his household. These westward movements invariably occurred during the fall season because of uniformly fine weather and passable roads.

We can picture the farmer and his family starting from their eastern home in a covered wagon well stocked with smoked ham, beans, peas, rice, flour, cheese and fruit, and grain for the horses or oxen. These travelers camped for the night at a wayside spring. The horses were turned loose to graze, the leader being hobbled and belled. Seldom did the draft animals roam far from the wagons, but sometimes horses would start back over the trail with the evident intention of returning to their original homes. Many animals escaping in this manner finally found themselves on the banks of the Missouri and Mississippi where these rivers join, unable to cross and continue their journey backward. Duden reports a case of two oxen that returned 100 miles to Warren county after having swum the Missouri river. A horse came back from Franklin to the same locality, a distance of 120 miles.

When the farmer arrived at the place selected for his future home his first work was to erect tents for a temporary shelter and to surround these with a fence to protect the household goods and supplies from wandering domestic and wild animals. In this pen were also confined the young calves who were not only protected from the depredations of wild

animals, but served to keep their mothers near during the day and insured the return at night.

The first task of the home builder was the erection of a permanent house for the family. This house was invariably constructed of logs from trees felled near the site of the new home. When a sufficient number of such logs were ready to haul near the proposed location, neighbors assembled to help raise the house. The construction of the log house with the help of the friendly neighbors was a comparatively short and easy task. In many cases no floors were constructed. If floors were built in the log house they were usually made of split logs either from hickory or ash. The chimney was made of wood lined with stones on the lower innerside and daubed with mud in the upper part.

Many of the houses constructed during the damp season of Spring and Fall, gave out a moldy odor from the decaying vegetable matter under the floor. This was prevented in some cases by building a hot fire over the soil before building. Having constructed a home in which the family might be comfortably housed, the pioneer immediately began clearing land of the forests in order to provide areas for the growing of crops. It is stated by Duden that the cost of clearing land in 1825 estimating one day's labor at 62½ cents amounted to $6.00 an acre. In many cases the pioneers from the southern states brought slaves with them and the clearing was accomplished by slave labor. In the beginning only trees of one foot in diameter or less were cut down, the larger trees were girdled. The girdling killed the tree sooner or later, causing the tree to die and crops were grown in between these dead trees. Accidents sometimes occurred by the falling of large, dead limbs from these girdled trees. In many localities the stumps from the trees cut down decayed in from 12 to 15 years. The dead trees were later torn down. Such as were still standing were often blown down in large numbers during the heavy wind storms which prevailed. The danger from working among these old, dead trees was such that farmers hesitated to work among the trees during stormy weather.

LIVING WAS CHEAP AND PRICES DEFLATED.

During this early period hogs secured all their food from the mast in the forest, except in the few weeks during the winter when the snow was too deep or in seasons when the mast was not abundant. The animals running at large were marked by perforations in the ear and this mark was recorded in the books of the County Court.

Under conditions like these the farmer and his family were not lacking for the necessaries of life, but if for any reason the settler was unable to produce meat enough to satisfy the needs of his family, there was abundant game in the forest and the pioneer was an expert hunter. Hunting and fishing were in those days free. No game warden and no license collector interfered with the joy of the hunter or disturbed the meditations of the fisherman. Slaves were not permited to bear arms and hence were not generally permitted to hunt. Deer, wild turkey, rabbits and a few bear and many wolves were found in Eastern Missouri in 1825. One author states that the hunter would refuse to take home with him a turkey weighing less than 15 pounds and the price of such a turkey was 12½ cents. The price of board and lodging was $1.00 a week.

All the early writers speak enthusiastically of the generous hospitality of the people. "Wherever a house is found," says Duden, "there one may count on finding shelter and accommodation and rarely will a farmer accept pay from a fellow countryman unless demanded."

The crops grown were chiefly Indian corn, wheat, cotton, flax and garden vegetables. Beans were often planted in the field where the stalks of corn provided supports for the vines. Pumpkins were mentioned as a good crop. The land was so rich in places that wheat could not be successfully grown because of its tendency to lodge. The principal garden vegetables grown were peas, beans, lettuce, cucumbers, melons, sweet potatoes and Irish potatoes.

The early pioneer expended little or nothing for clothing. He made his own boots and his wife made the clothing for

the family. The average farmer in this early period had practically no money. About the only money actually needed was for paying taxes, but the amount needed for this purpose was exceedingly small. Government land was entirely free from taxes for five years. One fact which seems to have impressed Duden so much as to have been made the matter of special mention, was that the owner was not required to take his money to the collector, but the assessor as well as the collector hunted up the people. He was also impressed with the fact that people were free from inspection and regulation in the distribution of their products.

Labor was paid for by barter. Articles of trade were not at this time given a definite value, but changed with the demand. Under the Spanish dominion hides and furs had a legal fixed value.

The methods of cultivation were most primitive. The land intended for the production of Indian corn was marked off with a crude homemade marker and the grains planted by hand and covered with a hoe at the intersections made by marking. The corn was cultivated usually not more than once with one horse hitched to a plow. Most farms were supplied with apple and peach orchards principally for making cider and brandy and not a few made brandy from corn. A gallon of this brandy sold for 30 cents.

It must not be supposed that the pioneer farmer was unhappy or chaffed under his hard conditions. All the earliest records of the life of the pioneer in the early history of Missouri, emphasize the fact that the pioneer farmers were a happy, contented and efficient people. There was genuine social intercourse and a spirit of fraternity, equality and liberty which has seldom been equalled in any community in the world.

While all this is true the life of the pioneer was not one of monotonous regularity free from care. Many difficulties encountered by the early settlers in Missouri must be recorded. The widespread, serious and often disastrous forest and prairie fires were feared perhaps most of all. These fires frequently devastated whole counties and endangered

the property and lives of many people. At such times the wild animals, bear, squirrels, foxes, wolves, raccoons and opossums mingled with domestic horses, cattle, sheep and swine, and fled together in harmony in an effort to escape the common danger.

The rattle-snake, viper, copperhead and water moccasin were very common. The troublesome woodtick and chigger were even more irritating and objectionable than the same pests in our own time.

THE PERIOD OF AGRICULTURAL EXPANSION.

The great westward expansion of agriculture occurred during the period of 1783-1830. During this period thousands of eastern farmers left their improved homesteads and traveled overland to locate and improve new homes on the unoccupied but fertile lands of the middle west.

The type of agriculture during this period was largely the self-sufficing homestead. The necessities of the family were provided directly from the farm. The raw materials were produced by the men of the family and these raw products were largely manufactured by the women of the household, who supplied practically all the food and clothing needed by the farmer.

The mechanical equipment needed to till the farm and manufactured materials for use were also in a large measure the product of home industry. It was only toward the end of the period that farming came to be more of a commercial enterprise.

FARMING AS A BUSINESS.

The period from 1830-1860 may be regarded as a period of transformation of agriculture from the self-sufficing farm to a money making business. Under the old system the farm was primarily cultivated to provide for the necessities of the family and home. Under the new plan the farm was primarily cultivated for the purpose of accumulating wealth and secondarily for the purpose of providing for the necessi-

ties of the immediate family. During this remarkable period agricultural machinery was invented and its use widely extended. Transportation of farm products by railway was also developed during this period. These changes brought about a new era in the agriculture of Missouri and began the development which has resulted in the highly equipped farmsteads of the present day with thousands of dollars invested in valuable labor saving machinery and highly improved domestic animals.

The period from 1860-1887 marks another era of rapid expansion. This is particularly true in respect to the opening of new lands. The favorable homestead laws and the use of agricultural machinery gave great impetus to this movement. The demobilized soldiers from the Civil War returned chiefly to agriculture, and were an important factor in the rapid development of Missouri and the West.

From 1887 to the present time the development of agriculture has been marked by great expansion of the use of labor saving machines and the increased use of highly improved domestic animals. The wealth of farmers has greatly increased. The value of lands has increased progressively with the improvements in farm methods. The application of scientific methods of agriculture has not only increased the income of the farmer, but resulted in increasing the value of his land and providing the increasingly insistent demands of the world for more food and clothing.

This development has not yet reached its maximum. The soil resources of the state are capable of supporting a great population and these resources can be developed through more intensive systems of farming and a more intelligent use of certain areas which are not now profitably cultivated. There are over 43,795,000 acres of land in Missouri. In this vast area not more than 22,900,000 acres are improved and fully utilized for agricultural production at this time. In that region of the state popularly called the Ozark Region, it would be possible to set down two countries like Switzerland. The agricultural possibilities of the Ozark Region are greater than the agricultural possibilities of Switzerland.

The agricultural development of the state during the century of Missouri's history has been marvelous but it is not improbable that the development of the next one hundred years may be quite as remarkable and significant.

The progressive development of agriculture in the state may be judged somewhat by the statistics which have been recorded by the U. S. Census Bureau. The table which is presented herewith indicates the total production of the two staple crops of corn and wheat and the average yield per acre by ten-year periods from 1839 to 1909.

PRODUCTION AND YIELD PER ACRE OF CORN AND WHEAT IN MISSOURI, CENSUS YEARS 1839-1909.

Year.	Corn.		Wheat.	
	Production.	Average yield per acre.	Production.	Average yield per acre.
	Bushels.	*Bushels.*	*Bushels.*	*Bushels.*
1839	17,332,524	.....	1,037,386	.....
1849	36,214,537	.....	2,981,652	.....
1859	72,892,157	.....	4,227,586	.....
1869	66,034,075	.....	14,315,926	.....
1879	202,414,413	36.2	24,966,627	12.0
1889	196,999,016	32.4	30,113,821	15.5
1899	208,844,870	28.1	23,072,768	11.2
1909	191,427,087	26.9	29,837,429	14.8

PRICES OF AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTS.

The prices of agricultural products and the yields per acre of ordinary farm crops are a very important index of the progress of agricultural development and the prosperity of farmers. The accompanying table includes a record of the prices of farm products in Missouri and the average yields per acre for the period from 1866 to 1919. These statistics are taken from the official records of the United States Department of Agriculture.

PRICES OF FARM PRODUCTS IN MISSOURI AND YIELD PER ACRE 1866-1919.

YEAR.	Corn.		Wheat.		Oats.		Hay.	
	Price per bu.	Yield per A. bu.	Price per bu.	Yield per A. bu.	Price per bu.	Yield per A. bu.	Price per T.	Yield per A. Ton
1866	$0.40	30.8	$1.40	16.5	$0.31	30.7	$6.89	1.9
1867	.47	27.2	1.43	12.4	.35	30.0	7.96	1.7
1868	.42	30.3	1.11	14.0	.32	32.9	8.18	1.4
1869	.48	30.6	.63	14.1	.32	33.0	8.85	1.7
1870	.39	31.4	.82	13.0	.33	25.0	11.51	1.29
1871	.28	38.0	1.04	13.4	.27	28.3	9.59	1.55
1872	.28	37.0	1.25	8.8	.20	32.7	8.62	1.2
1873	.35	23.5	1.04	12.8	.28	28.0	8.75	1.25
1874	.67	16.0	.75	13.5	.42	22.0	10.87	1.23
1875	.24	36.6	.83	9.0	.24	31.6	8.96	1.3
1876	.26	27.8	.82	12.4	.24	20.2	7.81	1.35
1877	.26	29.0	.97	14.0	.20	33.0	6.81	1.4
1878	.26	26.2	.67	11.0	.18	30.6	6.42	1.62
1879	.25	37.0	1.01	14.0	.26	24.6	9.43	1.06
1880	,36	28.4	.89	13.4	.29	25.6	9.24	1.4
1881	,65	16.5	1.19	8.6	.45	23.8	12.50	1.1
1882	,39	29.5	.85	11.8	.32	30.1	7.60	1.12
1883	,35	27.5	.88	10.1	.25	28.7	6.50	1.25
1884	,26	33.0	.62	11.8	.25	26.7	6.30	1.3
1885	.25	31.3	.77	7.4	.26	22.3	7.25	1.2
1886	.31	22.2	.63	13.2	.25	23.4	7.00	1.09
1887	.37	22.0	.62	16.2	.26	29.3	8.21	1.2
1888	.30	31.0	,80	12.0	.24	25.2	7.36	1.2
1889	.23	32.2	,64	13.0	.18	25.5	6.00	1.24
1890	.44	25.8	,83	11.0	.39	17.4	7.20	1.2
1891	.38	29.9	,80	13.6	.29	25.3	6.20	1.15
1892	.36	27.7	,58	12.5	.30	20.0	6.75	1.15
1893	,30	27.9	.48	9.5	.25	23.4	7.04	1.24
1894	,40	22.0	.43	15.3	.29	23.3	7.82	.85
1895	,20	36.0	.51	12.0	.18	27.7	6.80	1.17
1896	,20	27.0	.70	11.7	.17	18.0	4.85	1.43
1897	,24	26.0	.85	9.0	.19	22.0	6.15	1.15
1898	,27	26.0	.59	9.8	.23	17.0	5.80	1.6
1899	,30	26.0	.62	9.9	.24	25.0	6.25	1.37
1900	,32	28.0	.63	12.5	.23	27.4	6.95	1.29
1901	,67	10.1	.69	15.9	.43	11.2	11.99	.75
1902	,33	39.0	.58	19.9	.28	32.5	6.89	1.59
1903	,34	32.4	.71	8.7	.32	22.1	6.68	1.57
1904	,44	26.2	.96	11.7	.34	22.7	6.62	1.47
1905	,37	33.8	.79	12.4	.30	27.2	7.84	1.1
1906	,38	32.3	.67	14.8	.33	22.8	10.00	.78
1907	,47	31.0	.84	13.2	.41	21.5	9.25	1.4
1908	,57	27.0	.93	10.0	.45	19.3	7.00	1.5
1909	,59	26.4	1.05	14.7	.43	27.0	8.30	1.35
1910	,44	33.0	.87	13.8	.32	33.6	9.20	1.3
1911	,60	26.0	.88	15.7	.45	14.8	13.30	.6
1912	,46	32.0	.90	12.5	.35	33	9.80	1.3
1913	,74	17.5	.84	17.1	.45	21.2	14.50	.6
1914	,68	22	.98	17.0	.44	21.5	13.60	.7
1915	,57	29.5	.98	12.3	.38	26.0	8.50	1.52
1916	,90	19.5	1.65	8.5	.53	25.0	9.30	1.3
1917	1.14	35.0	1.95	15.3	,61	40.0	17.50	1.15
1918	1.43	20.0	2.05	17.2	,70	29.0	20.50	.9
1919	1.38	27.0	2.09	13.5	,71	27.0	19.50	1.35

FARMERS' ORGANIZATIONS.

During the hundred years of Missouri history there have been many notable attempts to organize the farmers of Missouri. Some of these organizations have made significant records in the state. During the period from 1873 to 1875, according to the best records available, there were nearly 3000 local lodges of the Patrons of Husbandry or Grange, organized in the State of Missouri. The first delegate national convention of the Grange was held in St. Louis in 1873. This organization declined rapidly in number of members and in importance until about 1890, when it was again revived and at the present time is an important and growing organization of farmers.

The Farmers' Educational and Cooperative Union was organized in 1902. It has had a large membership in the State of Missouri and is still active. Its program and policy of work has appealed to a large group of farmers who believe that only through organization can the farmer hope to correct the economic abuses which are imposed upon the agricultural industry.

The Farmers' Alliance was organized during the years 1872 and 1875. This organization had a very wide following and included great numbers of farmers. It was largely a political organization and soon disappeared as a potent force in agriculture.

The Agricultural Wheel was organized in 1882 and was for a time of some importance.

In more recent years in addition to the Grange, the farmers' club movement with a state organization known as the Missouri Farmers' Association has developed a large number of local organizations. The purposes of the farmers' club movement in Missouri are chiefly cooperative buying and selling and the promotion of agricultural legislation favorable to the agricultural industry. This organization has accomplished a real service particularly in demonstrating to farmers that it is possible for them to cooperate in a business way and that by so doing they have been instrumental in protecting their economic interests.

The Missouri Farm Bureau Federation, a state organization with local county farm bureaus, is an organization which had its inception in the desire of the United States Department of Agriculture and the Missouri College of Agriculture to have in each county an official group of the most intelligent and progressive farmers with whom these federal and state agencies could cooperate in carrying out their educational program. There are perhaps three stages in the development of the farm bureau. The first stage being the attempt on the part of the College of Agriculture to secure a small group of progressive farmers who might constitute an executive committee who would be particularly interested and active in the interests of the County Agricultural Agent. This plan developed to a point where the College of Agriculture required that in every County there be organized not less than 250 farmers who should constitute the County Farm Bureau with regularly constituted officials.

The second stage in the development of the Farm Bureaus came during the great war against the Imperial Government of Germany. In organizing the Nation for war purposes the National Government found it desirable to have an official organization of farmers with whom it could cooperate. The success of the County Farm Bureaus had been so great that the Federal Government decided that an increased production campaign necessary to win the war should be carried on through and in cooperation with the County Farm Bureaus. The great success of this campaign, due to the efficient organization of the County Farm Bureaus, is now history.

After the war the County Farm Bureaus throughout the United States believed that the organization should be placed on a more permanent basis and should have a state and federal significance and while still continuing to cooperate with the Colleges of Agriculture and the United States Department of Agriculture in all educational work it was at the same time to be a strictly farmers' organization entirely independent of Federal or State control.

The first Missouri County Farm Bureau and the first County Agent appointed by the College of Agriculture was located in Cape Girardeau County August 1, 1912. In the following year 1913, organizations were perfected in Pettis, Buchanan, Johnson, Audrain, Dade, Jackson, Marion, Scott and Cooper Counties. In 1914, the counties of Greene, St. Francois and Saline were organized and County Agents appointed and organized agricultural work undertaken. In 1915 the counties of Carroll, Butler, Knox and St. Charles all established Farm Bureaus and employed County Agricultural Agents in cooperation with the College of Agriculture. Farm Bureaus were organized and county agents appointed during the year 1917 in Chariton, Lincoln, Mississippi, Linn, Adair, Cass and Sullivan counties. The success of the work and general satisfaction of farmers with this movement is indicated by the remarkable increase of County Farm Bureaus employing County Agents in the year 1918. During the latter year the counties of Stoddard, Dunklin, New Madrid, Livingston, Howell, Montgomery, Vernon, Jasper, Howard, Clinton, Pemiscot, Holt, Madison, St. Louis, Webster, Lafayette, DeKalb, Caldwell, Pike and Gentry arranged for cooperative educational work with the College of Agriculture by the appointment of County Agricultural Agents.

The close cooperation of the members of the County Farm Bureaus in handling finances and appointing committees in charge of various special phases of agricultural development work and in general support of the County Agents has been most significant and important.

Missouri was the first state to form a state federation of County Farm Bureaus. This was organized at Slater, Mo., in 1915. Annual meetings were held at Boonville 1916, Sedalia 1917, and Pertle Springs 1918. The next annual meeting was held at Columbia during the Farmers' Week in January 1920. At this latter meeting a new and broader constitution was adopted which provided for a fund for the state organization. At the present time, May, 1920, there are forty-one counties which have reorganized their farm bureaus

and definitely related themselves to the State Farm Bureau Federation. The average membership per county at the present time is over 800 members. The constitution recognizes the family as the unit of membership including husband, wife, and minor children. In general the local farm bureaus give both man and wife a vote in the deliberations of the organization.

A large number of farmers organizations having special interests of a particular type of farming in mind have been developed in Missouri, one of the oldest and most important of these is the Missouri State Horticultural Society, which was organized in 1857 and has had a continuous and successful existence. For many years it received state aid and published a valuable report which was prized by agricultural libraries not only in this country but throughout the world.

Other organizations which have had an important influence upon the agriculture of Missouri are:

Live Stock Producers' Association,
Corn Growers' Association,
Holstein Breeders' Association,
Duroc-Jersey Breeders' Association,
Saddle Horse Breeders' Association,
Draft Horse Breeders' Association,
Poultry Association,
Apicutural Society,
Agricultural Dairy Association.

AGRICULTURAL INSTITUTIONS.

The College of Agriculture.

The College of Agriculture has its origin in the beneficence of the National, State, and local governments. On July 2, 1862, President Lincoln signed the bill providing for the establishment of Colleges of Agriculture and Mechanic Arts. The Missouri College of Agriculture was located at Columbia as a division of the University of Missouri. The Federal law has determined the character of the instruction of these institutions in the following words,—"the leading object shall be, without including further scientific

and classical studies and including military tactics, to teach such branches of learning as are related to agriculture and the mechanic arts in such a manner as the legislators of the states may respectfully prescribe."

For the location of the College of Agriculture, Boone county made a donation of $90,000 for the erection of a building and the purchase of lands. A part of the Federal funds are by State law given to the School of Mines and Metallurgy located at Rolla, Missouri.

The early years of the College of Agriculture were years of difficulty. The enrollment of students was very small, the number of teachers limited, and the appreciation of this new type of education was lacking on the part of farmers and others. At so late a time as 1895-1900, the average number of graduates of the College of Agriculture was only two persons. After about 1900 the enrollment in the College of Agriculture increased. The average enrollment in the College of Agriculture from 1900 to 1907 was 166. From 1907 to the outbreak of the great war the increase in enrollment was rapid. In 1914-15 there were more than 1000 students receiving instruction in the College of Agriculture. During the war the enrollment fell off rapidly amounting in 1918-19 to only 325. The enrollment again increased very rapidly and at the present time (1920), the enrollment of students in the College is over 900.

The institution through the farmers trained at the College has had a profound influence upon Missouri agriculture. At the present time more than 400 young men who have received instruction in the College of Agriculture return each year to the management of Missouri farms. More than 4000 farmers in Missouri have received training in the College of Agriculture.

Each year in January for one week, the College gives a short course in Agriculture, in the subjects of Animal Husbandry, Soils, Farm Crops, Horticulture, Entomology, Dairy Husbandry, Rural Economics and Home Economics. It was estimated that 3500 farmers and their wives attended this event in January, 1920. The State Board of Agri-

COLLEGE OF AGRICULTURE, UNIVERSITY OF MISSOURI

culture furnishes the evening programs for this Farmers' Week event and through their cooperation the visitors to the College of Agriculture have had an opportunity to hear some of the greatest agricultural authorities in America.

The Agricultural Experiment Station.

The Agricultural Experiment Station, established in 1887, is a division of the College of Agriculture. Its purpose is to serve the industry by making original investigations of the problems of the farmer. It is an attempt to bring to agriculture the benefits of modern scientific investigation. It has made important investigation on all lines of agriculture and has a large staff continuously at work making investigations in soil management, improvement of field crops, animal nutrition, plant pathology, horticulture, insect diseases, animal diseases, poultry farm management and rural sociology.

The Director of the Experiment Station publishes annually a report including a list of the projects and significant results of value to agriculture. The Station issues bulletins reporting the results of its work. These publications are free to Missouri citizens.

The Agricultural Extension Service.

The Agricultural Extension Service, founded June 8, 1914, is also a division of the College of Agriculture and its purpose is to carry directly to the farmers themselves the results of the investigations made by the Experiment Station. Its organization includes specialists in the various important phases of agriculture and so-called County Agricultural Agents. The latter are located in the counties and are constantly available for help in the solution of the problems of production and distribution. The Agricultural Extension Service, like the Experiment Station, has a special federal appropriation which is available only on condition that the state appropriate an equal amount for the same purpose.

The State also maintains a Fruit Experiment Station and a Poultry Experiment Station at Mountain Grove. These institutions are entirely supported by State funds.

MISSOURI STATE BOARD OF AGRICULTURE.

The Missouri State Board of Agriculture was established by act of the Legislature in December 1863. It is recorded that three different attempts were made to secure a meeting of the five members necessary in order to organize the Board. The Board was finally organized March 13, 1865. The first President was Henry T. Mudd, of Kirkwood. The first Corresponding Secretary, L. B. Morse, and the first Recording Secretary, John H. Tice. The headquarters of the Board were in St. Louis until 1878, at which time they were changed by Law to Columbia, Missouri. The first appropriation made to the Board of Agriculture was $100.00.

The growth of the Board of Agriculture in importance and power has been significant. The appropriations for the Board of Agriculture have increased from year to year until in 1919 they amounted to $159,100.00 for the general activities of the Board and $127,000.00 for the State Fair.

In the beginning the duties and responsibilities of the Board of Agriculture were limited, but from time to time the responsibilities of the Board have been increased until today it has become one of the most important branches of the state administration. The more important activities of the Board are, the administration of the veterinary service, Farmers' Institutes, Bureau of Markets, Bureau of Dairying, the commercial feeding stuffs and pure seed laws, and the management of the State Fair. The Board of Agriculture publishes an annual report and monthly bulletins which have had an important influence upon the agriculture of the state.

Some of the notable achievements of the Board of Agriculture should be especially mentioned. From the very beginning the Board of Agriculture took an active interest in the location and development of the College of Agriculture. It assumed an active interest in the location and utilization of the Agricultural College lands and insisted that the income from such sales be devoted to the purpose intended by Congress. It has for many years ap-

SCENES AT MISSOURI'S STATE FAIR GROUNDS, SEDALIA

"Education Through Concrete Exhibits"—The State Fair

ART HALL
In which the Educational Exhibits are shown.

LIVE STOCK PAVILION
Where Stock is Judged and Prizes Awarded.

GROUP OF STUDENTS IN BOYS' STATE FAIR SCHOOL

pointed annually a Committee on the College of Agriculture and this committee has investigated the activities of the College and reported to the Board on the progress and development of the Institution. The activities of the Board of Agriculture in recent years have been chiefly in the direction of the development of administrative or regulatory projects for the improvement of agriculture. The Board of Agriculture is an important part of the administrative machinery of the state, having in charge the administration of agricultural legislation intended to protect the producer and regulate commerce in agricultural products.

The Board of Agriculture is bi-partisan, its members are appointed by the Governor, one from each congressional district. The present officers of the Board, (1920), are:

President.....Arthur T. Nelson.
Secretary.....Jewell Mayes.

The Board of Agriculture is under the law also a State Fair Board in charge of the Missouri State Fair. Separate officers are elected for the State Fair Board and the officers at present are:

President.....A. C. Dingle.
Secretary.....Ernest G. Bylander.

MISSOURI AGRICULTURE AT THE END OF THE CENTURY.

The progress of the agricultural industry during the first century of Missouri history may be in a measure appreciated by a glance at the statistics of production for the year 1918.*

The value of all farm crops produced in the state for the year 1918 was $462,856,000.00. If there be added to crop values animal products, wool, butter, milk, poultry, eggs, hides, furs, game, animals slaughtered and miscellaneous, the value of the total product reaches the enormous sum of $940,504,910.00. In addition to these sums there remained unsold on Missouri farms live stock valued at $406,862,000.00. If this sum be added to the values for farm crops and animal products, we have a total value of farm products in Mis-

*Year Book Missouri State Board of Agriculture, 1919, page 160.

souri for one year of $1,347,366,910.00. These values are to a certain extent inflated, due to war time prices. It is probable that these values should be reduced by one-third or one-half in order that an average annual valuation can be accepted as a true picture of the economic condition of the agricultural industry at the end of the century.

The area of all crops in 1918 was 14,870,400 acres. The average value of crops on each farm being $1,685.00 or $243.00 for each person living on a Missouri farm.

The acreage of improved farm crops in 1918 was as follows:

Corn	6,693,000 Acres.
Wheat	3,092,000 Acres.
Oats	1,524,000 Acres.
Tame Hay	2,989,000 Acres.
Potatoes	114,000 Acres.
Cotton	156,000 Acres.
Rye	34,000 Acres.

In January, 1919, there were in Missouri 1,040,000 horses, 374,000 Mules, 919,000 Milk Cows, 1,782,000 other cattle, 1,599,000 sheep and 4,943,000 Hogs.

The average for male farm labor in 1918 was $35.00 a month with board or $45.00 a month without board. The daily wages were $2.85 with board or $3.45 without board through the harvest time and for other periods labor with board was $1.90 a day and without board $2.60 a day.

The average value per acre with improvements was $80.00 on March 1, 1918. At the same time land without improvements was valued at $60.00 per acre.

The total investment in the agricultural industry in Missouri at the end of the century including land, live stock, supplies and equipment amounts to the stupendous sum of $4,155,000.000.

The next century of Missouri Agriculture will undoubtedly show more remarkable improvement. The agencies for agricultural development were organized during the last quarter of the century. These have been developed so rapidly and have had such a remarkable influence in the improvement of the agricultural industry that we may expect an exceptional

improvement in the profits from farming, yields per acre, better utilization of land and improvements and in living conditions surrounding the agricultural industry.

A Century of Education in Missouri.

By C. A. Phillips.

IMPORTANT LEGAL PROVISIONS FOR SCHOOLS.

The first Constitution of Missouri took into account the importance of education in the following statements in Article 6, which included two sections on education, one general and the other specific, relating primarily to the University. Section 1 said, "Schools and the means of education shall forever be encouraged in this State; and the General Assembly shall take such measures to preserve from waste or damage such lands as have been or hereafter may be granted by the United States for the use of schools within each township in the State, and shall apply the funds which may arise from such lands in strict conformity to the object of the grant; one school or more shall be established in each township as soon as practicable and necessary, where the charges shall be taught gratis." From the above quotation it will be observed that the State at once assumed the obligation of making provision for general education. Moreover, the unit for administration is at once set out as the township. This unit of administration was retained until 1853. No central control of any kind was vested in the county and each township was in complete control of school inspectors, who were also denominated directors. These directors employed and examined the teachers and visited the schools to determine their efficiency. The act which was passed by Congress making provision for the admission of Missouri into the Union also set apart each sixteenth section of land thruout the State, together with seventy-two sections of saline lands, for the support of public schools. This made a total of 1,254,000 acres of land. This became the basis for Missouri's permanent school funds. Of course, before any money was available for the support of schools, the lands had to be sold and the proceeds invested in such a way

as to secure an income. This is too long a story to be presented in the limitations of such an article as we are to present here.

Statutory Enactments: The State Legislature in 1825 practically made it mandatory for each congressional township to form a school district and provide for at least one school. The county court was invested with enough authority to see that this provision was put into operation. At the same time laws were passed giving power to apply rents from the school lands, fines, penalties and forfeitures for school purposes.

In 1833 the Legislature passed an act authorizing the Governor to appoint a committee to formulate a complete system of common and primary schools. Governor Dunklin appointed Joseph Hertich, John J. Lowery and Abel R .Corbin. This committee did its work in a very comprehensive fashion. An elaborate report was prepared which was submitted to the Governor the same year. After much discussion and tremendous pressure exerted by the Governor, the General Assembly in 1835 passed laws incorporating the more important features of the Committee's report. These features are as follows:

1. The report provided for a Board of Commissioners for literary purposes. In reality this is the organization of the first Board of Education of the State. The board consisted of th Governor, Secretary of State, Auditor, Treasurer and Attorney General. It is interesting to observe this is the form of the present State Board of Education.

2. The report provided that schools should continue for at least six months in each year.

3. Schools were to be supported out of the school funds in each county.

4. The law made provision also for local taxation as follows: A vote taken over the whole county could secure three and one-third cents on each one hundred dollars for school purposes on two-thirds majority vote. A board of three trustees was provided for with corporate powers. The course of study to be taught was reading, writing, arithmetic, geography, English grammar, and such other branches (theology excepted) as the funds might justify.

The General Assembly in 1837 gave authority for the investment of the Saline Land Fund and the United States Revenue Fund in Missouri bank stock. However, it was provided that the funds must amount to $500,000.00 before any payments were to be made. This sum was reached in 1842, at which time the first apportionment of moneys was made to thirteen counties in this State at the rate of sixty cents per pupil.

The General Assembly in 1839 passed what was known as the Geyer Act. In reality this made provision for a complete state system, and it should be stated that Missouri's school system, such as she has, may be said to have had its origin in the content of this legislation. The provisions of this act provided for the constitution of the common school fund of the State, county school funds and township funds. Moreover, conditions were provided again for the sale of the sixteenth section. It may be noted that this legislation made provision for the permanent school funds of the State. The act also provided for a State Superintendent of Common Schools to be chosen by joint ballot of the Senate and House of Representatives for a term of two years. The Superintendent was expected to exercise an oversight over the schools of the State, and he was required to distribute state school moneys among the several counties of the State wherever public schools were maintained. The law required that the distribution of moneys should be based on the number of white children between the ages of eight and sixteen years. This remained the school age until the second constitution was adopted in 1865, when the age limits were changed so as to include all persons between five and twenty-one years. The constitution of 1875 required the State to provide gratuitous instruction for all persons between six and twenty years of age.

The first one of these laws made provision only for white children. The constitution of 1865 especially provides for separate schools for the children of African descent; so does the constitution of 1875.

The laws enacted in 1839 also made provision for a state university with limitations. Consequently we have a state system mapped out. However, it should be called a "paper system" for it was really never put into operation.

In 1853 the General Assembly made a complete revision of the school laws. Among the more important changes may be mentioned the fact that the State Superintendent was charged with looking after the general interests of the schools of the State again, and he was to be elected biannually by the people. Provision was made for the selection of a County Commissioner of county schools, whose duty it was to examine teachers and grant certificates of qualification for the same, to apportion the school moneys of his county, to call meetings of the voters when necessary, and to visit the schools as often as necessary. The congressional township was again made the school township, but permission was granted to divide the township into districts, not to exceed four, when the inhabitants of the township so desired. Each of the townships was under the control of three trustees, who were empowered to hire teachers, levy taxes, make rate bills and perform such other services as were necessary to render schools efficient. At this time definite provision was made for twenty per cent of the state revenue and the dividends arising from the funds invested in the Bank of the State of Missouri, to be apportioned annually by the State Superintendent to the several counties in the State, according to the enumeration of children in each between the ages of five and twenty years. Special provisions were made in these laws also for orphans and the children of indigent parents to attend the schools free.

The constitution of 1865 had a very elaborate article on education. Some of the more important provisions should be quoted here. Section 1 stated, "A general diffusion of knowledge and intelligence being essential to the preservation of the rights and liberties of the people, the General Assembly shall establish and maintain free schools for the gratuitous instruction of all persons in this state between the ages of five and twenty-one years."

Section 2 stated, "Separate schools may be established for children of African descent. All funds provided for the support of public schools shall be divided in proportion to the number of children without regard to color."

Section 3 vested the supervision of instruction in a State Board of Education whose powers and duties shall be prescribed by law. The superintendent of Public Schools was made president of this board, and he was elected for a term of four years by the qualified voters of the State. The Secretary of State and the Attorney General were the other members of the board.

Section 4 required the General Assembly to establish and maintain a state university, with departments for instruction in teaching, agriculture and natural science.

Section 7 provided that no township or school district could receive any proportion of the public school fund unless a free school had been maintained for not less than a period of three months during the year for which the distribution was made. The General Assembly under this constitution was given the power to enact a compulsory attendance law.

Provision was also made for levying taxes to provide for a minimum school term of four months.

Under State Superintendent Parker a very elaborate school code was provided and presented to the General Assembly. In the annual report for 1867 Superintendent Parker sets out with much detail the new scheme. It was really a wonderful scheme and would do justice to a modern commonwealth at the present time. In fact, in a good many respects it would be much better than the present system of laws. It is not worth while, however, to give any extended account of this system in such a brief article as this for the reason that it was enacted immediately after the war period and really was never completely put into operation. Moreover, there was a very radical revision of the Parker laws in 1874, with a complete decentralization of the Parker scheme, and the district system was set up instead of the centralized plan of Parker.

The constitution of 1875 was such as to allow the provisions of the new laws enacted in 1874 to remain in force or to

be re-enacted. The constitution of 1875 reaffirmed the necessity of education by quoting directly the paragraph of the constitution of 1865, except that the age limit was changed as has been noted in another paragraph. The same requirement is kept for the minimum length of public schools, namely three months. It may be observed that the laws of 1909 now provide that a district to receive any of the public funds shall maintain a school for at least eight months, provided a levy of forty cents on the hundred dollars is sufficient to meet the expenses of such a term. It may be observed also that under the present scheme of giving state aid to the weak rural school districts it is possible for nearly all of the schools in the state to have an eight months' term. The constitution also made it mandatory for school officials to establish free public schools for the children of African descent.

Section 7 of the constitution of 1875 made it mandatory for the General Assembly to set apart not less than twenty-five per cent of the total state revenue for the exclusive use of public schools. However, the General Assembly in 1887 enacted a law which set aside thirty-three and one-third per cent of the general revenue for school purposes and each succeeding General Assembly has made similar appropriations. The constitution also specifically prohibited the General Assembly, county, city, town, township, school district or other municipal corporation from using any of the public school fund to aid directly any religious creed, church or sectarian purpose, or to aid any school or institution of learning controlled by any religious creed, church or sectarian denomination.

Since the constitution of 1875 was adopted, at various times the General Assembly has enacted a good many statutes concerning education. In 1870 the law providing for normal schools was adopted. In 1903 the General Assembly passed a law providing for the inspection of high schools, thru which the high schools obtained a legal status. Of course, many high schools had been in existence before this, but they really had no direct legal status. Teachers' institutes were made mandatory under the Wolfe laws, which were passed in 1890 and

some form of county teachers' association has been compulsory since that time. In 1905 a compulsory attendance law was enacted, requiring all school children between the ages of eight and fourteen to attend not less than three-fourths of the school term. In 1899 the General Assembly passed the first important consolidation law. In 1909 the General Assembly passed the special state aid law for weak districts. At various times this law has been amended until now it is possible for weak districts to secure $200.00 directly from the state funds.

Another very important law was passed by the General Assembly in 1909 which made provision for state-wide county supervision. The county superintendent's office had been abolished in 1872 and the State Legislature had passed a local option county supervision law. However, from 1872 until 1909 only twenty-two counties had availed themselves of the option. The new law made it mandatory for each county to select a county superintendent and gave a state subsidy of $400.00 to help his salary.

The General Assembly in 1913 enacted several very important pieces of legislation. At this time the teacher-training law for high schools was passed. It provides for pedagogical training in certain high schools, so that preparation may be made for teachers to go at once into the elementary schools after completing the course outlined. A certificate is issued by the state which is good for two years in elementary schools. The principle of giving subsidies for special purposes in high schools and to enable certain communities to have high schools was established by the High School Aid Law. The free text book law and the school board convention law were enacted at this time. In 1917 a law was passed for the promotion of vocational education. This act was passed in order that the state might avail itself of the privileges and benefits of the Federal Vocational Education Law, known as the Smith-Hughes Act.

This section of the article would not be complete without paying tribute to the services of the several state superintendents who have held that important office, and especially to the State Teachers' Association which has labored in season

and out for better constitutional and legislative conditions for Missouri schools. More recently the Legislative Committee of the State Teachers' Association has rendered most efficient service in promoting legislation and settlement for better school conditions thruout the State.

ELEMENTARY EDUCATION.

From the beginning it was thought that elementary education was necessary for the preservation of the life and liberty of the people. Indeed, each of the constitutions quoted above has expressed this general philosophy. It is very easy to account for this being incorporated in our system of education. The early influences on Missouri are traced to New England where this doctrine had been thoroughly established in the thinking of the people. In other localities in Missouri the southern influence was a considerable influence in the development of the schools. However, the largest single influence comes thru the ideas of Thomas Jefferson. He believed profoundly that the state should be responsible for the education of all its citizens. His theory embraced a complete system of education from the primary grades to the university. It may be said that his ideas were incorporated most thoroughly in the elaborate scheme of the Geyer Act which was passed in 1839.

The early schools were voluntary efforts made by small groups of families co-operating. They are commonly denominated "subscription schools," the school being supported by each parent paying so much per child, the fee being collected by the teacher himself. In addition to the regular fees the teacher was boarded around a week or longer at a time by each family from which children came to the school. Moreover, presents of various kinds were often given to the teacher. These schools were usually three or four months in length and held in the winter time. However, it was not at all uncommon for another school to be held in the spring of two or three months length so that the small children might attend. This type of organization furnished the basis for a district system. However, as has been observed

in former paragraphs, the early legislative enactments made provision for a township organization, which was never so very effective, and in 1874 the legislation enacted made the district system the basis for school organization. At the present time in the state there are 9,581 separate school districts. The early schools also included the academy, which was partly elementary in curriculum, for the reason that it was not at all uncommon to have a junior branch in which was taught reading, writing, ciphering, spelling, and sometimes the unusually brilliant pupils were allowed to take grammar and geography. The academies, however, will be discussed in connection with secondary education.

The early enumerations of school children were very inaccurate. At the time of the first distribution of funds in 1842 the funds were prorated on the basis of 3,332 children and thirteen counties participated in the distribution, namely, Benton, Boone, Clark, Cole, Cooper, Greene, Lafayette, Livingston, Marion, Monroe, Ralls, Saline and Shelby. The last school enumeration in June, 1919, gave the grand total of 914,255 children, of whom 44,129 were colored.

The first distribution of school funds from the State amounted to $1,999.60. The last distribution of State moneys for the school year 1919-20 amounted to $2,692,-821.99—whereas the expenditure on public education in the State for that same year amounts to $21,942,418.05. This seems a large sum. However, when our attention is called to the fact that that is about $25.00 per enumerated child it will be noted that we are not expending any very extravagant sum. There has been directly appropriated from the State Treasury from 1842 to the present time no less than fifty million dollars for the support of public education. However, the major portion of this sum has been expended in the last three decades.

The school funds of the State held in the various funds now amounts to more than fifteen million dollars. These funds were constituted when the system was organized in 1859 as district, county and State. In the main they came from the sale of public lands, fines and escheats. In 1837 $382,-

335.30 was added to these funds from the surplus revenue which was obtained from the federal government. At the present time the General Assembly appropriates one-third of all of the general revenue for school purposes, and about one-half of all of the revenues of the State are appropriated for education in its various forms.

The early courses of study were made up chiefly of the "three R's," to which later were added history, geography and grammar. However, it was not uncommon for big boys and sometimes girls to study higher branches of history, mathematics and the languages, especially where no academy was directly available. In the 80's Pestallozi brought in the nature study movement and elaborated the natural sciences. In the 90's the Herbartian influence caused a very positive elaboration of the study of history and literature, with some additional emphasis to geography and nature study. About 1900 agriculture was put in as a required subject in the elementary schools, and at the present time we have considerable agitation for what has been denominated as "vitalized agriculture." The present State course of study for elementary schools outlines in somewhat elaborate fashion courses for drawing, music, home economics, manual training and physical education.

SPECIAL SCHOOLS.

The State has made provision for special forms of education for subnormal children. As early as 1839 the State provided the scheme for the training of deaf children, and in 1847 a definite statute was enacted to support the same. The Deaf and Dumb Institution was organized in 1851 and located at Fulton. In 1851 the School for the Blind was opened in St. Louis by Mr. Whelan. At first the school was in his residence. In 1852 the matter was presented to the State Legislature and an appropriation was made for the support of the same.

The Training School for Boys was established by the General Assembly in 1887 and located at Boonville. It is the purpose of the school to take care of the boys who have committed some offense against the State, or who are somewhat

incorrigible and not suitable for membership in the ordinary school. Regularly the State makes appropriations for the support of this institution. The Industrial Home for Girls was established by an act of the General Assembly in 1887 and located at Chillicothe. It is the purpose of this school to provide a home for girls who are vagrants or otherwise not able to conform to the general standards of society. It is not the immediate purpose of the institution to try to reform girls who are already criminals; it is more the desire of the institution to prevent girls from becoming socially impossible. The school is organized on the cottage plan.

The Colony for Feeble Minded was established by an act of the General Assembly in 1889 and located at Marshall. It is the purpose of this institution to make provision for the feeble minded and epileptic, especially children.

In 1909 the Forty-fifth General Assembly made provision for the establishment of a State Industrial Home for Negro Girls. This institution is located at Tipton. Its purpose is to take care of negro girls on somewhat the same plan as the Chillicothe Industrial Home takes care of white girls.

For these various forms of special education, since their organization, the State directly has appropriated something more than twenty-two million dollars, including the appropriation for the year ending 1920.

SECONDARY EDUCATION.

The secondary schools of Missouri would be classified broadly as academies and high schools. Very early the academies were organized thruout the State. Some of these academies were chartered by the State, and others were merely corporations of various kinds. The early incorporated academies were Jackson, chartered in 1820 in Cape Girardeau county. The St. Charles and Franklin academies were also chartered in 1820. Louisiana Academy was chartered in 1822, St. Marys in 1822, Potosi in Washington county in 1824, Ste. Genevieve in 1824, Boonville Adademy in 1825, and Fayette Academy was established in Howard county in 1825. These

and many others might be mentioned. They were all organized primarily on the historical background of the English public schools. It was estimated by Dexter that there were in the State in 1850 not less than 204 of these academies and that there were enrolled in them not less than 8,000 students. There were also organized many female seminaries, some of them being opned as early as 1820. Among the earlier may be mentioned Elizabeth Aull at Lexington in 1820, Lindenwood at St. Charles in 1830, Howard Payne at Fayette in 1834. Very early some military academies were organized too, or rather grafted on the form of the old time academies.

At the present time, except for certain religious organizations, the academies and seminaries of all kinds have nearly passed out of existence. From several hundred they have dropped down to a score. A number of the female seminaries are now the junior colleges of the state, of which there are at the present time sixteen; namely, Central College for Women, Christian College for Women, Cottey College for Women, Culver-Stockton College, Hardin College for Women, Howard-Payne College for Women, Kansas City Junior College, La-Grange College, Lindenwood College for Women, Marvin College, Missouri Christian College, St. Joseph Junior College, Stephens Junior College, Synodical College, The Principia, and William Woods College. If the limits of this paper warranted many of them could furnish a very interesting story. There are only three surviving military academies; namely, Kemper Military at Boonville, Missouri Military at Mexico, and Wentworth Military at Lexington.

The American high school is really one of the most marked contributions to the spirit of democracy. There are no European institutions which correspond to it or parallel it. It is an outgrowth of the yearnings of the common people for the higher forms of education. Moreover, it is the gateway thru which the people enter into the higher professional studies in the colleges and universities. The first high school in the State was organized in the city of St. Louis in the winter of 1852-53. In fact, the school was opened the first Monday in February in 1853 with seventy pupils. These pupils were

required to pass special examinations after a completion of the elementary schools as this was not thot a definite qualification for secondary education. The second high school was opened in St. Joseph in 1866 and the third in Kansas City in 1867. However, the high schools have no legal status in any of the constitutions of the State. They legally exist on a statutory basis at the present time, and this basis was not very firmly established until 1903 when provision was made for the State inspection of schools by the State Superintendent or a duputy in connection with his office.

The development of high schools was at first very slow. In 1899 Superintendent Coleman reported twenty-seven four-year high schools, thirty-eight three-year high schools and sixty two-year high schools. The university list for 1890 included nineteen high schools and five academies, each being completely affiliated. After the university employed a visitor the high school development was much more rapid, and since the time of State inspection and visitation the high school development has gone on with marked rapidity. At the present time there are three hundred and two first class high schools, one hundred and sixteen second class and one hundred and eighty-eight third class, making a grand total of six hundred and six fully classified high schools in the State. When you consider that there were only two hundred and three in 1908 these figures are striking, for the reason that it indicates an increase of practicallytwo hundred per cent in about ten years. For the year ending June, 1919, there were enrolled in the high schools 60,699 pupils, and there were graduated from these schools 8,699. The eighth grade graduates this same year were 31,330, which indicates that there is something yet to be done in high schools to attract and hold all of the pupils who are graduating from the eighth grade. If such were the case the enrollment should be near 100,000 instead of 60,000.

However, the most important development about the high school has been the democratized curriculum. The early academies and high schools were for such students only as expected to attend college. At the present time, however,

the modern high school curriculum in the State makes provision for practically all sorts of people—teacher-training classes for those who would begin teaching, vocational agriculture, vocational home economics, the trades, all the sciences, histories, languages and technical subjects. Indeed, a modern high school curriculum is the equivalent of the ordinary college curriculum of thirty or forty years ago, except for the language demands made by those colleges. But in science, literature and the vocational aspects of education this new American invention in the State is immeasurably the superior of the old time college.

HIGHER EDUCATION.

Under higher education may be grouped the colleges, universities, and the normal schools. However, the last Legislature classified the normal schools as teachers' colleges. The earliest higher institution of learning to be orgnized in the State was the old St. Louis academy, which has become St. Louis University. The beginnings of this institution were made in 1818, and the school was taken over by the Jesuits in 1827. The institution finally became St. Louis University under charter by the State in 1832. Provision was made for the State University in the first constitution in 1820. The Geyer Act of 1839 made very definite provision for a State university to crown the public school system. The enabling act of Congress in 1820 set aside two townships of land and some other lands as the resources from which to esablish a seminary in the State. However, the university itself was not established until 1839, when it was located, by a commission authorized by the Legislature, at Columbia. Central College was established in 1844, William Jewell in 1849, Westminster in 1853, Washington University in 1854, Drury in 1873, Park College in 1875, Tarkio College in 1883 and Missouri Valley in 1888. These with Central Wesleyan of Warrenton and Missouri Wesleyan at Cameron constitute what is now known as the College Union, which was organized in 1893. The organization of the College Union resulted in the standardization of higher education in the State. It also had a marked influence on high schools and all secondary education, for the reason

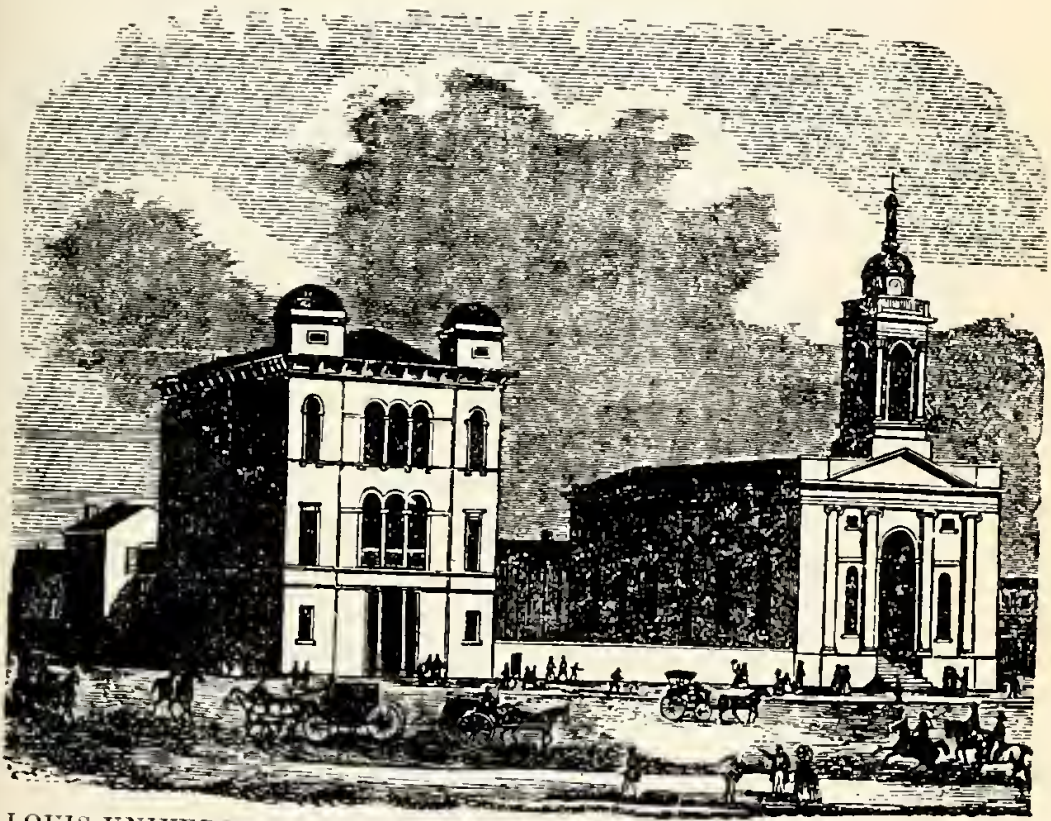
that minimum standards of education were defined. Of course it is understood that these standards were all based primarily on the work of the Committee of the National Education Association with respect to secondary education. Undoubtedly this organization resulted in very much good for higher education in the State because it brought higher education out of the unorganized and nebulous condition into which it had necessarily grown. All of these institutions are on a secondary footing at the present time and may be represented as rendering most efficient service to society.

The normal schools of the State were organized in 1870. They were established under the authority of an act of the legislature in March, 1870. At this time two schools were established, one at Kirksville and one at Warrensburg. In 1873 a third school was established at Cape Girardeau and in 1905 two additional schools were established—one at Springfield and one at Maryville. These schools are under the control and management of boards of regents, appointed by the governor for a term of six years. During the existence of these schools more than 145,000 students have been enrolled in them and more than 23,000 licenses to teach have been issued by them. The university also from the beginning contributed to the preparation of teachers. The constitution of 1865 required the university to establish a chair of didactics, and at the present time the university has a well organized School of Education.

Professional education is provided for by the University of Missouri, where there are colleges of Agriculture, Arts and Science, Law, Education, Engineering, Journalism and Commerce and preparatory work for Medicine. St. Louis University makes provision for professional and educational work in Theology, Law, Dentistry and Commerce. Washington University has well organized professional departments in Law, Fine Arts, Medicine, Dentistry, Engineering and Architecture.

One of the most interesting developments in higher education is the Conference Agreement, which includes the State University, all of the Teachers Colleges, in co-operation with

UNIVERSITY OF MISSOURI IN 1874
(From Steven's Missouri The Center State.)



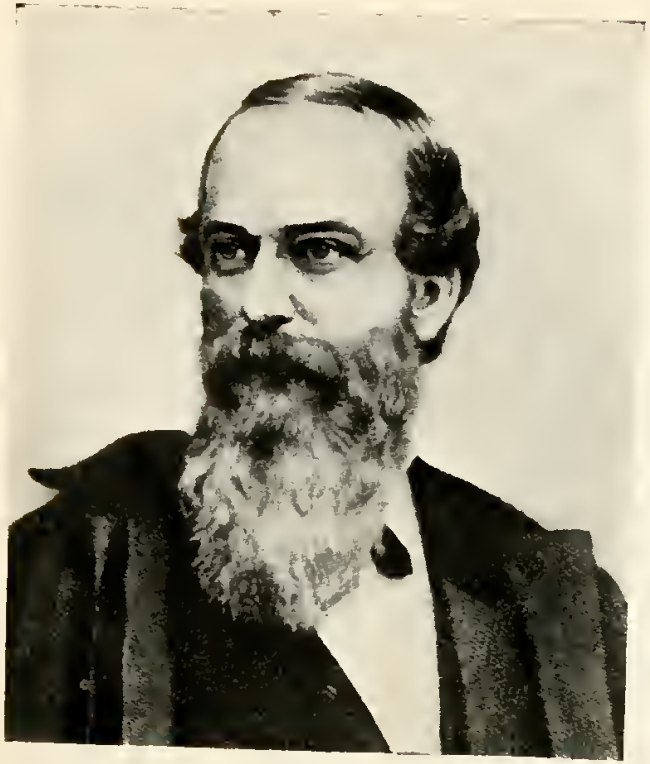
ST. LOUIS UNIVERSITY IN 1858, NINTH STREET AND WASHINGTON AVENUE
(From Steven's Missouri The Center State.)

the State Superintendent of public education. This organization was perfected in June, 1916. Among the more important items in the agreement is mentioned the complete standardization of entrance credit for all colleges, an exact definition of the amount of college work to be completed in a year, a Conference Committee to visit each of the educational institutions each year, and an agreement upon professional nomenclature for courses in education in all of the institutions. It is doubtful if there ever has been a more important or far-reaching voluntary agreement entered into by higher institutions in any state. While it is only a short time since the agreement went into complete effect the good results are already many and profoundly significant.

Only brief mention has been made of the education for negroes. Some sort of provision for elementary education was made in each of the constitutions. The present constitution makes it mandatory for schools to be maintained for the negro race on the same basis as for the other children of the State. Very good elementary schools have been organized in all parts of the State where there has been sufficient population to justify the same. Moreover, in nearly all the cities there are good high schools for the colored people. In 1866 Lincoln Institute, located at Jefferson City, was organized, providing higher education for the colored people of the State. In 1879 this institution was taken over by the State and since that time appropriations have been made for it regularly as for other educational institutions. In 1877 a normal department was orgnized and since that time the normal diploma from that institution is a life license to teach on the same basis as diplomas from the School of Education of the various teachers colleges in the State. Biannually the State Legislature makes appropriations for this institution as for other educational institutions in the State. Moreover, the same obtains federal grants from the federal government under the various types of education for which the federal government offers subsidies. It has been the recipient of subsidies under the Morrill Act.

Much more might be written of a historical nature concerning the schools of the state. At present practically every

form of education known in the civilization of the American nation may be found in the Commonwealth of Missouri in some stage of progress. One of the most characteristic things about school progress in Missouri is that it has been of a voluntary nature. At all times there has been the minimum amount of coercion in the legislation of the provisions for education in the State. The largest measure of initiative has been allowed in local communities for the development of schools. One of the pressing needs for educational progress in the State at the present moment is a new constitution to remove some of the direct limitations on local initiative in matters of education as well as other important institutional activities.



MAJOR JAMES S. ROLLINS
"Father of The University of Missouri."

JOHN HIRAM LATHROP
First President of The University of Missouri.

A Century of Missouri Politics.

By C. H. McClure.

BENTON IN MISSOURI POLITICS: 1820-1858.

Missouri was admitted to the union at a time when political parties were not well organized. The old Federalist party had ceased to exist, and the party of Jefferson had been dominant in the nation for twenty years. This dominant party was in the process of breaking into factions, each of which was composed of the personal following of some prominent leader. This period has been misnamed "The Era of Good Feeling." It was in reality a period of personal enmity and rivalry among political leaders. It was characterized by duels which often ended fatally. The application of Missouri for statehood brought about the first great national struggle on the slavery question. Slavery was not at that time a question upon which the people divided politically, but the contest over the admission of Missouri made it a political question. The slavery question later led to the formation of political parties holding opposing views on slavery.

In Missouri there was little division of opinion. A very large majority of the people favored the admission of the State without congressional restrictions. Practically all of the leaders were non-restrictionists.

Politics in Missouri first became important in the contest for delegates to the Constitutional Convention of 1820. A group of lawyers in St. Louis had organized and named a ticket of eight delegates, the number St. Louis was allowed. All but one of the eight were elected. During the sessions of the convention this group, known as the "lawyer caucus," seems to have been very active. Its members arranged to divide up the State offices among themselves. Among those connected with the lawyer caucus, David Barton, Edward Bates, Thomas Benton, Alexander McNair and Henry S.

Geyer were prominent. The spoils of office rather than political issues seem to have been the chief factor in holding this group together.

For the first decade the political contests in the State were personal. In 1820 voters were Jackson men or Clay men. Both Jackson and Clay were Westerners and both had many admirers in Missouri. Clay was probably the more popular in 1824. At any rate both United States Senators, Barton and Benton, and the Representative, John Scott, were Clay men.

In the election of President by the House of Representatives in 1824, Clay was eliminated. His supporters voted for Adams. Benton advised John Scott to cast Missouri's vote for Jackson, a western man, rather than for Adams, the eastern candidate. Scott, who was a great admirer of Clay, disregarded Benton's advice and voted for Adams. Scott was defeated at the next election.

Benton became a follower of Jackson and Barton remained a Clay supporter. Jackson carried every county in the State in 1828. Benton became dominant in Missouri politics and Barton was retired from the United States Senate at the expiration of his term in 1830. This contest was purely personal. It was Jackson versus Adams. No distinct political issues were involved. During Jackson's first term the questions of money and banking were made political issues by Jackson's attitude toward the United States Bank. Benton was an earnest supporter of Jackson in his fight on the bank. The anti-bank arguments appealed strongly to the pioneers of Missouri. A great many people had suffered loss by the failures of the territorial banks in Missouri and were ready to listen to and approve of the hard money arguments of Senator Benton.

By 1832 the Democratic party, under the leadership of Jackson, Benton and Van Buren, had become definitely committed to the policy of opposition to the United States Bank. Benton went a step further and became an ardent advocate of the use of hard money. He was so insistent upon his plans for making coin the chief money, especially of the poorer

ALEXANDER McNAIR
Missouri's First State Governor.

classes, that he came to be called "Old Bullion." He favored the prohibition of the issue of all paper money of lower denomination than twenty dollars. He argued that the poorer classes would not lose as a result of bank failures if the issue of paper money was restricted to the larger denominations, as a laboring man would seldom have twenty dollars in his possession.

The money question was the paramount political issue in Missouri from 1832 to 1845. The Democratic party was victorious in every contest and gradually increased its majority until in 1844 it reached ten thousand. Even the Whig landslide of 1840 seemed to have little if any effect upon increasing strength of Missouri Democracy. In spite of the fact that the Whigs had a popular western military hero, William Henry Harrison, for a candidate and the Democrats were compelled to vote for an easterner, Van Buren, who was never popular, Benton managed to hold Missouri in line for hard money, and kept the undivided support of the Democracy of his State until 1840.

The Bank of Missouri which had been chartered in 1837 was so limited by its charter that it could not suspend specie payment, neither could it issue currency beyond its ability to redeem its notes. In fact, it was a Benton bank, except that the lowest denomination of notes it might issue was ten dollars instead of twenty dollars, as Benton advocated. In 1839 all banks of the West, except the Bank of Missouri, suspended specie payment. The bank was compelled to take measures to protect itself. These measures caused much inconvenience to the business men of St. Louis. The Bank of Missouri, which was a State bank and therefore a Democratic bank, because the Democratic party controlled the State, was supported and defended by the Democratic papers and officials. But in the St. Louis city election of 1840 a group of Democrats organized and opposed the Bank and its policy. These men were called "Softs." This was the beginning of a Democratic faction which extended to all parts of the State and secured control of nearly one-half of the Democratic newspapers. The "Softs" were out-generaled in the State Democratic Con-

vention of 1844. Later they put out a separate State ticket and did all they could to defeat Senator Benton, the recognized leader of the "Hards." Benton was re-elected by only eight votes. After the contest within the Democratic party in 1844, the "Soft" faction ceased to exist. The Democratic party seemed to be reunited. Its candidate for Governor in 1848 Judge A. A. King, was elected over the Whig candidate, James S. Rollins, one of the most cultured and popular men of the State, by majority of nearly 15,000.

But the reunion was more seeming than real. A group of young leaders were coming into prominence in the State. They had been chafing under the dictation of Benton for years. A number of these men had been aligned against Benton on the money question. When, in 1844, Benton opposed the treaty annexing Texas, which Calhoun had negotiated with Texas, many of the younger men took advantage of the opportunity to come out against Benton. Among these was C. F. Jackson. In November, 1848, when the General Assembly met, a group of these younger men got together and formulated a set of resolutions on the slavery question. These resolutions were similar to a set of resolutions which Calhoun had introduced in the United States Senate and which Benton had violently opposed. In the spring of 1849 these resolutions, known as the Jackson Resolutions, were reported out of Jackson's committee and passed by the General Assembly. They made the slavery question a party question for the first time in Missouri history. The Whigs, by a party vote, opposed the Jackson Resolutions. As was undoubtedly anticipated by the framers of these resolutions, Senator Benton opposed them. The General Assembly had instructed the Missouri Senators to vote in the United States Senate in accordance with the Resolutions. Benton appealed to the people of Missouri on the Resolutions in one of the most spectacular and vindictive speaking campaigns ever waged in the State. The Jackson Resolutions represented the position of Calhoun and the extreme South on slavery extension. Benton took the compromise position advocating the extending of the Missouri Compromise line and opposing agitation of

THOMAS HART BENTON

the slavery question, on the grounds that it threatened the Union. Benton won by a majority of seventeen in the contest for the control of the Democratic members of the General Assembly. But the Anti-Benton Democrats would not support Benton, the caucus candidate. The Whigs who endorsed Benton's position were not willing to vote for him for Senator. They had succeeded in electing sixty-four members of the General Assembly and they voted solidly for Henry S. Geyer, Whig candidate for the Senate. The Anti-Benton Democrats finally supported Geyer and he was elected.

The issues raised in the contest of forty-nine remained the paramount issues until 1860. Benton was prominent in the campaigns of 1852, 1854, and 1856. In 1852 he was elected to Congress from the St. Louis district. In 1854 he was defeated for Congress in St. Louis, and was again a candidate for the United States Senate. The contest in the General Assembly was so bitter that no Senator was chosen. Atchison was retired, and Missouri had only one Senator for the next two years. In the election of 1856, Benton ran for Governor. For the first time, the election of 1856 showed a majority of his own party against him.

The issue in all these contests had been the same. Benton opposed the opening of the slavery question to agitation, declared the Union was endangered, and declared the principles of the Missouri Compromise should be followed. The Anti-Benton men scoffed at the idea of the Union's being endangered and claimed to be as strongly for the Union as Benton himself.

Benton died in 1858. One of the last acts of his life after he could no longer speak was to point his old friend Frank P. Blair, Sr., to a passage in his manuscript on "The Congressional Debates" which contained Clay's wonderful appeal for the Union. In this way he indicated that his last advise to his followers was the same as that of his life-long rival. Benton had declared in 1849 that the isues of the contest were above parties, but he had not been able to convince people of the truth of his statement. With Benton's personality removed, his influence in Missouri seemed increased rather than dimin-

ished. Before his death he had seen the tendency on the part of some of his followers, especially Frank P. Blair and B. Gratz Brown, to go over to the Republicans, and denounced them for it as follows: "My friends told me that these men would turn out for abolition in the State as soon as the election was over, but I would not believe them. For persons calling themselves my friends to attack the whole policy of my life, which was to keep slavery agitation out of the State, and get my support in the canvass by keeping me ignorant of what they intended to do, is the greatest outrage I have ever experienced."

But the greater part of the Benton Democrats, true to his leadership, took the moderate position on the slavery question, and became Douglas Democrats in the exciting campaign of 1860. The contention of Benton that the slavery question was above parties, proved to be true, and Missouri endorsed Benton's position on the question twice by heavy majorities. Once in the election of 1860 when the Conservative Candidates Douglas and Bell polled 117,000 of the 165,000 votes, and again when the Union cause triumphed by 80,000 in the election of delegates to the convention of 1861.

CIVIL WAR PERIOD, 1858-1872.

With the passing of Benton from Missouri politics there was no longer any leader sufficiently prominent to become the central figure in the political contests of the State. Not only was there no dominant political leader but the great parties themselves were going through a process of dissolution. During the prolonged Benton-Anti-Benton contest in the Democratic party which had lasted from 1849 to 1856 the Whig party had practically disappeared. By 1858 the great political currents of the Civil War period were strong enough to influence the political activity of the people of the State, but as these were little understood at that time the political action of all men and groups of men was uncertain.

The Southern Democrats held the State offices and controlled the State Committee of the Democratic party. They were unquestionably a minority of the whole people and prob-

ably a minority in their own party, but is seemed impossible for their opponents to unite.

The first important movement of the period was the effort of the opponents of the Southern Democrats to form an organized opposition party. Old Whigs, The American party, Republicans, and Dissatisfied (formerly Benton) Democrats were agreed in opposing the Democratic administration, both State and National, but they could not find sufficient interests in common to even furnish them a name to use in the effort which was made to organize the opposition. Under the name "The Opposition" a number of county conventions were held. These invariably put forward the name of Edward Bates for the presidency. Finally a State convention was held in Jefferson City, February 29, 1860, and Edward Bates was nominated for the Presidency. The Republican State Convention was held in St. Louis March 10, 1860, and decided to place the name of Edward Bates before the National Republican convention as a candidate for the presidency. A committee was appointed to write to Mr. Bates and to ask him for an expression on the leading questions of the day. In answering these questions Mr. Bates placed himself squarely on the Republican Platform. This made him impossible as a candidate of the opposition. Deprived of the name and influence of Mr. Bates the opposition failed to perfect their organization in the State.

The Democratic party divided upon the slavery question at the Charleston convention. The moderate wing of the party nominated Douglas for the presidency. The greater part of the dissatisfied Democrats of Missouri could support Douglas. The Whig element of the opposition supported Bell.

The Democratic State convention had been held January 8, 1860. This was long before the Charleston convention. The Southern wing of the party had been in control of the organization in Missouri for a number of years. A large proportion of the men nominated for both State and county offices were of that faction.

After the split it soon became apparent that a large majority of the party was for Douglas. The candidates, when compelled to declare themselves, followed the lead of C. F. Jackson and said they were Douglas Democrats. The Breckenridge men then nominated a State ticket. The Douglas Democratic ticket carried the State by a small plurality over the Bell-Evert ticket. The vote for president was as follows: Douglas 58,801, Bell 58,372, Breckenridge 31,317, Lincoln 17,028. The two conservative tickets had polled 117,173 votes while the radical Southern vote was only 31,317. The election showed that the Breckenridge Democrats had but little more than half the strength of the Douglas Democrats. Yet they had elected the Governor, Lieutenant Governor, Secretary of State and a purality of the General Assembly, due, doubtless, to the control of the organization before the split in the party.

Governor Jackson declared that Missouri should stand by her sister states of the South and advised the General Assembly to call a constituent convention to consider the relations of Missouri to the United States Government. The General Assembly passed the resolution calling the convention. The issue in the convention campaign was secession. Frank P. Blair succeeded in uniting the conditional and unconditional Union men in the support of a Common Union ticket. The Union forces won by approximatly 80,000 majority, and a very large majority of the delegates were Union men. The convention met February 28, 1861, and passed resolutions declaring there was no cause for secession and advocating compromise measures. It then adjourned subject to the call of a committee of its members, should there be need for another meeting. Fort Sumpter was fired upon and Lyon and Blair saved the arsenal at St. Louis. Jackson called for 50,000 State troops and under the ruse of neutrality in reality espoused the Southern cause. Lyon in a well planned campaign drove Jackson to the southwest corner of the State. The convention was called together by the committee and provided for a loyal provisonal Civil Government of the State and chose Hamilton R. Gamble for Governor. Lyon's stand

ARTHUR M. HYDE
Missouri's Present Governor.

at Wilson Creek gave time for this government to get control of the State and use its great resources to aid the Union cause. The convention provided an oath of loyalty in October, 1861, which all officials in the State were required to take. All who refused to take the oath were replaced by loyal men. This gave the provisional government the loyal support of all local officials.

The convention provided another oath in June, 1862, which all voters, teachers, jurors, lawyers, preachers, and professors of the State University were required to take. This left the Union party without opposition, but it soon divided into two factions on the question of emancipation. Gamble and Blair were leaders of the gradual emancipationists. So important was the question considered that Blair resigned from the army and came home to St. Louis to run for Congress on the gradual emancipation ticket, in the fall of 1862. He was elected by a very small plurality. In the spring election of 1863 the immediate emancipationists carried St. Louis by a large majority. This indicated a strong drift of sentiment toward the radical position.

The General Assembly elected in 1862 was strongly in favor of emancipation, but was divided as to whether it should be gradual or immediate. Therefore nothing was done. The St. Louis City elections showed such a drift of sentiment toward immediate emancipation that Governor Gamble decided to anticipate the movement. The gradual emancipationists claimed that although the General Assembly had no power to abolish slavery, the constituent convention elected in 1861 had the same power as a constitutional convention and could emancipate the slaves. Acting on this theory Governor Gamble called the convention together in June, 1863, and recommended the gradual emancipation of slaves.

The convention passed a gradual emancipation act and adjourned *sine die*.

The radicals were not willing to accept the action of the convention as the final solution of the problem. Their leaders immediately began an agitation for a State convention to discuss the general situation in Missouri. A mass convention was

called for Jefferson City in September, 1863. The convention passed resolutions denouncing the Gamble government and Gamble was requested to resign. A constitutional convention which should provide for immediate emancipation was demanded and a committee of seventy, with Charles D. Drake as chairman, was appointed to visit President Lincoln and request the removal of General Schofield from the command of the department of Missouri. This committee visited the leading cities of the North en route to Washington and was everywhere received with enthusiasm by the Radical element who were demanding the immediate emancipation of the slaves in the border States and the use of negro troops against the South. This was the beginning of the Radical movement which nominated Freemont against Lincoln in 1864 and finally after Lincoln's death obtained control of Congress and eventually dictated the reconstruction of the Southern states and gave the negro the ballot.

Lincoln refused the chief requests of the committee. The Radicals of Missouri then issued the call for the National Radical Convention at Cincinnatti which nominated Fremont. After this movement failed they sent a delegation to the Baltimore convention which voted against Lincoln. The Radicals secured control of the State government in the election of 1864 and a resolution calling a constitutional convention was carried by more than 29,000 majority.

The provisions of the act calling the convention gave it power to do three things: 1. Abolish slavery. 2. Provide for the purity of the ballot. 3. Make such other amendments as might be necessary. The convention abolished slavery immediately by a vote of 60 to 4. The ballot was safeguarded by requiring all voters to take a detailed and extensive oath of loyalty. An oath of loyalty was also required of all professional men. The convention soon decided that it had authority to write an entirely new constitution. A new constitution was accordingly drafted. It included the act abolishing slavery, and the oath for voters and also a similar oath for professional men. The General Assembly and county courts were given extensive powers.

The campaign on the adoption of the new constitution was brief but heated. No one was allowed to vote who could not take an oath of loyalty prescribed by the convention. Governor Fletcher and Senator Henderson at first opposed the adoption of the constitution and it was rumored that Senator Brown was coming home from Washington to head the campaign against it. But Fletcher changed front, Henderson withdrew his opposition and when Brown was compelled to take a position he came out in favor of the new constitution.

Charles D. Drake led the fight for adoption. He stigmatized all who were opposed to the constitution as disloyal rebels or copperheads. The opposition within the Radical party was either whipped into line or driven from the party.

The result of the election was for a long time in doubt. The soldier vote in the field was required to decide it. The final vote was 43,670 for the Constitution and 41,808 against it.

The oath for professional men was very unpopular. An organization to establish religious and political liberty was started. Ex-Union generals Frank P. Blair and John S. Phelps were among the leaders, but the movement was tied up with the Johnson reconstruction policy and never made any headway.

The Radical General Assembly passed a registration law which was intended to enforce the provisions of the Drake Constitution and allow only loyal men to rule. The opposition to the Radicals called a convention at Verandal Hall, St. Louis, October 26, 1865, and organized the Constitutional Union Party. The new party opposed the new constitution, and favored executive reconstruction, and professed ardent unionism. The growing differences between President Johnson and Congress made the contest more bitter in Missouri. The Radical party condemned the President and injected national issues into the State Campaign. Both parties became thoroughly united. The first expression from the people came at the city elections in the spring of 1866. State and national reconstruction was the issue and the Radicals were badly beaten, but the registration law was not yet in operation.

The campaign was then pushed with vigor by both parties. The Democrats joined the Constitutional-Union party. Frank P. Blair made a speaking campaign through eighteen counties. The Constitutional-Union party made their campaign on State issues, while the Radicals emphasized National Reconstruction and upheld the Registry Act. The Constitutional-Union party perfected and maintained an elaborate organization from a Johnson club in every township to a State committee, but when registration day came the Constitutional-Union voters did not register in great numbers. Their campaign slogan of "Swear and vote" had failed. The election gave the Radicals large majorities and the Constitutional-Union party passed out of existence.

Soon after the November election of 1866 a secret meeting of Radical leaders was held at the Planters House in St. Louis. This meeting is very significant for it marks the beginning of the split in the Radical party which later gave rise to the Liberal Republican party and through that party returned the State to the control of the Democratic party. Little is known of the meeting except the resolutions which were adopted. These were introduced by Senator Brown and favored universal suffrage and full amnesty. They were adopted by a vote of 16 to 3. Charles D. Drake and two of his friends voted against them.

The General Assembly, which had an overwhelming Radical majority met in January, 1867, and elected Charles D. Drake to succeed Senator Brown, who had been leader in the Planter House conference. In the spring of 1867 Carl Schurz came to St. Louis from Detroit, Michigan, to become editor of the *Westliche Post*. Within a year Schurz had replaced Drake as the leader of the Radical party. He was a capable, far seeing leader, and had a tolerant attitude.

In December 1867 the opposition to the Radical party undertook the reorganization of the Democratic party. Old line Whigs like James S. Rollins, William F. Switzler and Silas Woodson worked in harmony with Democrats like John S. Phelps, Frank P. Blair, Ex-Governor A. A. King and Willard P. Hall. But the Radical party was easily

victorious in the election of 1868. Grant carried the State by 25,000. The Democratic press claimed that the registrars refused to register 20,000 voters who appeared and took the required oath. The Radicals had a large majority in the General Assembly. This insured the election of a Radical to the United States Senate. Soon after the election the leading Radical paper, *The Democrat*, and Carl Schurz began to advocate a more liberal policy. But Drake and his friends were not willing to allow any change. Thus two distinct wings appeared in the radical party, one led by Schurz and the other by Drake.

The first contest between the factions took place over the election of a United States Senator. Schurz was the candidate of the Liberals, and Loan, a congressman from the northwest part of the state, was Drake's candidate. Drake and Loan were defeated in the Radical caucus and Schurz was elected.

A Constitutional amendment giving the suffrage to the negroes had been defeated at the election of 1868. The Liberals now proposed to unite amnesty with negro suffrage and enfranchise the ex-Confederates and negroes immediately. A majority of the Radical newspapers of the State followed the lead of the *Democrat* and advocated the voluntary removal of political disabilities of the ex-Confederates. The Liberal press declared this would be not only an act of justice but also of good politics. While Drake did not have the newspaper support which Schurz had he did have the McClurg administration with him.

Frank P. Blair had, soon after his return from the army, refused to take the "Test Oath." His ballot was refused by the election judges and he immediately brought suit to test the constitutionality of the "Test Oath." This suit was now pending before the Supreme Court of the United States and a decision was likely to be handed down any time. The Liberals believed the court would declare the oath unconstitutional. The Democrats, who also believed the test oath would be declared unconstitutional, said the Liberals were simply playing politics and trying to make a virtue out

of a necessity. But the Supreme Court declared the test oath for voters constitutional. This was a hard blow for the Democrats. They had sneeringly accused the Liberals of merely playing politics in favoring enfranchisement, declaring they wanted to get the credit for doing what they knew the Supreme Court would do.

The Liberals now proved their sincerity by continuing to advocate the repeal of the Test Oath. The Radical Legislature submitted the question to the people in a constitutional amendment. This was a distinct victory for the Liberals. The Democrats were placed in a very awkward position. What few Democrats there were in the Legislature got together and passed a resolution against placing a State ticket in the field, but favored the nomination of candidates for Congress and the State Legislature. This policy, known as the "Possum Policy," was finally adopted.

The factions in the Radical party drifted rapidly apart. The newspapers and public opinion was heavily on the side of the Liberals and they now demanded that the adoption of the amendment be made a party issue. The Liberals did not want to break up the party but desired to commit it to a policy which they thought essential to its success.

The extreme radical faction composed chiefly of State and federal office holders, opposed the amendment. They still held control of the party organization. The friends of Governor McClurg controlled a majority of the State committee. By manipulating the basis for representation they managed to give the fifty most populous counties 350 delegates while the fifty least populous received 420 delegates. The least populous counties were frontier counties and extremely radical.

Governor McClurg, supported by the Radicals, was a candidate for a second term. B. Gratz Brown was the candidate of the Liberals. The issues of the campaign were well stated by *The Democrat* in an editorial as follows: "The question for the convention is; shall enfranchisement come by the Radical party or in spite of it; shall it come by the whole party moving forward manfully to keep its pledge, or

after a wrangle in local elections, and by Democratic votes? Unite the convention for it and we go through the campaign victorious, carry the State, preserve local power, and maintain Radical rule with enfranchisement. Reject it in the convention, and throw the contest in local elections, divide hopelessly there, get beaten, lose the Legislature, see the rebels enfranchised by Democratic votes, and so get Democratic rule with enfranchisement and see a break up of the Radical Party."[1]

When the convention met in Jefferson City there were many contesting delegations. The McClurg faction controlled the party machinery and seated the Radical delegations. The Liberals had a majority on the resolutions committee. The fight between the two factions in the committee delayed the report until the third day of the convention. When the committee was ready to report Senator Schurz read the majority report which was a straightforward endorsement of the amendments and committed the party to their support.

The McClurg faction brought in a minority report which dodged the issue by declaring for enfranchisement as soon as it could be done with safety to the State. The minority resolution was adopted by a vote of 439 2-3 to 342 5-6. As soon as the result of the vote was announced General McNeil led between 250 and 300 delegates from the convention. They went to the Senate chamber where they nominated a complete Liberal Republican State ticket headed by B. Gratz Brown for Governor.

After a bitter and exciting campaign in which Brown and Schurz spoke in every section of the State, the Liberal State ticket was elected by majorities of 40,000 or more. The constitutional amendment repealing the Test Oath was adopted by a vote of 127,643 to 16,283. The other amendments were carried by majorities of more than 100,000. The Democrats obtained a majority in the House, a plurality

[1] *Democrat* August 29, 1870, quoted in Barclay's "Rise of Liberal Republican Party in Missouri," to which the author is much indebted for the data of the Civil War period.

in the Senate and a majority in the Legislature on joint ballot. Soon after the defeat of his party in Missouri Chas. D. Drake resigned his position as United States Senator from Missouri to accept a position in the United States Court of Claims. This ended Drake's political activity in Missouri. The Democratic Legislature elected Frank P. Blair to succeed him in the United States Senate. The analysis of *The Democrat* had proved to be correct. The rebels had been enfranchised by the Democratic votes supporting a faction of the Radical party. The Democrats had also obtained control of the Legislature and now felt secure in the support of the voters who had been enfranchised. The Liberals were not able to organize a permanent party. They were dependent upon Democratic support and had no definite policy beyond the amnesty and enfranchisement which had been accomplished. Both Democrats and Liberals were anxious to continue the alliance which had proved so successful in 1870.

The nominating conventions of both parties were held at the same time at Jefferson City. A fusion was arranged in which the Democratic party received the major portion of the offices. The fusion ticket, which was for all practical purposes a Democratic ticket, was elected and the Liberal Republican party passed out of existence.

THE RESTORED DEMOCRACY, 1872-1904.

The Democratic party came into full power in Missouri in 1872. After the general amnesty, the party found it had a majority of about forty thousand in the State. From 1872 until 1904 the Democratic party had full control of the State government, and carried every State election except the minor election of 1894. The party was made up of two distinct groups. One was composed of the men who had been loyal during the Civil War period and had reorganized the party and kept it alive during the reconstruction days. The leaders of this wing of the party were the old Benton Democrats and the Whigs of ante-bellum days. Conspicuous among them were Frank P. Blair and John S. Phelps, of the

first group, and Silas Woodson, James S. Rollins and W. F. Switzler of the second. The other wing of the party was composed of ex-Confederate soldiers and their friends. Francis M. Cockrell, George G. Vest and M. M. Marmaduke were prominent leaders of this section of the party. In the early years after the return of the party to power, the Union Democrats held most of the offices, but in a few years the ex-Confederate group obtained full control of the party. The Whigs were prominent in reconstruction days but received little recognition later.

As soon as the Democratic party got control of the State government, it immediately began the work of reforming the abuses of the reconstruction period. Six amendments to the Drake Constitution had been adopted in 1870. These did away with most, if not all, of the evils of that document. But the Democratic platform had promised a new constitution and the General Assembly, at the general election in 1874, submitted to the people a resolution calling a constitutional convention.

The total vote cast for Governor in this election was 261,670. Of this number 222,315 voted on the question of calling a constitutional convention. The proposition received a majority of only 283. The Governor ordered an election for January 28th to choose the sixty-eight delegates to the convention.

The convention was made up of sixty Democrats, six Republicans and two Liberals. Three subjects loomed large in the minds of the men in the Convention. One was the obnoxious "test oath" and the use of the courts to enforce the penalties for its violation. A second was high taxation. The state tax had reached sixty-two and one-half cents on the hundred dollars valuation, and county, city and school taxes were also high. And the third was bonds. A great many bonds had been issued by counties, cities and townships to aid in railroad construction. Many of these bonds had been obtained under false pretenses and the people received nothing in return for their money. The fraudulent nature of many of these bonds had just become known within a

year or two previous to the meeting of the Convention. The effect of this reconstruction experience is easily seen in the Constitution which the Convention drafted. An extensive bill of rights and a lengthy article on the judiciary curtails very greatly the powers of the courts. Rigid limits of taxation are fixed for every public corporation from State to school district. And a two-thirds vote is made necessary to legalize any bond. With these exceptions and the changes made necessary by the abolition of slavery, the Constitution is very similar to the Constitution of 1820, which was evidently used as a basis for the work of the Convention. The new Constitution was adopted at a special election in which only 105,722 votes were cast, but the majority in favor of it was 76,688.

This period of thirty years of Democratic rule was, with one exception, quiet and peaceful. There was no chance of defeat by the opposition party, and there was no indication of revolt within the party. However, during this period Missouri again took the lead in a nationwide political movement of great importance. As early as 1878 Richard P. Bland, a Missouri Congressman, had become the recognized champion of the free and unlimited coinage of silver at the ratio of sixteen to one. Bland secured the passage of a free coinage act in the House in 1878, but it was amended by Senator Allison in the Senate so as to destroy the purpose of the measure. Bland continued the agitation of the free coinage of silver. Finally in 1895 in a great Democratic Convention at Pertle Springs, he succeeded in effecting a reorganization of the Democratic State Committee and committing the State organization to his policy. The State committee called the State Convention early in 1896, endorsed free silver as the one great issue upon which the campaign should be fought and proposed Bland as the Democratic candidate for President. The other states of the South and West followed the lead of Missouri and by the time the Chicago National convention met, the party was committed to free silver. But again, as in 1872, a great national party accepted an issue presented by Missouri, but turned down Missouri's candi-

date. Instead of nominating Bland, the logical candidate on the issue of free silver, the convention nominated William J. Bryan. Missouri was true to the cause she had presented and gave Bryan a majority of nearly 60,000, the largest majority ever given by Missouri to a presidential candidate until the election of 1920.

The period 1872 to 1904 was without any political changes, or even incidents of great interest, except the writing of the Constitution of 1875 and the free silver campaign of 1896. The older political leaders, who had seen service in the Civil War, and their followers, controlled the Democratic party, and the Democratic party controlled the State. Towards the later part of the new period new leaders came into prominence. Reforms became popular. New political methods were introduced. A division gradually became apparent in the dominant party. The younger reform element was usually opposed by the older group of politicians, often designated as the "Old Guard." New issues, such as the control of corporate wealth, the fixing of railroad rates, the saloon, vice in politics, accepting of railroad passes, etc., were injected into both the State and national campaigns. The people developed a surprising tendency toward independent voting. In the preconvention campaign of 1904, the younger element of the Democratic party elected a large majority of the delegates. Joseph Folk, a young circuit attorney of St. Louis who had prosecuted a number of city aldermen for corrupt practices, was nominated for governor.

MISSOURI A DOUBTFUL STATE, 1904-1920.

The election of 1904 marks the beginning of a new period in Missouri politics. From 1904 until 1920 there was no dominant man or group of men. Missouri had always been a solid Democratic State with the exception of the abnormal Civil War and reconstruction period. During the period 1904 to 1920 she has been a doubtful State, with a large number of independent voters Neither party has been able to dominate the State, neither has any man nor group of men been able to control either party.

In the election of 1904, Folk, the Democratic candidate for governor, carried the state by a plurality of 30,100. Yet in the presidential contest the Republican vote for Roosevelt exceeded the Democratic vote for Parker by 25,137. The State offices were divided between Democrats and Republicans In 1906 the state went Democratic by a plurality varying from 8,660 for Howard A. Gass, Superintendent of Schools, to 14,667 for Rube Oglesby, Railroad and Warehouse Commissioner. In 1908 the Republicans carried the State for Taft for president by a plurality of 629 and for Hadley for governor by 15,879. The other state offices were divided between the two parties. In the election of 1910 the Republican State ticket was elected by pluralities ranging from 2,240 to 5,429.

Owing to the division of the Republican party in 1912, the Democratic party easily elected all of the State officers, with pluralities ranging around 120,000. Wilson's plurality over Taft was 124,371, but the combined vote for Taft and Roosevelt exceeded that for Wilson by 1,446. The Progressives again put out a State ticket in 1914, and the entire Democratic ticket was elected by pluralities ranging around 50,000, but the total vote cast was about 65,000 below that of 1912. In 1916 the Republican party was united, yet Wilson carried the state by a plurality of 28,693. However, Gardner's plurality over Lamm, his Republican opponent, was only 2,263 and Hackmann, the Republican candidate for state auditor, was elected by a plurality of 9,080.

In the election of 1918, the independence of the Missouri voter was again demonstrated. Only three offices, United States Senator, Superintendent of Public Schools and Judge of the Supreme Court, were to be filled by State-wide ballot. Spencer, the Republican candidate for the United States Senate, carried the state over Folk by a plurality of 35,283. Baker, Republican, was elected State Superintendent of Public Schools by 1,109 votes, while Graves, Democratic candidate for Judge of the Supreme Court, secured a plurality of 678. In the election of 1920 the Republican party carried the State bv the heaviest majorities in the history of the State.

This last period of Missouri politics may be said to be characterized by independence of thought and action on the part of Missouri voters. No man, no group of men in any party, no political party has, or has had in the past fifteen years, a dominant position in Missouri politics.

In summarizing we may say that the one hundred years of Missouri political history divides itself into four unequal periods. The first may be called the Benton period. It extends from 1820 to the death of Benton in 1858. This period begins with a very bitter fight between Benton and his political and personal enemies. Benton won the fight by one vote and that vote was cast by a dying man whose bed was brought into the legislative hall during the roll call on senator. During the first ten years of the century Benton was becoming dominant as the leader of the Jackson party. For the next fifteen years he held his leadership as a champion of hard money. Finally his leadership was challenged by the younger group of politicians, first on the money question, then on the Texas question, and for the third time on the slavery question. This last contest lasted almost without cessation from 1849 until the death of Benton in 1858.

The second period extends from 1858 to 1872. It may be called the Civil War period. It is characterized by rapid changes. The breaking up and readjustment of political parties, and personal hatreds and violence not found elsewhere in our history. Frank P. Blair and B. Gratz Brown were typical leaders. They changed political friends frequently. The period begins with Blair the unquestioned leader of a small determined group and Brown the editor of the *Democrat* (later the *Globe-Democrat*) and ends with Blair in the United States Senate, the champion of a reunited Democracy, and Brown in the governor's chair, and a candidate for vice-president as a Liberal Republican.

The third period extends from 1872 to 1904 and is very difficult to name. It is a reactionary period in politics and is characterized by the leadership, which in the end became domination, of a group of leaders known as the "Old Guard."

The last period, extending from 1904 to the end of the first century of statehood may be called the period of the independent voter. It is characterized by uncertainty. The one outstanding fact in Missouri politics is that Missouri is a doubtful State. The political landslide of 1920 does not indicate continued Republican supremacy, but the independence of the Missouri voter and especially the women voters.

A Model Centennial Program for Local Celebrations.

BY E. M. VIOLETTE.

I have been asked to make some suggestions regarding the program for local centennial celebrations. Several things need to be considered briefly in addition to the content of the program.

First of all is the matter of the date of the celebration. From the historical point of view August 10th is the most appropriate time for holding the celebration. Missouri was admitted as a State into the Union on August 10, 1821, and in the very nature of things the celebration that commemorates that event would most fittingly come on its one hundredth anniversary. But no community should feel bound to hold its celebration on that particular day. Local conditions may make some other day decidedly more convenient. The important thing is for each community in the State to hold a celebration at some time during the year 1921, and the date for the celebration might just as well come before or after August 10th as on that day.

August is usually a very warm and dry month, and for that reason objections may be made to holding celebrations during that month. But on the other hand there is no month in the year when the weather is more stable than August. Moreover people will attend affairs when it is hot and dusty more readily than when it is rainy. Even a little rain will keep many a person away from celebrations and gatherings, especially in these days of automobiles. But hot weather seldom deters people from going to circuses or Fourth of July celebrations. Moreover much of the farm work that requires constant attention is over by August. Hence there are more reasons for holding the centennial in August than there are against it.

In the second place there is the question of the number of days to be devoted to the celebration. Some communities may find it possible and desirable to prolong their celebrations through several days. Palmyra held a five day celebration in 1919 in commemoration of the one hundredth anniversary of her founding. But from the reports that have come from that celebration it appears that while a very successful affair, it would have been more satisfactory if it had been confined to two or three days instead of being strung out through five days.

In all probability the most successful celebrations will be those that are one day or at most two day affairs. In view of that fact I am recommending a program that will occupy two evenings and the day intervening, virtually a one day program, and the suggestions that follow will be based upon that plan.

For the first evening I would suggest what might be called a historical album or historical art gallery. The historical album could be arranged by erecting on a great open air platform a frame to represent a page in an old fashioned photograph album with the front cover hinged so as to open on the side. Within this frame certain individuals would be posed to represent prominent historical characters in the State and the community. For example some one would be chosen to represent Thomas Hart Benton. He would be posed in the frame and then the cover would be turned back. While the picture is being exposed to view to the people seated in front of the platform, some one standing near the frame could give a brief sketch of Benton. The album would then be closed and some one else would be posed to represent another historical character. Instead of the frame being built to represent an album, it might be constructed so as to suggest a great picture frame, in front of which would be hung a curtain. As the characters are posed the curtain would be drawn back and the description given as in the case of the album. Besides historical characters, tableaux of various historical incidents and scenes might be given.

In addition to the historical album or art galley brief addresses might also be given during the first evening as well as choruses and community singing.

For the next morning I would suggest as the chief feature either a great exhibition of historical relics and of things representing the growth and development of the State, or a procession of floats. The exhibits could be arranged in booths on the main streets of the business portion of the town, and if they are properly classified and grouped they will prove very interesting and instructive. There are very few counties in the State where it would be difficult to get together a collection of historical relics that would reveal the conditions of the past. For example spinning wheels, wool cards, yarn reels, flax hackles and a loom might be brought together and put into one booth to represent the old time processes of spinning and weaving. This exhibit would be all the more interesting if some one who could operate these implements would give frequent demonstrations and show how they work. In another booth there might be brought together pieces of old furniture and household furnishings, and in another old garments representing the styles of generations ago. Some of the booths might be devoted to demonstrations of our industrial development. For example, old farming implements might be collected and placed along side of the latest including the tractor. Suggestions of this sort might be repeated at length but these are doubtless sufficient to convey the idea.

However if historical exhibits are not deemed feasible, then a procession of floats might be arranged for. By means of these floats many phases of the growth of the State and the community might be presented.

There is however a decided advantage in favor of the exhibits in booths as compared with the procession. The exhibits can be studied at leisure by the people who visit the booths, while whatever is shown on the floats can be seen for the moment and then usually at some distance away. Moreover a procession of floats is very expensive if well carried out.

Of course there should be plenty of band music during the morning, no matter what may be the chief feature. Band music serves not only to enliven the occasion, but it draws the people to the place where things are going on and holds them there.

At noon there might be a big basket dinner if a suitable grove is convenient.

In the afternoon there should be a few short addresses touching upon the history of the State and the needs of the hour. There should be also talks by old pioneers which would recall their early days in the State. There might well be chorus music and other numbers of a musical or literary character. In some communities contests of various kinds might be arranged for and held after the speaking and music are over.

The centennial celebration should be marked by the unveiling of historical tablets or monuments in these communities in which events of special local importance have occurred. As yet we have not done very much in Missouri in the way of erecting historical tablets or markers. As a result many noteworthy events in our history are fading from the memory of the communities of our State. It is time we were beginning to perpetuate the recollection of these events in bronze and granite. Especially fitting would it be for every community that holds a centennial celebration to include in its program the unveiling of a memorial tablet of bronze, or a monument, or the dedication of a community house in honor of the boys of that community who gave their lives in the recent war. The position of this event on the program would depend upon the location of the tablet, monument or house. If the site is far removed from the place where the exhibition is held or where the addresses of the day are given, the unveiling or the dedication should occur late in the day so as to avoid drawing off the crowd from the other parts of the program. Those in charge of the program should do their best to keep the crowd together. When a crowd is once separated, it is very difficult to get it together for the purpose of resuming the program.

As the closing event of the celebration I would suggest a pageant of Missouri for the second evening. This affords opportunity not only for dramatic performance through which many of the important events in the history of the state can be depicted, but also for drills and dancing through which the spirit of Missouri can be artistically presented. The pageant should be of such a character as to bring the centennial celebration to a close in a great climax.

A few words might be said about the preparation necessary for the successful execution of such a program as has just been laid out.

In the first place an organization should be effected at once in every community that is contemplating holding a centennial celebration. In some communities some patriotic organization, such as the D. A. R. or the American Legion, might well assume the task of getting the matter under way at least. In other communities the commercial club might be the proper organization to direct the matter from beginning to end. In many places local historical societies might be organized for the special purpose of arranging for and carrying out the centennial celebration, and with a view of becoming permanent organizations after the celebration is over. In several counties in the State local historical societies were organized in 1916 and 1917 at the suggestion of the State Historical Society for the purpose of preparing for the centennial celebration in 1921. How far the war has sidetracked the original purpose of these societies is not known, but if they are still alive they are properly the organizations to carry on the local celebration.

But whatever organization undertakes to arrange for and carry on a celebration, the work should begin at once. The first thing to be done is the appointment of committees for the different features of the program. There should be, for example, a special committee on the historical album or art gallery, whose only duty would be to provide for that particular part of the program. Another committee should be appointed for the historical exhibits or for the procession of floats, another on speakers, another on historical markers

or monuments, and still another on the pageant. In addition there should be such other committees as those on finance, publicity and decoration of streets. These various committees should be appointed by and held responsible to a small committee known as the executive committee, who should have general oversight of the whole matter.

The committee on finance is necessarily one of the most important committees. Upon it will devolve the task of raising the funds that will be needed for the celebration. Through the executive committee it should find out how much will be needed and then bend all its energies towards getting what is wanted.

The publicity committee should keep the public informed from time to time as to the plans that are being made and the progress that is being made in the prosecution of those plans. It should also undertake to publish popular articles in the local newspapers on the history of the State. Unfortunately the people of Missouri do not know their history as they should, and they will not get into the spirit of the celebration if they do not get at least a smattering of Missouri history through the publicity committee.

The committees that have charge of the historical album, the exhibits or floats and the pageant should begin at once to make preparation for the events that have been assigned to them. For example, the committee that has charge of the album needs first of all to make a selection of the characters to be represented and the assignment of these characters to those who will represent them. Necessarily the committee will have to study State and local history and biography as they have never studied it before. The committee in charge of the exhibits will have to work in and out of season locating and listing historical relics and the like. This task should really be divided between several subcommittees, each of which could be made responsible for a particular kind of exhibit. The committee in charge of the floats would need to do a great deal of preliminary planning, involving the selection of the subjects to be presented and the assignment of the parts.

Perhaps the pageant will involve the greatest amount of preparation and cooperation. Each community should strive to produce a pageant that will be somewhat different from the pageant of other communities. Suggestions may be obtained from the books of the pageants of Missouri that have been given in the last ten or twelve years. The book of the pageant in St. Louis could be obtained in the department stores of that city a few years ago and possibly can be obtained there yet. The book of the pageant presented by the students of the Kirksville State Teachers College in 1916 may be obtained without charge by applying to Miss Lois Drake, Secretary of the college, and the book of the one given in Columbia in March, 1920 may be obtained without charge by addressing Mr. Floyd C. Shoemaker, Secretary of the State Historical Society at Columbia, Missouri.

Very few communities would find it desirable or feasible to reproduce *in toto* any one of these pageants. But some communities will likely find certain parts of them that can be easily adapted to fit their own schemes and plans. Special effort should be made to introduce something of local interest into the pageant of each community.

For the benefit of all those who will need to read up on Missouri history in preparing for the various phases of the celebration, the following list of easily available books that will be of greatest assistance is given: Rader—*History and Government of Missouri*; Loeb and Viles—*History and Government of Missouri*; Carr—*Missouri*; Violette—*History of Missouri*; Shoemaker—*Missouri's Hall of Fame.* Mention should also be made of Houck's *History of Missouri* up to 1821, 3 volumes, and Shoemaker's *Missouri's Struggle for Statehood.* These two books are the great authorities on the subject with which they deal.

In conclusion may I urge that those in charge of the program make special attempts to enlist the support and cooperation of all elements in the community. The purpose of the celebration should be to educate the people in the history of the State and to quicken their interest in her wel-

fare. This can not be realized unless all classes are led to take an interest in the celebration, and the surest way to get this interest is to get all classes to take part in it. The celebration should be a community affair in every sense of the word. And unless it is, it will fall short of its great purpose.

One Hundred Years of Banking in Missouri 1820-1920*

BY BRECKINRIDGE JONES.

FOREWORD

To have a fair comprehension of the Bank of St. Louis and the Bank of Missouri, the two banks that existed in Missouri before the adoption of the State's first constitution, and to appreciate the provisions of that constitution as to banks, one must be put somewhat in the economic atmosphere of that period. The local events were so largely influenced by the general situation that a few pages are devoted to it.

It has been said that history is only philosophy teaching by examples, and may possibly, teach by small as well as by large ones, and that observation of the curious habits of small insects has thrown its light upon science as much as the dissection of the elephant.

The writer has attempted to go to original sources for the facts stated in this paper, and in the footnotes to give the authority for the statements made. At the risk of being tiresome to many readers, he has attempted, in order to make the paper, in a way, a history of the early banking in the State, to set out many apparently immaterial facts, leaving the thoughtful reader, in the main, to make his own application of the lessons to be derived from the facts.

That the work here presented has been done only at such odd times as the writer could find free from the exactions of a current active business life, is his apology for its many defects.

Thanks are unsparingly given to Mr. Walter B. Stevens for many suggestions and for the original stimulus that led to the work, and to Miss Stella M. Drumm, the capable and earnest librarian of the Missouri Historical Society at

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St. Louis for her valuable help, and to my daughter, Miss Frances Reid Jones, for laborious search of the newspaper files.

CHAPTER ONE.

BANKING IN MISSOURI UP TO THE ADOPTION OF THE FIRST CONSTITUTION IN 1820.

The First Bank of the United States, proposed by Alexander Hamilton, first Secretary of the Treasury, was authorized by Congress February 25, 1791, the charter to expire March 4, 1811. In the opinion of Albert Gallatin, Secretary of the Treasury at the time of the expiration, the bank, considered as a moneyed institution, had been wisely and skillfully managed.

The renewal of the charter was lost by the casting vote of the Vice-President, George Clinton, in the Senate, and by one vote in the House. Seven million dollars of the bank's ten million capital was owned abroad, and specie to that amount had to be remitted out of the country during the year that preceded the war of 1812.[1]

The re-charter was strenuously opposed on constitutional grounds, it being contended, notwithstanding the fact that the bank had been in operation for nearly twenty years under an act of Congress, that Congress had no power under the constitution to incorporate a bank. The opponents of the re-charter believed that the State banks would be adequate to the fiscal requirements of the government and to the monetary necessities of trade and industry. The creation of new State banks, in order to fill the chasm, was a natural consequence of the dissolution of the Bank of the United States. From January 1, 1811, to January 1, 1815, not less than one hundred and twenty new banks were chartered and went into operation, making an addition of nearly thirty millions to the banking capital of the country. One of the

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[1] *U. S. Comptroller's Report*, 1876, pp. IX and XXXIII.

new banks authorized was the Bank of St. Louis, under an act of August 21, 1813, of the Territorial Legislature, as will later be explained.

Mr. Gallatin reported:[2]

Year.	*1811*	*1815*	*1816*	*1820*
Number of State Banks	88	208	246	307
Circulation	$22,700,000		$68,000,000	
	$45,500,000		$40,641,574	

While Mr. Crawford, Secretary of the Treasury, in his report on the Currency made to Congress in February, 1820, estimated:[3]

Year.	*1813*	*1815*	*1817–18*	*1819*
Circulation:	$62,000,000 to $70,000,000	$99,000,000 to $110,000,000 (Not convertible into specie)	Including U. S. Bank.	$45,000,000 to $53,000,000
Banking Capital:	$65,000,000	$88,185,823	$125,000,000	72,340,770

In 1814, the war being on, all of the banks, which were south of New England, suspended specie payments. The check of the redemption of their notes being removed, an expansion of their issues followed.[4] Nearly 100 of them in different sections of the country had been, of necessity, in the absence of a National Bank, selected as depositaries of Government funds. In that year Treasury funds to the amount of nearly nine million dollars were in such suspended banks.[5] Such was the tightness of money that on March 3, 1815, the Government sold $9,745,745 of its nine months six per cent paper at nearly five per cent discount, making the money cost the Government over twelve per cent, and that money so received for the loans was at a heavy discount

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[2] *Ibid.*, XL.

[3] *Elliott's Funding System*, pp. 735-737

[4] *Comptroller's Report*, 1876, p. IX.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. X.

for specie. The depreciation in the local currency at the close of the war (1815) ranging from twenty to twenty-five per cent.[6]

The Missouri Gazette and Illinois Advertiser, published in St. Louis, had items from time to time as to reducing the quantity of paper money, April 30, 1815; about excessive banking and the evils of a litter of banks in Pennsylvania, January 13, 1816; a two column extract from a letter in England to the Chancellor of the Exchequer as to the depreciation of American paper money, and warning against paper money as a fictitious medium, May 25, 1816.[7]

From time to time there were warnings and news items in the local newspaper as to counterfeit bank notes[8]; report of a Committee of bankers in Cincinnati and other places as to spurious bank paper, and a notice from the Bank of Cincinnati as to forgeries with names given;[9] *Niles Register*, the leading financial paper of that time, over and over again, contained voluminous articles on wildcat bank notes and counterfeiting.

Such were some of the results of the State Bank system during the period that followed the expiration of the charter of the First United States Bank on March 4, 1811, and the going into operation of the Second United States Bank on January 7, 1817.

This was the worst state of the monetary troubles, which began with the suspension of specie payments in 1814, and continued until the general crash of 1819-1820, at which time lands and agricultural products had fallen to one-half of the prices which were readily obtainable in 1808-10, and to one-third the value they possessed when the excessive indebtedness of the people was incurred; namely, during the inflation

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[6] *Ibid.*

[7] Files of the *Missouri Gazette* are preserved in the Missouri Historical Society, St. Louis.

[8] *Missouri Gazette*, April 1, 1815; Feb. 3, 1816.

[9] *Ibid.*, June 29, 1816; "Beware of Mutilated Notes," *Ibid.*, July 13, 1816.

years of the State Banks. The contraction of the circulation and the general failures of the State Banks began in 1818. As we have seen above, the contraction was from $68,000,000 in 1816 to $40,641,574 in 1820, or as Secretary Crawford put it, from $99,000,000 to $110,000,000. In 1815 down to $45,000,000; to $53,000,000 in 1819.[10] While the banking capital increased from $65,000,000 in 1813 to $125,000,000 in 1817 and 1818, and was reduced to about $72,000,000 in 1819, the financial affairs of the country were in a wretched condition in 1819. The currency was greatly depreciated; very many failures of State Banks, corporations and individuals had occurred. The country had not recovered from the exhausting effects of the late war.

Senator Benton, in a speech in the Senate said, "I was elected to this body in the year 1820, when the hollow and delusive paper system was undergoing one of its habitual and disastrous convulsions; and when my progress to this place—my journey from the Mississippi to the Potomac—was one long ride amidst the crashings and explosions of banks, and the cries and lamentations of a deceived and plundered people. The National Bank was then in the third year of its age; and so far from affording a remedy for the evils, it was itself the mother of the evils, and notoriously bankrupt, except for the credit and revenues of the United States, which were lent and extended to save it."[11]

Necessary to a comprehension of the general financial and economic conditions in this country is, at least, a reference to affairs in England. The Napoleonic wars had brought about a suspension of specie payments there from 1797 to 1821, so that, during that period England was afflicted with the evils of an inconvertible currency. Pandora's box was open. England's Bank Notes were at a discount of about 13% in 1810; 20% in 1812; 25% in 1814; 16% in 1816, and then from 4% to 2% until they went back to par with the resumption of specie payments. Commodity prices advanced

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[10]Comptroller's Report, 1876, p. 11.

[11]Meigs' *Life of Benton*, p. 126.

until in 1814 they were about 70% above those of the pre-war period. In 1810 a Committee of Parliament had made what is known as the "Bullion Report"—an exhaustive study of the whole question of paper money and recognized as a fundamental in all subsequent economic studies. Parliament did not adopt the report, and after Pitt's death, there was the great inflation that led to the depreciation of the paper money and the inflation of commodity prices just mentioned. The year 1819 was a period of great financial and industrial depression, not only in England, but generally in Europe.[12] England's accumulating gold, in order to resume specie payment, drained gold from this country, and it has been claimed was one of the prime causes of the panic of 1819-20 here.

When General Duff Green, a very prominent Missourian of that generation, and who will be mentioned frequently in this paper, years after visisted London on a mission for the United States, he records:

"We did not then realize, nor did I do so until long thereafter, that the Bank of the United States—and indeed the whole banking system of the United States—was but a part, and the weaker part of the financial system, which, as then organized, enabled England at will to carry into effect her own projects in Europe. The specie which the Bank of the United States then took from the Southern and Western Banks was remitted through the agency of our commerce to London, to aid the Bank of England to resume specie payments. The effect was to reduce the exchangeable value of land and other western property more than one-half—the Government of the United States compelling the purchasers of public land, from whom unpaid instalments were due under the then existing system of land sales, to relinquish their purchases, for which they were unable to make payment, at a loss of more than fifty per cent. on the same previously paid."[13]

On February 24, 1820, Secretary of the Treasury Crawford communicated to the House of Representatives an elaborate and fundamental discussion of the Currency.[14]

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[12]See Sumner's *History of American Currency*, where in the Appendix is a copy of the Bullion Report; *Industrial Depressions* by Hull, and *English Public Finance*, one of the Bankers, Trust Company publications, pp 186, ff.

[13]See *Facts and Suggestions* by Duff Green, 1866, p. 81, in Library of Missouri Historical Society.

[14]*American State Papers, Finance*, Vol. 3, pp. 494 to 508.

A few extracts are quoted here because the principles enunciated have been applicable so often since and merit careful attention in this year of grace one hundred years later.

"All intelligent writers on currency agree that where it is decreasing in amount, poverty and misery must prevail. The correctness of the opinion is too manifest to require proof. The united voice of the nation attests its accuracy, and there is no recorded example in the history of nations of a reduction of the currency so rapid and so extensive (about 59% in four years), so but few examples have occurred of distress so general and so severe as that which has been exhibited in the United States. To the evils of a decreasing currency are superadded that of a deficient currency. But notwithstanding it is deficient, it is still depreciated.

"The contraction was such as to produce much distress, check the ardor of enterprise, and seriously to affect the productive energies of the people. In 1818 articles of American production had fallen nearly 50% in foreign markets. When a merchant needed additional loans to sustain him against the losses he had incurred by the sudden reduction in price of the commodities he had exported, he was called upon to discharge loans previously contracted. The farmer saw his income below his necessities, and a manufacturer with foreign competition saw his output reduced by the incapacity of his customers to buy. All classes had lines of credit cut down, and in addition, were called to pay if they had discounts out.

"After the currency shall be reduced to the amount, which, when the present quantity of the precious metals is distributed among the various nations of the world in proportion to their respective exchangeable values, shall be assigned to the United States, when time shall have regulated the price of labor and commodities, according to that amount, and when existing engagements shall have been adjusted, the sufferings from a depreciated, decreasing and deficient currency will be terminated.

"But there can be no doubt that a sudden increase in the currency during periods of prosperity, through the agency of bank issues, gives additional force and activity to natural enterprise. Such an increase will be followed by a general rise in the value of all articles, especially of those which cannot be exported. The price of lands, houses, and public stock will be augmented in a greater degree than if no such increase had taken place.

"But the expansion of the currency, by the issue of paper, in a period of prosperity, will inevitably be succeeded by a contraction in a period of adversity."

FIRST BANK IN MISSOURI—BANK OF ST. LOUIS—1813.

By an act of the territorial legislature, approved August 21, 1813,[15] the incorporation of the Bank of St. Louis was authorized with capital of at least $75,000, and not to exceed $150,000, in shares of $100 each, exclusive of any shares which might be subscribed on the part of the Territory of Missouri. Non-resident stockholders where prohibited from voting on their shares, and not more than one-fourth of the the stock could be held outside of Missouri and Illinois. Directors who authorized the bank to owe, whether by bond, bill, note or other contract, in excess of double the amount of paid-in capital, made themselves personally liable. Specie payment was not required either in paying for the capital stock or for redemption of the notes. The directors were authorized to demand from stockholders "all such sums of money by them subscribed." Six per cent interest in advance was fixed as the limit of interest on any loan or discount. Branches for deposit and discount only were authorized at Ste. Genevieve and elsewhere in Missouri, but not within fifty miles of the parent bank at St. Louis, or of each other. No reports of any kind were required; no examinations were provided for, and there was no prohibition against the banks making loans on its own stock as collateral. Commissioners were appointed to open books for subscription to capital stock, as follows: Auguste Chouteau, John B. C. Lucas, Clement B. Penrose, Moses Austin, Bernard Pratte, Manuel Lisa, Thomas Brady, Bartholomew Berthold, Samuel Hammond, Rufus Easton, Robert Simpson, Christian Wilt, and Risdon H. Price. On Sept. 20, 1813, it was announced that subscriptions had failed. On November 6, 1813, Christian Wilt, one of the commissioners, wrote his brother, "Penrose tells me the legislature will alter the charter this session to permit the bank to receive lead and peltries as deposits."[16] On Dec. 15, 1814, the books were again opened for subscriptions to $100,000 capital.[17]

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[15] *Territorial Laws of Mo.*, Vol. 1, p. 278.

[16] See Volume his letters in Mo. Hist. Society.

[17] *Missouri Gazette* and *Illinois Advertiser*, January 7 and 20, 1815.

SAMUEL HAMMOND

AUGUSTE CHOUTEAU

July 11, 1816, sufficient stock had been subscribed.[18] The bank was incorporated August 21, 1816, three years after it was authorized. The Act of Incorporation (S.12) had provided there could be no forfeiture for non-user before second Monday in December, 1817. On Sept. 2, 1816, thirteen directors were elected as follows: Samuel Hammond, William Rector, Bernard Pratte, Risdon H. Price, Moses Austin, Col. Eli B. Clempson, Theodore Hunt, Justus Post, Robert Simpson, Charles N. Hunter, Walter Wilkinson, Theophilus W. Smith and Elias Bates.

No list of the stockholders has been found. A list of the votes for the several directors is given in the newspaper of Sept. 7, 1816. Samuel Hammond received the highest, 809 votes. Under the law creating the bank (S.13) stockholders had: one vote for each share owned up to ten shares; one vote for each five shares owned over ten and up to thirty; and one vote for each ten shares owned over thirty, but no one could have more than seventeen votes. So with 809 votes, it is evident that a very large majority of the stockholders must have owned ten or less shares.

On September 20th, Samuel Hammond was elected President and John B. N. Smith, Cashier.[19] On September 21st, notice was published that an instalment of $15.00 on each share in gold, silver, or gold and approved bank paper (Kentucky, Tennessee, Cincinnati, Vincennes, Richmond or such other bank paper as is received by the U. S. in payment for land and taxes) must be paid November 22nd.

On November 23rd, notice was published that the bank would be open for business December 2nd, but the opening actually took place on December 13th. The location of the bank was in a building located at 58 South Main Street and was in a building immediately back of Riddick and

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[18]July 13, 1816—1349 shares.

[19]A most interesting historical pamphlet concerning Samuel Hammond, brilliant soldier in the Revolution, Congressman from Georgia, first resident Governor of the District of St. Louis, under appointment by Thomas Jefferson, has been written by Miss Stella M. Drumm, the accomplished librarian of the Missouri Historical Society. See that *Society's Collection*, Vol. IV, No. 4, 1920.

Pilchers store.[20] On Aug. 7, 1817, the Bank of St. Louis purchased the old stone house east side of Main, between Elm and Myrtle, which they fixed up for their banking house, tearing down the old stone front and putting up a new brick front.[21] A second instalment of $10.00 on each share "$5 in specie" was called to be paid December 24th.[22]

Ten dollars per share having been called, 60 days' notice was published of further calls of $5.00 each, on March 5th, June 5th and first Monday in August, 1817. On May 10th, the books were open for sale of stock. On June 28th, the whole of the capital had been subscribed, a call was made for the remaining 60% to be paid September 18th, and, announcement was published that a dividend of 8% per annum on the stock would be paid after July 15th.[23]

In the Missouri Historical Society collection is a photograph of one of the notes or bills of the bank. The bill was No. 45, for one dollar, dated February 13, 1817, payable on demand to—— or bearer. The vignette in the bill was a cannon with an eagle perched on it. The authenticity of the statement, sometimes made, that the first bills of the bank had the picture of a beaver on them, and were called "Beaver Bills," is established by the accompanying photograph of the bill showing the beaver trapped.*

Society and business had not become organized. Many of the newcomers were adventurers. Most of the pioneers had left their homes before they had become trained in business. They were free from the restraints of family tradition and had no business prestige to sustain. There was no extensive trade, no manufacture, and no general punctuality in the payment of debts. All supplies except meat and breadstuffs and a few articles of household production were imported. All imports had to be brought from New Orleans in keel-boats, towed with ropes or pushed by poles up the current of the Mississippi, or else wagoned across the moun-

[20] *Mo. Gaz.*, Nov. 30, 1816.

[21] Billion's *Annals of St. Louis in its Territorial Days*, p. 86.

[22] *Mo. Gaz.*, Dec. 7 and 14.

[23] *Missouri Gazette*, Jan. 25th, March 22nd, May 10th, and June 26th, 1817.

*See Hyde and Conrad's *History of St. Louis*, Vol. 1, p. 75.

tains from Philadelphia to Pittsburgh and from there floated down the Ohio to its mouth in keel-boats, and from there shoved, pushed or towed up the Mississippi as from New Orleans. There was exported little or nothing except furs. Before the war, such a thing as money was scarcely ever seen in the country, the skins of deer and raccoon supplying the place of a circulating medium.[24]

The actual money that was brought in by the immigrants drifted into the land offices and thence into the U. S. Treasury and was for disbursement mainly in the Eastern States. Goods that were purchased in the East had to be paid for in money as most of the exports went down the river. No record has been found of New Orleans paying for their exports by drafts on New York or Philadelphia. In 1818 Stephen R. Wiggins established the first advertised brokerage and exchange office in St. Louis,[25] but from his advertisement it seems his business was dealing in the depreciated paper money. The notes of the various banks were handled at varying discounts. Some of the notes were of banks that paid in specie, some were not. Some were of banks that were in existence, some of banks that had failed. Some were of banks that had never existed, and some were counterfeits of the divers issues.[26]

In the colonial days, Missouri did business with silver coin called "hard money," and with another and more general form of currency called "fur money." Debts were paid in lead, peltry and salt, and sometimes in other commodities. Witness the following which is a copy and translation of a genuine document:

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[24]Ford s *History of Illinois*, p. 43.

[25]*Mo. Gazette*, Jan. 9, 1818.

[26]*Niles Register*, Vol. 26; Knox's *History of Banking* and the *U. S. Comptroller's Report* of 1876 give much of the history of the note issues of that time. See also *A history of banking and currency in Ohio before the Civil War*, pages 295 and 345 of *Ohio Archaeological and Historical Quarterly*, July, 1915, and *The Development of Banking in Illinois* 1817-1863, by Dowric, published by University of Illinois in 1918.

"Bon pour six livre de Barbue a St. Louis co 25 7 bre 1799. Antoine Roy."

Translation: "Good for six pounds of Catfish, at St. Louis, the 25th of September, 1799."[27]

The value of furs brought into St. Louis was estimated in livres. No livres actually passed but the furs of beaver, deer, buffalo and others were estimated in value and the values were carried on the books. For example, the trapper took his pelts to the company warehouse. The bundle was weighed. For each kind of furs there was a value per pound expressed in livres. This value was entered to the credit of the seller. Against that credit the trapper could trade or buy. This was not the form of barter practiced by colonists on the Atlantic border. It was cash without coin or paper. It was banking in the earliest form known to Missouri. When Judge J. B. C. Lucas bought his first piece of real estate in St. Louis, the price was given as "six hundred dollars in deerskins." Silver money was scarce. To obtain small denominations, a Spanish or Mexican dollar was put upon a block of wood and tapped with a chisel to cut it into four pieces. This made quarters. The quarters were tapped in halves and that made "bits."

For a long time the bit, which amounted to 12½c in silver, was the lowest denomination of money in St. Louis. If a customer bought less than a bit's worth, he got his change in the form of pins or needles or sheets of paper.

Banking with packs of furs for deposits did fairly well for local business. When it came to settlements of accounts between St. Louis and New Orleans, or other centers at a distance, the need of some form of draft was felt. Receipts were taken for considerable quantities of fur; these receipts stated the weight and value of the furs. These receipts were sent from city to city. They bore the signatures of those who held the furs on deposit. As they passed from hand to hand they were endorsed. The common name for these receipts, which took the place of what were later called drafts or bills of exchange, was "bons," i. e. good for the furs described.

[27] *Report of the celebration of the anniversary of the founding of St. Louis on the 15th day of February, A. D. 1847* St. Louis, Chambers & Knapp, 1847.

The furs, which were exported, had to be shipped by boat to New Orleans, or via Pittsburgh to Philadelphia or via the Great Lakes to Detroit or Montreal. For such shipments drafts were drawn, and these drafts, or their proceeds, were used in paying for the articles imported. On April 30, 1815, the Government Agent at St. Louis received a letter authorizing him to draw for one hundred thousand dollars. He was obliged to go to Kentucky where there were the nearest banks to negotiate his drafts.[28] There was practically no surplus capital. There were no men trained in banking. It was inevitable that improvident loans would be made and that a bank would have great difficulty in collecting debts due to it. Banks cannot succeed except where there is enough consumable articles or circulating commodities to enable a borrower to fairly estimate when he can turn his stock into money and meet his debt to the bank. Punctuality in paying debts and commercial honor are the outgrowth of established trade, and are largely among the educational results of the successful operations of banks. To enable a bank to succeed there must be laws favorable to the enforced collection of debts, and public sentiment must have produced a habit of prompt payment. As a merchant, in order to succeed must turn over his stock several times in a year, so a bank to properly serve its community and to so distribute its favors as to build up a varied line of customers, several times in each year must collect a great part of its outstanding loans and make new loans.

The general condition of affairs had delayed subscriptions to the stock of the bank. The war had disturbed the orderly development of the territory's growth. The farmers and others had turned out in defense of their country, armed, furnished and equipped themselves at their own expense for one whole year's service. During the war they did not receive regular compensation, and after having waited fifteen months without receiving the first certificate from the Government, a lot of them had taken goods from the merchants, (Price or McNight & Brady and Lindell) and had assigned

[28] *Missouri Gazette and Illinois Advertiser*, August 3, 1816.

their claims. In the early summer of 1816, it was believed the Government owed some four hundred thousand dollars or more to the rangers and militia of Missouri, and it was anticipated that some arrangement would be made soon to make payment thereof. It was intimated at the time that it was the anticipation of the payment of these claims that led the "Rag Barons," as the organizers of the bank were termed, to hasten the starting of the bank. The rangers feared they would be paid the paper or "rag money" of "a bank not chartered and without funds."[29]

During this period of delay in filling the subscription of the Bank of St. Louis, there was much discussion as to chartering a second Bank of the United States. In 1814 there was before Congress a bill to establish a National Bank with branches in every state but not in the territories. On motion of Col. Rufus Easton, the delegate from this territory, territories were included and names of commissioners to receive subscriptions at St. Louis were given, but a further amendment proposed by him that whenever $100,000 had been subscribed by persons residing in our territory a branch would be established here, was decided in the negative, and the bill to incorporate the bank failed.[30] In April, 1816, the bill for the Second Bank of the United States was passed,[31] with no provision for a branch in a territory. The bill passed the house by a majority of only seven votes.[32]

On April 6, 1816, in Congress, Mr. Calhoun, from a committee on National Currency, reported a bill providing that after December 31st, following notes of banks, which did not by that time pay specie, should not be received in payments of debts due the United States, and imposed a stamp tax of practically 10% on their notes.[33] This bill,

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[29]See letter of Aug. 8, 1816 from John Lindsey to Douglas Deputy paymaster, *Mo. Gazette*, Aug. 24th, and letter of Aug. 14th, signed "Jack Upstart" in issue of Sept. 7th, and another letter from John Lindsey in issue of Sept. 28th. See letter signed "No Rag Baron" in issue of Nov. 27, 1818.

[30]See *Mo. Gazette*, April 13, 1816.

[31]See *Ibid.*, April 20th and May 11th as to Congressmen dodging the vote.

[32]*Ibid.*, April 6.

[33]*Ibid.*, April 13th.

after an arduous discussion, was rejected by one vote, only 119 members voting out of 180.[34] This was the forerunner of the tax of 10% put on the issues of State Banks during the Civil War.

To what extent these matters affected the delay in proceeding with putting into operation the Bank of St. Louis can be conjectured; but, the fact is, that the delay had continued for nearly three years, and shortly thereafter sufficient stock was subscribed to enable the bank to proceed. It is noted that subscription to the thirty five millions stock for the Second United States Bank was not completed until in the fall of that year, and that to complete it Stephen Girard, of Philadelphia, subscribed for three million dollars of it.[35]

WILDCAT CERTIFICATES AS CURRENCY, 1816.

On December 23, 1816,[36] there was approved "an act to encourage the killing of wolves, panthers and wildcats." It authorized a reward of two dollars for killing of a wolf or a panther, and fifty cents for killing a wildcat, to be paid out of the county treasury in which the animal had been killed. A justice of the peace was to destroy the scalps and "issue a certificate on the county treasury for the same." The form for the certificate was prescribed and said "the Treasurer of the County is hereby directed to pay the same to C. D. or bearer" and was made a legal tender for any county taxes and should be so received by the sheriff. These "wildcat" certificates came to be used as currency and led to the name of "wildcat" being given to other kinds of currency that were not redeemable in specie, and being specially applied to the bills of the non-specie paying banks in the adjoining territories.[37]

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[34] *Ibid.*, June 1st.

[35] *Ibid.*, Oct. 12, 1816. In Dec., 1815, the estimated population of St. Louis county was 7,395—an increase of 1200 in two years, and of the town of St. Louis, 2,000. *Ibid.*, Dec. 9, 1815.

[36] *Territorial Laws*, Vol. 1, p. 496.

[37] The "wildcat certificates" in one form or another, and with varied changes in legislation continued in use and were the cause of much discussion, until in 1851 the Governor was directed to have all the outstanding certificates burned, *Acts* 1851, p. 731.

The putting into circulation of the bank's notes, together with the notes of the Bank of Missouri, mentioned later, and the use of "wildcats," caused a prompt inflation of values. The history of the excessive issue and use of wildcat currency, during the period under consideration, in most of the states east of the Mississippi River, would require a separate article. To have in mind the fact of such excessive issue and use is necessary to a fair comprehension of financial atmosphere at that time in Missouri. One historian, writing of the result of the liberal issue of bills by the Bank of St. Louis, used a sentence bankers of today should remember, to-wit:

"It is a law of nature that the greater the flood, the greater the ebb, and the tide of business, when it swells and inflates to an excessive magnitude, will have its hour of collapse and shrink into contracted boundaries. The sudden influx of money poured out by the new bank gave an unnatural expansion to commercial affairs, created a spirit of speculation and extravagance, and jeopardized everything by the dangerous momentum it gave."[38]

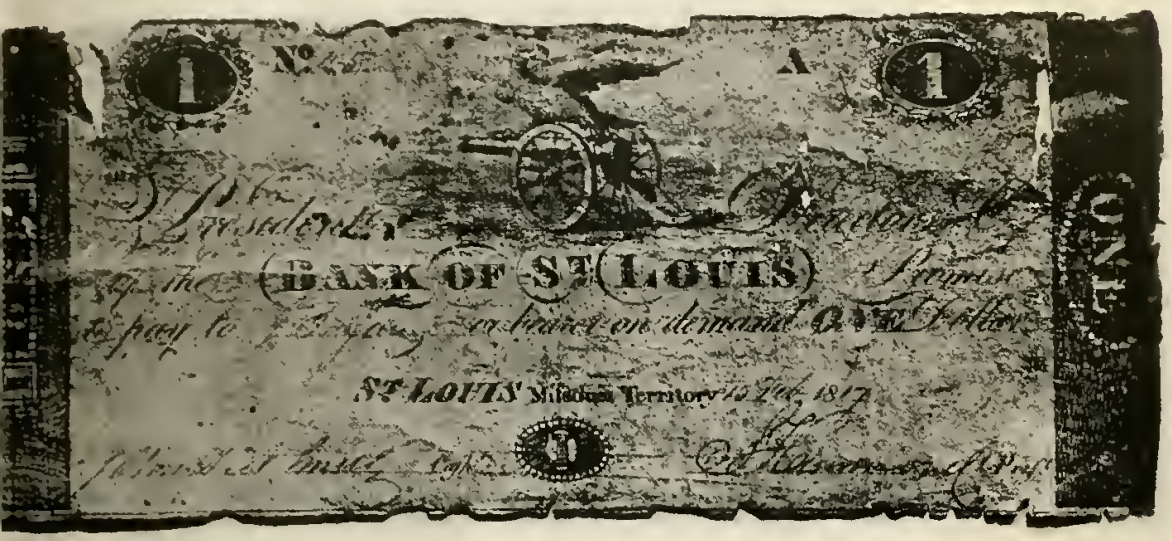
It appears that the Bank of St. Louis was in trouble before more than forty per cent of its stock was paid in.[39]

Samuel Hammond, the president, states that the cashier, John B. N. Smith, without the knowledge of the bank, purchased a number of bills to a vast amount and paid for them, that the cost of them could be replaced only by bills on banks in Kentucky, Ohio and Pennsylvania; that the Board determined to buy no more bills; but, the cashier, secretly, in defiance of the Board, continued to buy, and arranged his plans when he went to Kentucky in October, 1817, so that on November 3rd he drew bills to an immense amount in favor of certain of his co-partners and sold them, and the bank did not get the proceeds; that the bills were signed by the cashier alone and did not bind the bank, as according to section 10 of the charter the bills were to be signed by the president, and countersigned by the cashier, but the drafts were paid.[40] The cashier claimed that he acted only in the interest

[38]Edward's *Great West*, p. 309.

[39]The remaining sixty per cent. was due Sept. 18, 1817. See *Mo. Gazette*, Aug. 30.

[40]See *Mo. Gazette*, April 24, 1818.



OLD MISSOURI CURRENCY

of the bank, and did not profit personally in these transactions.[41] Among those in Kentucky who were interested with the cashier in these transactions were Richard M. and James Johnson, who, with General Duval Payne, also of Kentucky, became largely interested in the Bank of Edwards ville, and associated there with Theophilus W. Smith. Richard M. Johnson was afterwards Vice-President of the United States and General Payne was his brother-in-law. The transactions of the cashier with the Johnsons led to prolonged litigation. There were changes in the directory in December.

Directors of the Bank of St. Louis, prior to the 8th of December, 1817, for that year were:

Samuel Hammond,
Risdon H. Price,
Joshua Pilcher,
Robert Simpson,
Moses Austin,
Samuel Perry,
Thompson Douglas,
William Rector,
Theodore Hunt,
Justus Post,
Eli B. Clemson,
Elias Bates,
Thomas Wright,
J. B. N. Smith, Cashier.

After December 8, 1817, until February, 11, 1818:

Samuel Hammond,
Moses Austin,
J. J. Wilkinson,
Justus Post,
Elias Rector,
Robert Collet,
Joshua Pilcher,
Eli B. Clemson,
Elias Bates,
Walter Wilkinson,
Nathaniel B. Tucker,
Robert Simpson,
James Mason,
J. B. N. Smith, Cashier.

Directors, April 24, 1818:[42]

Samuel Hammond,
Eli B. Clemson,
J. J. Wilkinson,
Walter Wilkinson,
Theophilus W. Smith,
Stephen F. Austin,
Two Vacancies.
Justus Post,
James Mason,
Elias Bates,
Nathaniel B. Tucker,
Rufus Easton,
The. W. Smith, Cashier.

A difference of opinion in the Board led to strange proceedings. On Feb. 11, 1818, in place of John B. N. Smith (re-

[41] *Ibid.*, May 1, 1818.

[42] *Missouri Gazette*, April 24, 1818.

moved), Theophilus W. Smith was elected cashier, over Archibald Gamble, who was the only other person in nomination, and President Hammond appointed as first teller Wm. O'Hara, who, by September following, had become cashier.[43] Theophilus W. Smith had become a director in the Bank of Edwardsville by Oct. 10, 1818.[44] Directors Rector, Simpson and Pilcher resigned. Pilcher claimed that although Theophilus W. Smith owned stock in the bank and had been elected a director, he had remained in this territory for only three or four weeks in the spring and summer of 1816, and that his seat had been vacated for a variety of reasons, the most substantial of which was that he was a resident of New York; and that when he was elected cashier he had but a month before landed in the territory. The keys of the vault were given to President Hammond. Joshua Pilcher, Elias Rector, Thos. H. Benton, Lieut. James McGunnigle, of the Army of the U. S., Thomas (or Thompson?) Douglas, Stephen Rector, Thomas Hanly, John Little, Jeremiah Conner, Taylor Berry and Colonel Daniel Bissell, also of the Army of the U. S., with others turned the officers of the bank out of doors, and locked the bank building and took the keys, and said they expected to keep them there until their grievances were adjusted. Those put out claimed they feared bodily harm. A demand of the keys of the vault was made, but the President refused to give them up. The places of the resigned directors were offered to "almost every man in town" and refused. The keys were returned on the morning of the 16th and everything was found in place. Notice was given that the bank would be open on the 23rd, giving the new cashier time to inform himself as to the affairs of the bank. There was given a further notice that the opening was postponed until March 10th.[45]

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[43] *Ibid.*, Sept. 25, 1818.

[44] *Ibid.*, Oct. 23, 1818. Gamble shortly thereafter was elected clerk of the Circuit Court. *Ibid.*, Nov. 14, 1818.

[45] See two col. article signed by the retiring directors, Thomas H. Benton and others. *Mo. Gazette*, March 6, 1818. See Letter Joshua Pilcher 3 ½ cols, *Ibid.*, March 13 and 20, 1818.

As a sidelight, it may be of interest to note that on August 12, 1817, Colonel Benton and Charles Lucas had fought a duel in which Lucas was wounded, and that on September 27th following, a second duel took place between them and Lucas was fatally wounded. At this last meeting Major Joshua Pilcher was present as a friend of Benton and Colonel Clemson was present as a friend of Lucas.[46] Pilcher and Clemson were directors of the Bank of St. Louis but belonging to opposing factions, while Lucas' father, J. B. C. Lucas, was affiliated with the Bank of Missouri.[47]

A few days previous to the affair an attempt was made to poison John B. N. Smith, and his whole family, by giving them arsenic. The attempt was made by a negro. There was no intimation that this act had any connection with the affairs of the bank.[48]

On March 6th the following was published:

"Ordered that all notes under discount in the Bank of St. Louis, when the same shall become due and payable, shall be paid in specie, the notes of the Bank of St. Louis, Bank of Missouri, Bank of U. S. and it branches, and no other; that the cashier be instructed to see that this regulation is rigidly enforced. Sam'l. Hammond, President."

On March 13th, there was published the following notice:

"The public mind having become tranquilized, the Bank of St. Louis opened on Tuesday last, redeemed its paper in specie, and the public are hereby notified that it will continue to redeem paper in specie on presentation. Signed, S. Hammond, Pres."[49]

The May 1st issue contains a statement of David Barton, the first U. S. Senator elected in the State of Missouri, as to the legal phases of drafts that were signed by the cashier only and on July 10, "Aristides" replied to David Barton; on May 15th, Justus Post wrote a four column

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[46]Meigs *Life of Benton*, p. 112.

[47]Later J. B. C. Lucas was the chief contestant against Benton for the U. S. Senate.

[48]See *Kentucky Argus, Detroit Gazette*, April 10, 1818.

[49]For various extended statements about this incident, and the bank generally, see *Ibid.*, April 24, May 1, May 15 and May 29, 1818.

article about the bank's affairs. July 17th issue contains a communication from "A Missourian" to the directors of the Bank of St. Louis. On November 10th, the directors of the Bank made a request to the Territorial Legislature that an investigation should be made into the causes of the embarrassment and present state of the institution. The request was referred to a committee, but the report of the committee was not printed and has not been found.[50]

In the issue March 13th, Rufus Easton, evidently to show his confidence in the Bank, published over his signature, that he had in St.Louis and its vicinity, unencumbered real property to the value of $30,000, which he would mortgage for the payment of that amount of notes of the Bank of St. Louis, payable one, two, or three years at the rate of 10% interest, or for a sum less than that amount if it exceeded $5,000.

In a statement, dated April 21, 1818, President Hammond said that the loans of the bank had never exceeded $224,000, that since December 8th the bank had reduced the loans $60,000, the notes $51,000, and claims $55,000.[51]

Real estate in St. Louis was offered in exchange for stock of Bank of St. Louis.[52] Then began the publication of many articles, tending to "open the eyes of the people as to the baneful effects of banking."[53]

At that time it was estimated there were 297 banks in the United States.[54]

Shortly before this, the President of the Bank of the U. S. at Philadelphia, advised the Secretary of the Treasury that the U. S. Bank and its branches would not accept bills which were made payable at its several branches at other than the

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[50]See *Journal of the House* and *Mo. Gazette*, Nov. 27th. Matters of the Bank of Missouri were before the Legislature at the same time and much discussed in the *Gazette*, as will be mentioned later.

[51]*Ibid.*, April 24th.

[52]*Ibid.*, July 31, 1818.

[53]*Ibid.*, Sept. 4, 1818, quoting from *Niles Register*; also, a series of articles, of several columns each, entitled "The paper system"—making in all a somewhat full discussion of paper money, and making it clear that the principles relating to that subject were then well understood although not heeded in Missouri. *Ibid.*, Sept. 4, 11, 18, 25; Oct. 2, 9, 1818.

[54]*Ibid.*, Oct. 9, 1818.

place where they were payable except in payment of debts due to the U. S. Notices to this effect from the Baltimore and New York branches were published in St. Louis.[55] Publication was made that the U. S. Bank paper would also fluctuate in value and might be below par in different places for the same reason, though not in the same ratio, as the paper of the State Banks. This action of the U. S. Bank created a great stir and aroused great feelings against the U. S. Bank.

Bank failures began. The reaction following the war, and the wild expansion of State Bank issues was showing itself.

On July 12, 1819, a long public statement was made saying that the Bank of St. Louis, after suspension of about twelve months, had resumed on March 3rd last, that the Directors had raised money to aid in liquidation, that the bank had redeemed $14,000 of its bills, had liquidated $12,000 of other claims, and drew attention to the delinquency of Colonels James and R. M. Johnson, of Kentucky, in not paying $56,000, lately awarded against them.[56] Thomas H. Benton and Mathias McGirk, the first Chief Justice in the State, were the arbitrators. The doors of the bank were then closed and the assets distributed, its career resulting in damage to the community, loss to the stockholders and a mass of litigation, including suits by the bank against President Hammond and a majority of the several directors.[57] No report of the final settlement of the bank's affairs has been found. The *Jeffersonian Republican* of March 12, 1836, is quoted as saying that the notes of the bank were never redeemed. On February 12, 1821, the Secretary of the Treasury reported that the Government still had a deposit of $87.00 in the suspended Bank of St. Louis.[58] Thomas H. Benton had given his attention to such an extent to the affairs of this bank, and also later to the affairs of the Bank of Missouri,

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[55] *Mo. Gazette*, Oct. 9, 1818.
[56] *Ibid.*, March 10, and July 14, 1819.
[57] In files in St. Louis Court House.
[58] 16th Congress, 2nd Session, *House Doc.* 100.

that it is likely his later policy in support of hard money was one of the results.

SECOND BANK—"BANK OF MISSOURI"—1816.

It will be recalled that there had been great delay in organizing the Bank of St. Louis authorized by the Legislature in 1813. It was not until September 2, 1816, that its first board of directors was elected, and the bank did not open for business until December 13th of that year. It will be noted from the list above given that Samuel Hammond, Bernard Pratte, Risdon H. Price, Moses Austin and Robert Simpson, of the commissioners to take subscription to the capital stock, were elected directors, but the following commissioners were among those not elected, to-wit: Auguste Chouteau, John B. C. Lucas, Clement B. Penrose, Manuel Lisa, Thomas Brady, Bartholemew Berthold, Rufus Easton and Christian Wilt.

The same issue of the *Gazette* (Sept. 14, 1816) that told of the election of the first Board of Directors of the Bank of St. Louis, reported that on September 4th certain persons in St. Louis subscribed articles of association and formed a company or limited partnership under the name of "The President, Directors and Company of the Bank of Missouri." The articles of co-partnership agreed: (1) that the bill for the charter of the Bank of St. Louis should be taken as the basis; (2) to the name; (3) Jean P. Cabanne, Charles Gratiot, William Smith, Matthew Kerr and John McKnight receive subscriptions, the agreement to be presented by them until $25,000 was secured "to be raised in Kentucky bank notes, gold or silver;" (4) that at time of subscription $5.00 per share be paid, to be forfeited unless $20.00 additional was paid by January 1st, next; (5) that the capital stock be $250,000 in shares of $100 each, subscriptions to close when $100,000 was subscribed, the directors to open subscriptions thereafter until all was subscribed; (6) that the above named persons were charged with procuring suitable plates and paper for issuing notes or bills and deliver same to the directors; (7) that the election of directors take place in not less than five nor

more than ten days after the first subscription was closed; (8) that the directors when elected were to make immediate issue of small notes not to exceed $3.00 each in amount and not to exceed double the amount actually in their hands. The names and amounts subscribed by then were:[59]

	Shares	
Thomas F. Riddick	31	$3,100
William Smith	30	3,000
Jean P. Cabanne	30	3,000
Berthold & Chouteau	30	3,000
Auguste Chouteau	30	3,000
Christian Wilt	30	3,000
Joseph Philipson	20	2,000
McKnight & Brady	30	3,000
Thomas Hanley	20	2,000
Brady & McKnight	20	2,000
Matthew Kerr & Bell	20	2,000
Charles Gratiot	20	2,000
Sylvestro Labbadie	15	1,500
Frederick Bates	15	1,500
M. D. Bates	15	1,500
John Little	15	1,500
Thomas Hempstead	10	1,000
Lilburn W. Boggs & Co	10	1,000
James Clemens, Jr	10	1,000
Moses Scott	10	1,000
Elisha Beebe	10	1,000
Holmes & Elliot	10	1,000
Alexander McNair	10	1,000
Wm. E. Carr	10	1,000
Michael Tesson	10	1,000
J. & G. Lindell	10	1,000
John Thompson	10	1,000
Wm. E. Peschy	10	1,000
Thomas Brady	10	1,000
J. W. Amoureux	10	1,000
C. N. B. Allen	10	1,000
Henry Von Phul & Co	10	1,000
John B. C. Lucas	20	2,000

[59]Edwards, *Great West*, pp. 310f.

	Shares	
Antoine Chenie	10	$1,000
Wm. Christy	10	1,000
Robert Walsh	10	1,000
P. J. & J. G. Lindell	10	1,000
Jeremiah Connor	10	1,000
Michael Ely	5	500
Charles Bosseron	5	500
Michael Dollan	5	500
Thomas Peebles	5	500
Evaristo Maury	5	500
A. Landreville	5	500
D. Delauny	5	500
M. P. Leduc	5	500
Samuel Edgar	5	500
Emilien Yosti	5	500
Charles Dehault Delassus	5	500
Silas Bant	5	500
Benjamin O'Fallon	5	500
Farrar & Reed	3	300
Nero Lyons	3	300
Josiah Brady	3	300
C. M. Price	3	300
Christian F. Showe	3	300
A. L. Papin	3	300
Charles Sanguinet	2	200
James Irwin	2	200
Antoine Danjin	2	200
Joseph Robidoux	2	200
Silas Curtis	2	200
John B. Zenoni	2	200
A. Rutgers	2	200
Peter Provenchere	2	200
Christian Smith	2	200
R. Davis	2	200
Ephriam Town	2	200
Wm. Cabane	2	200
Macky Cherry	2	200
Marguerite Lacaise	2	200
Francois Valois	2	200
P. Lee	2	200
Peter Primm	1	100

	Shares	
Wm. Sullivan	1	$100
Samuel Solomon	1	100
Bartholomew Arnauld	1	100
Joseph Charless	5	500
Edward Addarly	5	500
Antoine Soulard	4	400
Joseph Henderson, Jr	10	1,000
Michael Lacroix	10	1,000
Pierre Menard	30	3,000
Total Amount		$78,500

Immediately following this last notice was one dated September 9th, signed by those authorized to get subscriptions, calling a stockholders meeting on September 19th to elect directors. The issue of the paper next after this is so mutilated that the names of those elected was not found, nor have they been found elsewhere.

Auguste Chouteau was elected president and Lilburn W. Boggs, afterwards Governor of the State, was the first cashier. Lilburn W. Boggs was cashier until March, 1818; then John Dales, until September, 1819; then A. L. Langham, until July, 1820; then L. S. Bompart, until the failure.[60] The bank began business September 30th. Its place of business was for several years in the basement of Col. Chouteau's residence on Main Street. In 1819 they built a banking house at No. 6 North Main, and on its completion occupied it that same year.[61]

On January 31, 1817, the Legislature passed an act to incorporate the bank under the name assumed by the co-partnership, the incorporators to be those who had signed the articles of agreement and all such persons who on February 1, 1817, should hold any shares in the bank.[62]. In the passage

[60] *American State Papers, Finance*, Vol. III. See statements page 824, *et. seq.*

[61] Billion's *Annals of St. Louis in its Territorial Days*, p. 88.

[62] See *Territorial Laws of Mo.*, Vol. 1, p. 532.

of the act there was a prolonged and spirited contest. However, the bill duly passed the House and passed the Council, (being what was the Senate, under State law,) but a question arose about the enrollment of the bill and the President of the Council refused to sign it and the Council by a tie vote refused to order him to sign it. Nevertheless, the Governor approved the bill, and in 1821 the Supreme Court sustained the act.[63]. But until this decision there was repeated question as to the due incorporation of the bank. In the Legislature in 1818, a bill supplementary to the act incorporating the bank, and a bill to perfect and make valid the said act, were both defeated.[64]

The leading provisions of the act were:

The capital stock was to be $250,000 in shares of $100 each, exclusive of such shares as might thereafter be subscribed by the Territory of Missouri. Five dollars were required to be paid on each share, according to the articles of association aforesaid and were to be forfeited to the bank unless $20.00 on each share in addition thereto were paid on February 1, 1817,—which sum of $25.00 was a first installment. Further installments of not to exceed $25.00 on each share could be called on ninety days published notice.[66] The bank was to transact its business in St. Louis and be managed by nine directors. Directors had to be residents of the territory and stockholders citizens of the United States. Stockholders could vote for one share and not exceeding four shares, one vote each; for every two shares above four and not exceeding twenty, one vote; for every four shares above twenty and not exceeding forty, one vote; for every six shares above forty and not exceeding one hundred, one vote. No person or body corporate to have more than fifty votes. A stockholder to vote must have held his stock two calendar months prior to day of election.[66] "The books, papers, correspondence and funds of the company shall at all times be subject to the in-

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[63]See Douglas vs. Bank of Missouri I, Mo. p. 24.
[64]See *Journal House of Rep.* Nov. 13, 24; Dec. 2, 4, 5, 9, 12 and 14, 1818.
[66]*Ibid.*, Sec. 3.
[66]*Ibid.*, Sec. 4.

spection of the directors, *and no director shall be entitled to loan at any time more than $3,000 from said bank either in his own name or the name of any other person.*"[67] No compensation was to be given to a director for his services. An account stating the situation of the bank and its funds, sworn to by the president, directors and cashier, was to be laid before the Legislature on the first day of each session, penalty for failure therefor to be repeal of charter[68]; stockholders must pay all debts due from them to the bank before transferring their stock;[69] dividends were to be half-yearly out of net earnings;[70] the bank at no time was to discount or loan more than double the paid-in capital. No standing or unlimited accommodation was to be granted to or by the president and directors;[71] directors were to be individually liable for any dividend impairing the capital, making provision for a director to exculpate himself if he had his dissent entered in the minutes and within twenty days published the fact in a newspaper;[72] the bank was prohibited from engaging in trade or dealing in "any goods, wares or merchandise whatever, except bills of exchange, bullion, stock of the United States, or of incorporated institutions," with certain privisions for holding and disposing of pledged and mortgaged property;[73] holders of 500 shares of stock could call general meeting of stockholders; the bank was prohibited from owing at any time, whether by bond, bill, note or other contract, more than twice the amount of paid-in capital, this exclusive of deposits,—and for any excess, directors violating were individually liable. The bank assumed all obligations of the co-partnership that had carried on the business of banking under the name now held by the bank;[74] the bank to transact its business in St. Louis at a location which, when fixed, was to be unalterable. When the

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[67] *Ibid.*, p. 8. The restriction of this section will be of interest later.
[68] *Ibid.*, p. 9.
[69] *Ibid.*, p. 10.
[70] *Ibid.*, p. 11.
[71] *Ibid.*, p. 12.
[72] *Ibid.*, p. 13.
[73] *Ibid.*, p. 14.
[74] *Ibid.*, p. 17.

inhabitants of any county had subscribed for $40,000 stock of the bank and had paid their calls thereon, if they so requested, a branch was to be established in such county for discount and deposit only;[75] cashier was to give $10,000 bond and clerk a $6,000 bond, with two sureties; on designated legislative authority, the Governor was any time within ten years to subscribe and pay for 1000 shares of stock for the Territory[76] and the bank was to lend to the Territory without endorsement, for not exceeding one year, one-half the amount paid for such stock;[77] all citizens of the territory to have a fair opportunity to become subscribers of the stock; not more than one-forth of the stock to be subscribed for by persons residing outside of this or Illinois territory;[78] bank to pay specie on all its bills and notes, under penalty of 5% per month;[79] charter to continue till February 1, 1838, but two-thirds of stockholders could surrender it;[80] Legislature reserved right to tax stock or dividends of the bank, same as other personal property for use of free schools;[81] bank had six months within which to begin business.

On February 7, 1817, a call was made for $12.50 on each share to be paid May 12th; March 1st a general meeting of stockholders was called for election of directors on May 5th. March 20th the bank gave notice that it would pay specie on all its notes on presentation, and on May 24th, there was published a notice dated May 9th that the bank had accepted the charter granted by the Legislature and was then acting under it. A call was made for a second payment of $12.50 on each share due first Monday in September. On July 12th notice was published that subscription books for stock would be opened the fourth Monday in September at five designated

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[75] *Ibid.*, p. 19.
[76] *Ibid.*, p. 23.
[77] *Ibid.*, p. 25.
[78] *Ibid.*, p. 26.
[79] *Ibid.*, p. 27.
[80] *Ibid.*, p. 30.
[81] *Ibid.*, p. 32.

places "for three entire days."[82] On September 13th the third instalment of $25.00 on the stock was called for, and on October 13th notice was given of a dividend of 6% on the paid-in instalments on the stock. On April 7, 1818 a dividend of 7% on the paid-in instalments was declared.[83]

Sometime afterwards, President Chouteau, in one of his letters to the Secretary of the Treasury, made the following comments about the starting of the Bank, and its operation, which comments throw some light on why he and some of his associates were not among the directors of the Bank of St. Louis:

"The Bank of Missouri, unlike most other banking institutions, owes not its origin to any selfish or speculative purposes. Self-defense alone has given it birth, and the same principle has continued uniformly to govern its operations all along. At a time when this country already began to feel the noxious influence of a system which has since become the source of such universal pressure, the Bank of St. Louis sprang into existence, under circumstances and appearances of great peculiarity; the manner of its formation, the nature of its regulations, and the materials of its compositions, all tended to create apprehensions which its subsequent transactions prove to have been but to well founded. Then it was that an association was formed, of well-meaning persons, all attached to this territory, and intimately concerned in its welfare, who, instead of indulging in the fabrications of fictitious means, meant, on the contrary, to repel the influx of those unwarrantable issues of bills which all found their way to this country, and which, if not betimes opposed, would perhaps have ultimately enveloped in one common ruin the whole mass of our unsuspecting population. The expectation, indeed, of the public utility which promised to grow out of such an association was the motive which alone could have induced me, at my advanced period of life, to subject myself to the discharge of those duties which are attendant on my situation.

"With such professed views, however, and a course of conduct correspondent therewith on the part of this institution, it could not fail to become an object of jealousy and distrust to most of the western banks, who looked upon this country as the devoted market for their bills, and upon the Missouri Bank as a hindrance thrown in their way. Attempts were made by several of these

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[82]See *Mo. Gazette*, Feb. 15, March 1, April 5, May 24 and July 12, 1817.
[83]*Ibid.*, Apr. 17, 1818.

banks to effect with it what they termed "arrangements of mutual benefit;" and when these were declined, as being inconsistent with the plan of our association, from that moment we became the object of their avowed enmity."[84]

At the time the Bank of Missouri was established, the medium of exchange then circulating in this part of the country was chiefly foreign notes of the banks of Kentucky, Ohio, Tennessee, Indiana, North Carolina, etc., in which the greater part of the capital stock of the bank was paid, and which was afterwards converted by the bank into specie.[85]

Illinois, in its legislative session of 1816-17, had granted a charter to "The President and Directors of the Bank of Illinois." This bank was located at Shawneetown and opened for business with $10,000 in specie January 1, 1817. Its charter and that of the Bank of Missouri resembled in very many respects. It will be recalled that the Second Bank of the United States went into operation January 7, 1817. In October, 1816, according to Secretary of Treasury Crawford there were 89 banks of deposit in the different States.[86] Shortly after the U. S. Bank started, Secretary Crawford asked the United States Bank to designate certain banks as additional depositories of Government funds. On November 13, 1817, the Treasury Department notified the cashier of the Bank of St. Louis that the Bank of Missouri had been selected by the United States Bank to receive public deposits at St. Louis.[87] It may be of interest to note that Samuel Hammond, President of the Bank of St. Louis, before he came to St. Louis in 1802, had defeated Mr. Crawford for a seat in Congress from Georgia.[88] But this arrangement of having so many State bank depositories was not satisfactory and was terminated the next year. Thereupon, Secretary Crawford designated certain banks as agents of the Treasury, among

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[84]See *American State Papers, Finance*, Vol. III, p. 748.

[85]See *Report Special Committee Mo. Legislature*, 1822, in *American State Papers, Finance*, Vol. V., p. 19.

[86]*Am. State Papers, Finance*, Vol. 3, p. 719.

[87]*Ibid.*, Vol. 4, p. 556.

[88]See Miss Drumm's Pamphlet, p. 7. The Bank of St. Louis was never designated a depository of public funds.

them the Bank of Missouri. Other of these "agents of the Treasury" were the Bank of Illinois and the Bank of Edwardsville, which started business on $10,000 specie late in 1818 under a charter granted by the Illinois Legislature early in that year.[89] It was made such "agent" at the special request of Ninian Edwards, then, Senator from Illinois. The Bank of Edwardsville was so near a neighbor to the Bank of Missouri at St. Louis that there was a conflict of interest and a decided jealousy. The Bank of Illinois, in its one year of existence, had had a rough road to travel. The Bank of Edwardsville faced even a more trying situation. President Marshall of the Bank of Illinois said that the Bank of Missouri would refuse to accept the notes of the Illinois banks for a time, and then, in order to present a large amount for redemption, would accept them freely, and that on one occasion a representative of the Bank of Missouri appeared at the counter of the Bank of Illinois and obtained $12,000 of its small supply of specie in exchange for its Bank of Illinois notes.[90] The two Illinois Banks, it seems, had effected an arrangement between themselves by which if either got the others notes, it would send them as far away from the issuing bank as possible.[91] It may be that that was the kind of "arrangement of mutual benefit" that President Chouteau refers to in letter quoted above.

Under the contract between the Bank of the United States and the United States Treasury, the bank was obligated to transfer only public money and not bank notes. As the United States Bank had no branches in either Indiana, Illinois, Missouri, Mississippi or Alabama, the receivers of the land offices in those states found it impracticable to make their deposits in that bank or its offices without incurring an expense nearly equal to their salary and emoluments, which in 1818 was reduced from one and one-half per cent. to one per cent. Thus the Government was put to the extremity of leaving the receipts for public money in the hands of the receivers (which

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[89] *Laws of Illinois*, 1817-18, p. 65; also Knox *History of Banking in U. S.*, p. 713.

[90] Letter of Marshall to Edwards, see *Edwards Papers*, p. 155.

[91] See letter of John Caldwell to Edwards, in *Edwards Paper*, p. 158.

experience, as shown, was not desirable) or deposit them in some local bank and in some way compensate the bank for transferring such deposits to the United States Bank or one of its branches.

The West was inundated with a paper currency which, without possessing the essential properties of a circulating medium, had, by the facility with which it was put out, excluded from circulation bills of banks of more established credit and more general currency. This again illustrated the Gresham Law that a bad currency puts a better currency out of circulation.

In the absence of United States Bank notes in the West, the purchaser of lands had to pay in specie and thereby specie was drained from the western country to the Atlantic states or to New Orleans. To remedy this, the Secretary of the Treasury agreed that the receivers of the land offices might accept the notes of any of the incorporated banks. This was in 1817, when most of the banks had resumed specie payments, but in 1818 most of the southern and western banks had again suspended specie payments, so the Secretary of the Treasury had to restrict the notes that the receivers of the land offices could take to specie-paying banks. The local banks then had to incur the expense of collecting these notes or transferring them to the United States Bank or its branches. To compensate the local banks for this expense, the Secretary of the Treasury agreed to put a fixed deposit of an agreed amount in such banks as were designated as depositaries, such fixed deposit to be withdrawn only if necessary. It was under this agreement that the Bank of Missouri was given a fixed deposit of $150,000. The fixed deposit of the Bank of Edwardsville was $40,000; that of the Bank of Illionis, $50,000; that given the Bank of Missouri was the largest given any of the deposit banks.[92]

The total amount of deposits made by the receivers of the land offices in the Bank of Missouri was $1,088,333.[93]

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[92]See *Niles Register, Vol. XXIV*; *U. S. H. R. 18, Cong. 1st Session, Doc.* Nos. 128, 133; *American State Papers, Finance,* Vol. 3, pp. 263 and 718.

[93]*Ibid.*, p. 720.

The public lands sold in offices northwest of the Ohio River were:[94]

Year.	Acreage.	Amount.	Cash Paid.
1818.....	1,997,245.81½	$4,342,293.59	$2,239,467.41¼
1819.....	1,312,038.68¼	3,168,701.86½	1,619,351.33½
Total...	3,309,284.49¾	$7,510,995.45½	$3,858,818.74¾
		3,858,818.74¾	
Leaving Unpaid.		$3,652,176.70¾	

The lands sold in the State of Missouri, from October 1, 1818, to September 30, 1819, showing also the receipts from individuals, with the balances due September 30, 1819, were as follows:[95]

OFFICES.	Lands Sold, after Deducting Lands Reverted.		Lands Reverted. Receipts by Purchase Money.	
	Acres.	Amount.	Acres.	Amount.
Franklin.....	662,434.37	$1,894,905.69	46,708.71½	$527,107.48
St. Louis.....	470,990.25	1,141,340.65½	27,823.88	306,433.55¾
			Receivers Forfeitures.	Balances due Sept. 30, 1819.
Franklin.....	.....	.....	$12,273.56	$1,419,890.54
St. Louis.....	.....	.....	4,892.78	867,556.94

There was no bank capital in Illinois, Indiana or Missouri, so far as known to the United States Treasurer until 1817 and in that year there was only $127,624 in Indiana and only $193,125 in Missouri, while the bank capital on other western and southern states was as follows:[96]

[94] *American State Papers, Finance*, Vol. 3, p. 430.
[95] *American State Papers*, Vol. 3, p. 431.
[96] *Ibid.*, p. 512.

State, District or Territory.	Capital 1814	1815	1816	1817
Louisiana	$1,432,300	$1,402,300	$1,422,300	$1,432,300
Mississippi	100,000	100,000	100,000	200,000
Tennessee	212,962	365,610	498,506	995,500
Kentucky	932,600	2,532,000	2,057,000	2,823,100
Ohio	1,435,819	1,932,108	2,806,737	2,003,969

and in 1819 the statements of the banks of these states showed:[97]

RESOURCES.

State, District or Territory.	Loans or discounts.	Due by other banks.	Specie.
Tennessee	$2,214,729.56	$218,060.73	343,884.41
Kentucky	5,859,262.30	243,737.08	693,381.19
Ohio	2,779,314.63	422,269.60	433,612.04
Indiana	300,278.91	395,932.70	86,350.83
Illinois	206,694.32	59,332.18	74,715.51
Missouri	456,946.00	447,941.00	252,563.50
Mississippi	1,257,859.46	56,361.97	79,608.01

State, District or Territory.	Stocks of Incorporated Companies, bills of exchange and other miscellaneous effects.	Real Estate.
Tennessee	$18,905.40	$40,423.58
Kentucky	150,610.98	6,367.62
Ohio	294,765.99	92,999.70
Indiana	25,000.00	2,656.10
Illinois	6,614.00	175.00
Missouri	.....	11,667.38
Mississippi	.....	32,338.40

[97]It will be noted Louisiana is not mentioned and it is supposed that the banks in that State at that time had suspended specie payments.

LIABILITIES.

State, District or Territory.	Capital paid in.	Notes in Circulation.
Tennessee	$1,545,867.50	$898,129.00
Kentucky	4,307,431.56	1,403,404.71
Ohio	1,697,463.21	1,203,869.46
Indiana	202,857.07	276,288.50
Illinois	140,910.00	52,021.00
Missouri	250,000.00	135,258.50
Mississippi	900,000.00	275,447.00

State, District or Territory.	Deposits.	
	Public.	Private.
Tennessee	$17,003.71	$262,866.22
Kentucky	.....	1,035,653.18
Ohio	191,454.22	262,999.88
Indiana	191,484.95	25,264.68
Illinois	119,036.92	32,568.60
Missouri	700,679.05	72,973.00
Mississippi	.....	212,980.01

State, District or Territory.	Due to Other Banks.	Undivided Profits.
Tennessee	$29,884.00	$82,253.25
Kentucky	1,752.25	205,117.47
Ohio	578,891.91	88,283.28
Indiana	104,737.23	9,586.11
Illinois	.....	2,994.49
Missouri	.....	10,207.33
Mississippi	.....	37,740.43

It is not surprising that the public deposits of $700,679.05 in the Bank of Missouri in 1819, while the private deposits were only $72,973 created much antagonism, because nowhere else, except the District of Columbia ($980,510.08) and Alabama ($888,138.79) did the public deposits amount to as much as $200,000. Kentucky had none.[98]

Thomas F. Riddick, one of the directors of the bank of Missouri, who at times acted as president *pro tem.* at the

[98] *Ibid.*, p. 513.

request of President Chouteau "when he was absent at his farm or was holding Indian Treaties or otherwise unable to attend," and who was elected president after the resignation of Mr. Chouteau in January, 1821, made a general statement to the following effect when he testified before a Congressional Investigating Committee in 1822. He said that a large amount of public moneys accumulated in the Bank of Missouri prior to August 9, 1819, received from the land offices in notes of various banks of the West which could not be used by the U. S. Treasury to discharge debts due by the Government—that the Bank of Missouri at its own risk and expense converted those funds into funds the Treasury could use at St. Louis. A messenger from the Bank carried money in person to New Orleans or Louisville, often undergoing great danger and hardship.[99] But the Government had no occasion to use much funds, so made the proposition to the bank to transfer its funds to the U. S. Bank and certain of its branches, and as a compensation for this service, agreed that $150,000 should remain in the bank as a permanent deposit, subject, however, to be drawn if necessary. Under this arrangement the Bank of Missouri had to make demand on nearly all of the institutions of the West for specie funds or such other funds as would satisfy the drafts of the U. S. Treasurer, and thereby encountered the hostility of those banks and the gentlemen connected with them.[100] This antagonism was among the causes of the bank's troubles. It led to much correspondence, which will be referred to hereinafter.

In 1817 many of the banks resumed specie payments, but in 1818 a great portion of them stopped payment. In the early part of 1819 the price of all articles produced in the western states fell so low as to scarcely defray the expense of transportation to the ports from whence they were usually exported to foreign markets. This condition of things, which had not been anticipated when the debt for the public

[99] *U. S. 18 Cong. 1. Sess., Report of Secretary of Treasury*, pp. 444, 525, 545, 551, 565.

[100] *American State Papers, Finance*, Vol. 5, pp. 91-92.

lands was contracted, produced the most serious distress at the moment and excited alarming apprehensions for the future.[101] On April 6, 1819, the President of the U. S. Bank, in a private letter, wrote the Secretary of the Treasury, "The very critical situation of this Bank, which is becoming more so every hour, yesterday closed with only $95,000 specie in our vaults."[102]

On January 25, 1821, Mr. Chouteau wrote the Secretary of the Treasury that by reason of "old age and infirmities" he had resigned as president of the bank. On January 30th, the bank, in a letter signed by Thomas F. Riddick, president, and Joseph Phillipson, Thomas Hemstead, H. Von Phul and M. Tesson, directors, confirmed the resignation of Mr. Chouteau, and said his successor would be elected on the return of several absent directors. Thomas F. Riddick was elected. This letter set out the withdrawal of specie by the steamboats from New Orleans, as among the general reasons for shortage of funds.

The following report of the condition of the Bank was submitted to the extra session of the General Assembly in June, 1821:[103]

BANK OF MISSOURI, ST. LOUIS,

JUNE 1, 1821.

RECAPITULATION.

DR.	
Capital Stock	$250,000.00
On Deposit	255,562.94
Notes in Circulation	79,402.00
Profit Undivided	7,667.43
	$592,632.37

[101]Secretary Crawford in letter Feb. 14, 1822, *Ibid.*, p. 718.

[102]*Ibid.*, Vol. 4, p. 8.

[103]*House Journal, Extra Session, First General Assembly of Mo.*, June 4, 1821, p. 7.

RECAPITULATION.

CR.	
Notes Dis.	$393,983.01
Owed by other Banks	15,785.17
B. B. St. G'ne	40,000.00
On hand	109,531.47
On Collections	13,619.02
Real Estate	19,713.70
	$592,632.37

Louis Bompart, Cashier. Thomas F. Riddick, President.
Joseph Philipson, Thos. Brady, Michael Tesson, James Kennerly, Thos. Hempstead, Directors.
(The report was sworn to by all of those named.)

On June 15th, a select committee, to whom had been referred the statement of the bank and request to inquire whether there had been any violation of the charter of the bank, and also to inquire into and report the causes which had produced the then pecuniary distress of the citizens of this state, made a report on these subjects. It does not appear what the report contained. A motion to print was defeated and the report was laid on the table.[104] On June 25th, Duff Green introduced a bill to amend the charter of the bank, which bill was killed the next day.[105]

On June 30, 1821 (stated January in the type), Thomas Riddick wrote a long letter to the Secretary of the Treasury referring to the difficulties of the bank and asked that the fixed deposit of $150,000 be increased by $50,000.[106] He enclosed condensed monthly statements of the conditions of the bank from June 1, 1819, to June 30, 1821. An interesting phase of these statements is that on the assets' side in each statement is given only "banks" and "cash"—for example, the statement of June 1, 1819, is:

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[104] *Ibid.*, pp. 40, 63.
[105] *Ibid.*, pp. 113-122.
[106] *American State Papers*, Vol. III, p. 752.

Banks	$15,246.24
Cash	693,949.84
	$709,196.08
Treasurer of U. S.	$626,921.25
Bank of U. S. for use of the Treasurer	64,613.58
Banks	19,950.12
Deposits	99,989.50
Notes in Circulation	41,275.50
Dividend, Advance Discount & Interest	5,157.91
	$857,907.86
	709,196.08
	$148,711.78

The statement of June 30, 1821, is:

Banks	$53,240.93
Cash	66,840.66
	$120,081.59
Treasurer of U. S	$199,966.88
Banks	1,005.40
Deposits	56,928.83
Notes in Circulation	65,056.50
Discount, Dividend, Advance & Interest	10,025.20
	$332,982.81
	120,081.59
	$212,901.22

Attention was drawn to an arrangement with Col. Riddick by which $46,156 ought to be deducted from "Banks" and credited to "Treasurer of U. S." leaving the actual balance due the Treasury as $153,810.88.

From these statements it appears that for the period mentioned, the largest amount owed at one time to the U. S.

was $726,031.90 on September 3, 1819; to "Deposits" on May 2, 1820, $150,336.83, and to "Notes in Circulation," June 2, 1820, $153,899.50.

On August 17, 1821, Louis Bompart, cashier, wrote the Secretary that the bank had ceased operations on the 14th inst., (four days after Missouri had been admitted as a state on August 10, 1821), "being constrained thereto by the very embarrassing situation of the pecuniary affairs of the country of which the Board of Directors endeavored to give you a knowledge of theirs of the 30th of June last" and added that the institution was "completely solvent."

On the same day (August 17th) there was published in the *St. Louis Enquirer* the report of a committee "composed of persons entirely disinterested who were selected for their probity and intelligence," to-wit: R. Wash, A. Ferguson, James H. Peck, James Clemens, Jr., and A. Gamble. The report gave a statement of the bank, as follows:

The Bank of Missouri is	Dr.
For capital stock paid in	$210,000.00
Notes in circulation	84,301.00
The United States deposits	152,407.65
Individual deposits	42,611.01
Balances due on dividends	421.90
	$489,741.56
	Cr.
By bills discounted on personal security	$129,015.14
Bills in suit	4,019.02
Bills secured by mortgages	99,689.00
Bills secured by stock pledged	186,335.00
Bills of exchange on eastern cities	12,700.00
Bills of exchange inland	8,726.00
Bills of exchange protested (eventually considered safe)	3,385.02

Notes of western banks (principally Knoxville and Huntsville)	$9,147.00
Amount due from other banks	1,517.26
Notes of the Ste. Genevieve branch	1,045.00
Auditor's certificates	752.80
Specie on hand	8,234.45
Real Estate	17,713.75
Overdrafts	11,622.27
	$493,901.71

"The committee, in the investigation of the accounts of the bank, have not been enabled to enter fully into the sufficiency of the security upon notes discounted. The notes upon personal security we should suppose to be good, with the exception of the amount of about $39,416.62 (say thirty-nine thousand four hundred and sixteen dollars and sixty-two cents) part of which is considered doubtful; those secured by mortgage, owing to the diffculties of the times, and the depreciation of property, we cannot consider as a full security; in some instances the property is mortgaged for more than its value, even in better times. It ought also to be recollected, that if the bank should proceed to collect its debts by legal means, instead of procuring money thereby, they will be under the necessity of taking property of which the possession cannot be obtained sooner than two years and a half."[107]

The committee reported also that the directors owned 1347 shares of the stock and owed the bank

On stock of the bank as security	$108,795.00
Notes secured by mortgage	79,689.00
On personal security	60,075.86
Liable as endorsers	37,310.00
Total	$285,869,86

(It will be noted that the directors had pledged to the bank at $80.00 per share or over, every share of stock they owned in the bank. Thomas F. Riddick testified that $80.00

[107] *American State Papers, Finance*, Vol. III, p. 757.

per share was the limit loaned on the stock.) The committee sa d they could make no report on condition of the Branch at Ste. Genevieve which had an independent capital of $40,000.

The evil of a bank's allowing its stock to be paid in notes or lending on its own stock as collateral, or allowing its directors to borrow too freely, was clearly understood in those days and had been pointedly drawn to the attention of the public with reference to this particular bank. The *Gazette* of November 27, 1818, printed a two-column article signed by "No Rag Baron" in which he called special attention to these very matters and spoke of the directors of the Bank of Missouri as "This ..... nest of money-making Rag Barons." In the *Gazette* of December 4, 1818, the "Rag" banks were denounced, and it was predicted "that numerous banking institutions, particularly in the western country, would soon deposit their charters in the tomb of the Capulets and shut up shop." It was asked, "How are they to keep specie in their vaults when it is at a premium of 8% or 9% in our seaports and still higher in Europe and India."

The committee expressed the opinion that the ultimate payment of the notes of the bank in circulation and the amount on deposit were amply secured, provided the bank was indulged in making its collection and proper measures were adopted to enforce the same. The committee also drew attention to the $2\frac{1}{2}$ year stay laws of the state. These stay laws will be discussed later.

The closing of the Bank of Missouri caused a run to be made on the Bank of Edwardsville by note holders from St. Louis and St. Charles. The directors were warned the night before of their coming and opened the doors of the bank at seven the next morning, keeping them open until several hours after closing time in the evening. This policy was continued for several days in the hope of restoring confidence, but the bank was soon compelled to suspend specie payments.[108] On or shortly before this same August 14, 1821, at Edwards-

[108] *The Development of Banking in Ill., 1817-63*, by Dowrie, p. 17; *Edwardsville Spectator*, Aug. 21, Sept. 11, 1821.

ville, $80,000 of loans, the entire allotment, of the nature of loan office certificates, which will be mentioned later, were made by the State Bank of Illinois.

At the next session of the Missouri Legislature in 1822, there was a special committee appointed to investigate the affairs of the Bank. Important paragraphs of the reports are:

"That the bank has never, at any time, had under discount a larger amount than was allowed by the charter.

"That the bank did make an arrangement with the Secretary of the Treasury for a permanent deposit of $150,000, which they had a right to loan or use as they thought proper.

"That the bank, for nearly five years, did meet all demands against it in gold and silver, and did continue to do so as long as it had the means in its power.

"That the debts due the bank on personal security, as well as those secured by mortgage, with the exception of five thousand dollars, are deemed safe and well secured.

"The amount of notes in circulation are diminished $51,515.75, of which amount $7,356 as per statement, is sued on, and arrangement is further made, as your committee are informed, by which $8,125 are now suspended in the lands of General Clark, so that, making no allowance for the loss in five years circulation, there is now only $36,052.75 in circulation.

"Some of the Directors have borrowed more than $3,000, and a construction has been given to that part of the 8th section of the act of incorporation in the words following, to wit:

"And no Director shall be entitled to loan at any time more than three thousand dollars from said bank, either in his own name or in the name of any other person," by which a Board of Directors have loaned sums, at their discretion, to any Director. By a rule of the by-laws of the bank (as your committee are informed) a Director has no right to loan any sum whatever, it requiring five Directors to authorize a loan. Of the propriety of this construction, your committee leave the House to judge."

* * * * *

"Your committee believe that the failure is not attributable to any act of dishonesty on the part of the directory of the bank, but to that cause only which has produced a general suspension in the western country, and to that policy which would submit the control of the currency, the wealth of this Union, and, unless soon counteracted, it is feared, its civil liberty, to the Bank of the United States."

There was attached to the report as an exhibit the following statement of the bank:

DEBTS DUE BY THE BANK OF MISSOURI.

To the Branch Bank of the U. S. at Louisville, Ky.			$590.82
To the Branch Bank of the U. S. at New York...			2.25
To the Branch Bank of the U. S. at Washington..			470.84
Branch Bank of Ky. at Louisville.....			1,528.00
Treasury of the U. S.....			152,342.88
Suits commenced against the Bank.....			7,356.00
To Amt. Notes in Circulation, as follows:			
To whole amount issued.....		$197,800.00	
Post Notes.....		7,138.29	
In all.....		$204,938.29	
Deduct as follows:			
Notes now on hand as appears from the books of the bank.....	$153,422.54		
Amt. suspended in hands, Gen'l Wm. Clark....	8,097.00		
Notes on which suits are brought	7,356.00	$168,875.54	
Which deduction leaves.....			36,062.75
Making the whole amt. due by the bank.....			$198,353.54

FUNDS OF THE BANK OF MISSOURI.

Debts due and secured in pledge of stock at 80%...	$182,060.00
Debts due and secured by personal security on stock at 20%.....	32,700.00
Debts due and secured by pledge of stock at par..	1,000.00
Debts due on personal security.....	75,693.10
Debts due on mortgage.....	110,577.69
Due by Bank of St. Louis secured by mortgage with interest thereon, as verified by Pt. of Bank of Missouri and Exhibits of Sale, etc.....	2,402.76
Balance on books.....	6,696.07
Judgments verified by President and Clerk and considered good.....	12,961.43
Real Estate.....	17,713.75
Utensils, as per report, valued at.....	200.00

Interest on judgments and notes suspended as per report	2,000.00
Miami Exporting Co	446.00
Make	$441,460.80
From which deduct sum due by Bank	198,353.54
	$246,097.26

Leaving a balance in favor of the bank, but from which should be deducted the amount of $8,097 deposited with General Clark, deducted from the notes in circulation."[109]

Ninian Edwards, then a Senator from Illinois, published a number of articles signed "A. B." in papers in Washington and St. Louis, attacking Secretary of the Treasury Crawford for "Financial Mismanagement." He had also much correspondence directly with the Secretary. The basis of his charges goes back to Senator Edwards' connection with the Bank of Edwardsville and to the jealousy and antagonism that existed between the two Illinois banks and the Bank of Missouri. The controversy developed so as to cover the whole range of the relation between Secretary Crawford and various State Banks that acted as "Agents for the Treasury," and brought out the entire correspondence between the Bank of Missouri and the Secretary,[110] and led to an investigation and report by a committee, communicated to Congress April 19, 1824.[111]

In that investigation, among the witnesses as to the Bank of Missouri, were: 1. Thomas F. Riddick, whose testimony is mentioned above; 2. Thomas H. Benton, then in the Senate, who testified that he was at one time an editor of the *St. Louis Enquirer*,—at one time a director of the Bank of Missouri, which at the time of its suspension of specie pay-

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[109] *Am. State Papers, Finance*, Vol. 5, pp. 19f.

[110] 17 letters July 1, 1818, to Aug. 17, 1821—pp. 747 to 757, and 28 letters Oct. 31, 1817, to Jan. 19, 1822—pp. 817 to 831; the letters including monthly statements of the Bank of Missouri from Feb. 3, 1818, to Feb. 1 1820. See *U. S. H. of R. 17 Cong. 1st Sess. Doc. 650*; *Am. State Papers, Class III, Finance*, pages above, published in 1859.

[111] The first 146 pages of Vol. V of above mentioned *Am. State Papers, Finance*, see *U. S. H. of R. 18 Cong. 1st Sess. Doc. 706.*

ments had assets beyond liabilities and had paid or secured all claims against it.[112]

On November 23, 1823, Thomas Sloo reported to the Secretary that George F. Strother, the agent of the Treasury Department, had brought suit on debts transferred by the Bank of Missouri in the State courts "in consequence of doubts having arisen of the bank being chartered for want of the signature of the Governor." The Supreme Court of the State, however, pronounced its charter valid.[113]

The agent later reported that he had made arrangements by which $8,000 "in notes of the Treasury of the State of Missouri (commonly called loan office paper) were taken at the rate of seventy-five cents on the dollar (when they were worth only twenty-five or thirty cents on the dollar)." Among the securities assigned by the Bank to the U. S. Treasurer were some amounts of Missouri Loan office money and State Auditor's warrants. He exchanged $4,539.64 of the Loan office money which bore 3% interest for the Auditor's warrants which bore 6% interest.[114]

On June 12, 1824, the Secretary of the Treasury stated "no payments have been made directly by the Bank of Missouri since its failure." It was said that some small amounts had been paid to the agent, but he had not yet reported them to the Secretary.[115]

On March 11, 1827, the Secretary of Treasury repeated that there was then due to the U. S. by transfer from the Bank of Missouri by the late directors of that bank, the following sums:

James Kennerly	$14,932.36
Angus L. Langham	18,821.83
Michael Tesson	3,046.50
Thomas H. Benton	6,454.37
Joseph Philipson	23,162.08
Firm of Thomas & Charles S. Hempstead, the first of whom was a Director of the bank	18,127.43

[112] *Ibid.*, p. 110.
[113] *Douglas vs. Bank*, 1 Mo. 24.
[114] *Ibid.*, p. 120.
[115] *Ibid.*, p. 118.

Judgments had been obtained on each.[116]

The greatest amount of circulation the bank ever had out was $153,899.50 of which $25,000 was in the Lexington, Ky. branch of the U. S. Bank and belonged to the Bank of Missouri. At the time it suspended, its outstanding circulation was $86,000.[117] On February 14, 1822, it still owed the U. S. $152,342.[118] No statement has been found of the final winding up of the bank. The *Jeffersonian Republican* March 12, 1836, is quoted as saying that the notes of the Bank of Missouri were redeemed at fifty cents on the dollar.

A large number of the bills of denomination of $5.00, $10.00 and $20.00 of the Bank of Missouri were filed with the Circuit Clerk on October 4, 1821. They were all made payable to a named person or bearer. Some of those on file in the Missouri Historical Society bear date June 13, 1817. Among these are Nos. 284, 342, 670, each for $10.00, all "payable to C. Witt or bearer." The vignette on them has a bust of Jefferson, a beehive, a rising sun, four three-mast ships and bales of merchandise on the levee.

The last act passed by the Territorial Legislature was approved December 24, 1818. On March 6, 1820, the U. S. Congress authorized "the people of Missouri Territory to form a constitution and State Government for admission of such State into the Union on an equal footing with the original States, and to prohibit slavery in certain territory."

On July 19, 1820, the people of Missouri, by their representatives in convention assembled, assented to certain conditions fixed by Congress. But Congress refused to admit the State except on certain condition, and on June 27, 1821, the legislature of Missouri accepted the condition, and on August 10, 1821, the President of the U.S. issued the proclamation announcing the State's acceptance. The anomalous position of Missouri during the prolonged and bitter discus-

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[116] *Finance*, Vol. 5, p. 624.
[117] See Thomas F. Riddick's Statement, *Ibid.*, p. 19.
[118] *Ibid.*, Vol. 3, p. 720.

sion of the "Missouri Compromise" caused great damage.[119]

Illinois had been admitted in 1818 and had in its Constitution (Article VIII, Sec. 21) the following:

"There shall be no other banks or moneyed institutions but those already provided by law, except a State bank and its branches which may be established and requested by the General Assembly of the State as they may think proper."

Indiana, two years before, had adopted a similar course.[120]

While Missouri was not admitted as a State into the Union until August 10, 1821, yet she had adopted her first constitution on July 19, 1820. That constitution as Article VIII had this clause as to banks:

"The General Assembly may incorporate one banking company, and no more to be in operation at the same time.

"The bank to be incorporated may have any number of branches not to exceed five to be established by law, and not more than one branch shall be established at any one session of the General Assembly. The capital stock of the bank to be incorporated shall never exceed five million dollars, at least one-half of which shall be reserved for the use of the State."

NOTE: Chapter two, dealing with the next seventeen years, in which there was no State bank in Missouri, will be published in the next issue of The Missouri Historical Review.

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[119]The first act passed by General Assembly of the State was approved Sept. 28, 1820.

[120]*Constitution of Indiana*, 1816, Article 4.

Historical Notes and Comments.

Comment on the character of the articles in this issue of the *Review* is unnecessary. The authors are specialists in the fields covered by their contributions. In pursuance of the policy begun in the last *Review*, the articles are on Missouri centennial subjects, which makes them of special value to those interested in the State's one hundredth birthday. In the April and July issues contributions as significant will appear. The purpose to survey in summary and accurate form our century of history-making along the lines of industrial, agricultural, financial, literary, educational, artistic, and political progress, will be helpful and instructive.

We are inclined to believe that subject treatment of history is at least as important as the classic chronological method. Certainly it is the logical follower of the latter. Chronology may be and usually is the mechanical guide and and as such its value should not be minimized, but it is not or should not be the goal of historical instruction. Useful it is as a foundation, but never should it be the temple structure in which man pays reverence to the annals of the race. The articles here set forth are subject contributions. In them are reviewed the State's successes and failures in the many important fields of human activity. To mirror the past for profit in the future, perhaps for instruction, information and entertainment in the present, certainly is well worth while.

The members of The State Historical Society of Missouri, readers of *The Missouri Historical Review*, and all truly public-spirited citizens of the State, are under appreciative obligations to the authors of these historical articles. These contributors have labored long and faithfully. All are men of prominence in their work, some are deeply absorbed in an active business life, others in an exacting professional career. To take not hours, but days, weeks and months from their

regular duties in order to compile these historical sketches, is deserving of high commendation.

Beginning in the April and following issues of the *Review* of this year will appear these articles:

A Century of Missouri Constitutions and Constitutional Conventions, by Dr. Isidor Loeb;

Personnel of the Missouri Constitutional Convention of 1875, by Floyd C. Shoemaker;

A Century of Missouri Art, by Prof. J. S. Ankeney;

A Century of Banking and Finance in Missouri (continued from January, 1920, *Review*), by Breckinridge Jones;

Missourians and the Nation During the Last Century, by Hon. Champ Clark;

A Missouri Historical Calendar, by Miss Buel Leopard;

A Century of Library Growth in Missouri, by Lucius H. Cannon;

Military Missouri During the Last Century, by Major D. F. Thompson;

The Followers of Duden (continued from the April-July 1920 *Review*), by William G. Bek.

Missourians in Japan, by Dr. S. H. Wainwright;

Missourians in China, by J. B. Powell;

The Missouri-Mississippi Railroad Debt, by Prof. E. M. Violette.

COMMENTS.

"As a former magazine editor, I wish to congratulate you upon the October issue of *The Missouri Historical Review.* In the articles, in the editorial matter, and in the printer's work, it is first class in every respect and is a credit to both editor and publisher."

Judge John D. Lawson,
Author and Scholar,
Columbia, Missouri,
September 23, 1920.

"I think the October number of the *Review* is the best ever. The *Review* has been getting better every issue for a long time. I thought the April-July number was the climax, but I believe the October number is still better."

C. H. McClure, Head of History Dept.,
Central Missouri State Teachers College, Warrensburg, Missouri, September 27, 1920.

"To my thanks for the two copies of *The Missouri Historical Review* for October, just received, I add my congratulations on your editorial success in realizing the opportunities of Missouri's Centennial."

W. V. Byars, Author and Journalist,
St. Louis, Missouri,
September 20, 1920.

"I want to congratulate you upon the articles composing the Centennial number of *The Missouri Historical Review*, and I am sure all the subscribers will appreciate the labor which they represent."

Edw. J. White, Vice-Pres. and General
Solicitor, Missouri Pacific Railroad Co.,
St. Louis, Missouri,
September 21, 1920.

"I have the Missouri Centennial *Review* for October and consider ita very valuable addition to my library."

Mrs. Ella Morton Child, Historian of Local
D. A. R. Chapter, Richmond, Missouri,
November 16, 1920.

"I add my congratulations on the work the Society is doing through your supervision of its press."

W. V. Byars, Author and Journalist,
St. Louis, Missouri, November 22, 1920.

"I am in receipt of the October number of *The Missouri Historical Review* and thank you for it. I have enjoyed reading it very much."

H. K. White, Lawyer, 501 South 11th St.,
St. Joseph, Missouri, November 22, 1920.

"I find *The Missouri Historical Review* more and more interesting and useful."

Mary A. Keefe, Braymer, Missouri,
November 22, 1920.

"I am a little late in congratulating you on the last issue of the *Review*, but the lapse of time is in itself a compliment since it shows how long I have kept in mind the excellence of the magazine."

J. Breckenridge Ellis, Author and Former
President Missouri Writers, Guild, Plattsburg, Missouri, October 21, 1920.

"Congratulations on the excellent program of the *Review*."

Father John Rothenstiener, Author and
Historian, St. Louis, Missouri,
September 2, 1920.

"Please advise me of date my subscription expires and I shall remit. My grandfather settled in Cooper county 107 years ago. My mother and I were born and reared in old Cooper county. I am 78 years old. Of course I want the *Review*."

Wm. E. Walton, Banker,
Butler, Missouri, September 18, 1920.

"I certainly enjoyed the *Review* and will look forward to your October number with much anticipated pleasure. I always recommend it to any one having any interest in the past and present of our State."

Samuel W. Ravenel,
New Franklin, Missouri,
May 28, 1920.

"May I congratulate you upon your October *Review*? I feel that it is indeed a valuable volume to add to my library."

Harry L. Thomas, President,
The Republican-Record Printing Co.,
Carrollton, Missouri,
September 18, 1920.

"The Centennial number of *The Missouri Historical Review* has just been received. It is a splendid number. Much credit is due you for the excellent work being done by the State Historical Society."

Ralph O. Stauber, Attorney-at-Law,
American Nat'l Bank Building,
St. Joseph, Missouri, October 2, 1920.

"*The Missouri Historical Review* is a real magazine of our State. It is the peer of any similar publication in this country."

Mrs. Augustus Henry Payne,
A Former Missourian,
Little Falls, New Jersey,
September 20, 1920.

"I have just received the October number of *The Missouri Historical Review*, and as a native Missourian I am proud of such a publication."

W. L. Skaggs, Teacher and Historian,
Paragould, Arkansas, September 20, 1920.

"The October number of the *Review* just received is a splendid number."

James F. Green, General Attorney,
Missouri Pacific R. R. Co.,
St. Louis, Missouri, September 23, 1920.

SOCIETY PROGRESS, 1919-1920.

The State Historical Society of Missouri today ranks first in active pay members compared with similar institutions west of the Mississippi river, according to the Tenth Biennial Report of the Society for 1919 and 1920 recently submitted to the Fifty-first General Assembly. During these two years the Society's active pay membership increased over 100%. The total during this time was 1,685 as follows: 1 honorary, 10 corresponding, 133 exchange, 1057 annual, and 484 editorial. Two years ago the Society ranked fourth in active membership west of the Mississippi. It was then proposed to have this institution rank first west of the Mississippi within two years, first west of the Allegheny mountains in four years, and first in the United States in six years. The first goal has been passed, and only three societies stand opposing this institution in reaching the second goal. It is now proposed to shorten the time and quicken the pace for first rank west of Pittsburgh by the close of 1921. With the cooperation of the Society's present members, this can be accomplished.

In total size of library this Society ranks second west of the Mississippi compared to similar organizations, and third in separate titles. During 1919 and 1920, 6,350 books and 12,756 pamphlets were donated and 612 books and 30 pamphlets were purchased. The Society's present library consists of 145,406 books and pamphlets, of which 39,150 are accessioned books and 34,000 are separate title pamphlets

During these years the Society's collection of bound Missouri newspapers increased by 1,642 volumes, a gain of 17%. The Society is now receiving 542 Missouri newspapers, these come from 295 towns and cities, and represent the 114 counties and the city of St. Louis. It now has 10,878 bound volumes of this class of material.

The completion of the work of preserving by special silk process the old files of the *Missouri Intelligencer* was accomplished. The file of this paper from 1819 to 1835 is now so treated for posterity's use, as well as the old files of the

Columbia Patriot and part of the file of the *Missouri Statesman.*

Since the Society did not have the original of the file of the old *Missouri Gazette*, of St. Louis, the first newspaper published in Missouri, and could not purchase this file, it was forced to forego use of same or have copy made. The latter has been done for 1819 to 1828 inclusive, by photostatic process by the library of Congress, in Washington, D. C. It is planned to continue this valuable work.

During this last biennium the Society through *The Missouri Historical Review* has published 1,107 pages of solid historical matter on the State. In addition, the Society will publish this month, as a capstone of its last two years of work, the two volumes on the *Journal of the Missouri Constitutional Convention of 1875.*

In war work, the Society has 11,000 names on file of Missouri casualties and war heroes. These are carded and arranged in a double classification—alphabetically by names for the entire State, and also by counties. In addition, it has 6,000 clippings relating to these subjects. The correspondence of the Missouri Council of Defense were also obtained during these two years.

JOHNSON COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

On the initiative of Prof. C. H. McClure, of the Central Missouri State Teachers College, a meeting of the members of the State Historical Society of Missouri living in Johnson county and of a number of other interested citizens in the county, was called at Warrensburg on July 16, 1920. At this meeting was organized a Johnson County Historical Society with the following officers: Prof. C. H. McClure, of Warrensburg, president; Mr. O. G. Boisseau, of Holden, secretary; and Mr. A. L. Smiser, of Warrensburg, treasurer. The constitution of the new society provided for local branch societies, as many as may best be organized. An executive committee consisting of at least five members was provided, one from each local branch and an additional member to be added for each local to be organized in the future. The locals

immediately organized were in Chilhowee, Holden and Warrensburg. The dues of the members were placed at $1.50, of which $1.00 is to be used in paying memberships for each member in the State Historical Society and 50 cents for the county organization. By this provision there is a direct relationship between the county and the state historical societies. This plan is unique. Its excellent feature is obvious and it is this feature which is lacking in most local historical societies—a unity of interest and work between the individual in the community, the individual as a member of the county organization and as a member of the State body. It is an adaption of political organizations to historical purposes.

Johnson county has been one of the most progressive counties in the State. In historical work, aside from other public spirited citizens, mention should be made of the great work performed by Professor McClure and Mr. Boisseau. Professor McClure has on his own initiative canvassed a large portion of the district of the Central Missouri State Teachers College and has added over 100 members to the State Historical Society of Missouri. Mr. Boisseau has done the same work in his own town, Holden, and the immediate vicinity. As a result of this initiative and public spirited cooperation, Johnson county and the neighboring district have worked up a remarkable interest in State history, State pride and State progress. At present the membership in the Chilhowee local is 12; in Holden, 25; and in Warrensburg, 65. This gives the Johnson County Historical Society a membership of over one hundred after only six months organization. It is planned to double this membership during 1921.

A copy of the constitution of this progressive society is here set forth as a guide to those members of The State Historical Society of Missouri living in other counties who are contemplating effecting similar societies in their communities.

We, citizens of Johnson county, Missouri, hereby adopt a constitution and by-laws, as follows:

CONSTITUTION.

Article I.

Section 1. The name of this body shall be the Johnson County Historical Society.

Article II.

Section 1. The objects of this body shall be as follows:

1. To disseminate a knowledge of the history of the State and of the events incident to its admission to the Union.

2. To stimulate and encourage the study of the history of this county, its towns and subdivisions.

3. To accept the invitation extended by the State Historical Society of Missouri to become an auxiliary member of that society and through a delegate or by correspondence to make an annual report to that society of the work of this society.

4. To do honor to those patriotic men and women who secured the admission of this State into the Union and those sturdy pioneers of this county who braved the hardships to lay the foundation for our present prosperity and happiness.

Article III—Membership.

Section 1. Orginal.—The original membership snall consist of those who are present at the first meeting and assist in the organization of the society.

Section 2. How acquired.—Men and women may be elected to membership upon application, by an affirmative majority vote of the members present.

Section 3. How terminated.—Membership in this society shall be terminated by (1) resignation; (2) failure for 90 days to pay any amount which may be due the Society; (3) unanimous vote, less five, of all the members at any regular meeting, or (4) by death.

Article IV.—Officers.

Section 1. Enumeration.—The officers of this Society shall be a President, Vice-President, Treasurer, and Secretary.

Section 2. Term of office.—The term of office shall be one year and until a successor is chosen and assumes the duties of office which may be immediately after election. A vacancy in the office of President shall be filled by Vice-President assuming the duties till the next annual meeting of this society.

In the event that the President and Vice-President shall be absent or disqualified for any reason, the Secretary shall act during the absence or inability of the foregoing officers.

ARTICLE V.

Section 1. President.—The duties of the President shall be to (1) preside at meetings of the Society and of the Executive Committee meetings; (2) appoint the members of the Committees; (3) transact the business of the Society between the meetings of the Executive Committee and this Society, and such other duties usually pertaining to the office of President of the organization.

Section 2. Vice-President.—The duties of the Vice-President shall be to perform the duties of the President in his absence or upon his oral or written request and to assume the Presidency in the event the office is vacated by the President and to hold till the next annual meeting of this Society.

Section 3. Treasurer.—The duties of the Treasurer shall be to keep all moneys belonging to the Society on deposit in some bank in this county and to pay out same on warrant drawn by the President and to make an annual report to the Society of the condition of the finances of the Society or oftener when required by the President or Executive Commitee or Society.

Section 4. Secretary.—The duties of the Secretary shall be to record the proceedings of the meetings of the Executive Committee and the Society; conduct the correspondence of the Society; report the proceedings to the newspapers and to the State Historical Society; and perform such other duties as required by the Executive Committee or the Society.

ARTICLE VI.—COMMITTEES.

Section 1. Enumeration.—The committees of this Society shall consist of: (1) Early history of this County; (2) Sketches of pioneer men and women; (3) Centennial celebrations; and (4) Executive Committee and such other committees as the Executive Committee or this Society may authorize.

Section 2. Number of members.—The Executive Committee shall consist of at least five members of which the President, Treasurer and Secretary shall be ex officio members. The auxiliary branches shall be entitled each to one member on the Executive Committee. The other committees shall consist of three members unless otherwise ordered by the Executive Committee from time to time.

Section 3. Calling of meetings.—Meetings of the respective committees may be called by the Chairmen or by three members and three days' notice must be given to each member, but nothing herein shall prevent the meeting of a committee at any time when all are present or represented by proxy. The President of the Society may call any committee together at his discretion by giving the required notice.

Article VII.—Duties of Committees.

Section 1. Executive Committee.—The Executive Committee shall: (1) keep a record in the minute book of the Society of all of its proceedings and reports received and cause such minutes and reports to be read at each meeting of this Society; (2) remove committeemen who fail to perform their duties and appoint their successors; (3) appoint special committees when deemed necessary; (4) consider at each meeting the subject of finance to the end that no debts be incurred; and (5) between meetings of the Society conduct all other business. (6) The Executive Committee shall have power to institute auxiliary societies at any point in the county with a membership of seven or more.

Article VIII.—Quorum.

Section 1. Society.—A quorum of this Society shall consist of the members who shall assemble at a time and place which shall have been designated by written call or published notice fifteen days in advance by the President, Executive Committee or Society.

Section 2. Executive Committee.—A quorum of the Executive Committee shall consist of the members present who may assemble at a time and place which shall have been designated five days in advance by the President or a majority of the committee; or at the time and place fixed by resolution for holding the regular meeting.

Section 3. Committees.—A quorum of each of the committees shall consist of the members thereof who shall assemble at the time and place which shall have been designated five days previous to the date of such meeting by a note mailed to the respective members by the President, chairman of such committee or three members thereof.

Section 4. Proxies.—Members of committees and of the Society may be represented at meetings by proxies.

Article IX.—Amendments.

Section 1. Constitution.—The constitution may be amended by a majority vote at any meeting of the Society whenever a notice containing substantially the proposed change shall have been mailed postage prepaid, to the members of the Society ten days in advance of the meeting, at which it is proposed it shall be changed.

Section 2. By-laws.—The by-laws may be amended at any meeting by two-thirds affirmative vote.

BY-LAWS

JOHNSON COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

ANNUAL MEETINGS.

Section 1. The annual meetings of the Society shall be held on the first Monday after the first Tuesday in July of each year, at such time and place as the Executive Committee shall designate by resolution.

REGULAR MEETINGS.

Section 2. The time and place for holding regular meetings shall be determined by resolution of the Executive Committee.

SPECIAL MEETINGS.

Section 3. Special meetings of the Society may be held at any time and place upon call by the President on the Executive Committee, but the business of such meetings shall be confined to substantially the subjects stated in the call.

NOTICE OF MEETINGS.

Section 4. Notice of annual, regular and special meetings may be given by publishing the same in at least three newspapers published in the county at least ten days before such meeting or by sending a copy of the notice to each member of the society to his postoffice address. Notice of all such meetings of this Society shall be mailed to the Secretary of the State Historical Society of Missouri at the same time such notice is given to the members of this Society.

ANNUAL DUES.

Section 5. The annual dues of members shall be $1.50 per year, $1.00 of the same to be paid to the State Historical Society for membership fees and $.50 for dues to this society. Dues are payable in advance and the year to date from the annual meeting in July.

ORDER OF BUSINESS.

Section 6. The order of business at meetings of this Society may be as follows:

1. Call to order.
2. Roll call.
3. Reading, consideration, correction, if necessary, and approval of unapproved proceedings of former meetings.
4. Reports of officers.
5. Reports of committees.
6. Miscellaneous business.
7. Adjournment.

PARLIAMENTARY AUTHORITY.

Section 7. The authority in parliamentary procedure except as otherwise provided from time to time by this Society shall be Roberts' Rules of Order.

MONEY.

Section 8. Liability shall not be created unless the money to pay them is in the hands of the Treasurer. All liabilities created when money for payment of them is not in the hands of the Treasurer shall be liabilities of those creating them and not of the Society.

BUCHANAN COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

At a meeting of some of the progressive citizens of St. Joseph, called on the suggestion of Mrs. Louise Platt Hauck and Col. Joseph A. Corby on October 21, 1920, temporary organization was effected for a Buchanan County Historical Society. Col. Corby was elected temporary president, and Miss Mary Louise Reichert, temporary secretary. Commenting on the new movement, the *St. Joseph News-Press* in its editorial column said this in part:

"The recent formation of the Buchanan County Historical Society marks a step so necessary to the city's development that it is the occasion of surprise that such a society has not been founded long since. St. Joseph is rich in historical associations and it is time that a systematic beginning should be made in gathering the data and records relating to her early history. Every day of delay means the loss of documents and relics of value.

"Valuable collections have been offered to the city if only suitable housing can be provided. . . . Ordinances and legal documents that might otherwise be lost could here be carefully preserved and would become invaluable. . . . This is on the monetary side of the question but there is a value in the preservation of the chronicles of any community that far transcends material reckoning. It involves a consciousness of worth that is an inspiration to the future. An essayist quoted at the formation of the society expresses the idea in words that can profitably be pondered: 'A people who will not honor their history will make little history to honor.'

"The Society should be founded on permanent lines with full appreciation of the responsibility and worth of its mission. It deserves hearty public support in whatever plan of action it decides to pursue."

The enthusiasm aroused permitted a call for a meeting for permanent organization on November 18, 1920. At this meeting a petition for incorporation bearing the signatures of 117 men and women of St. Joseph was signed. This petition was filed with the circuit court. Permanent organization was effected with the adoption of a constitution and by-laws and the election of permanent officers. Colonel J. A. Corby was elected president; Herschel Bartlett, vice president; W. F. Dyer, secretary; and Houston Wyeth and Harry L. Graham, members of the executive committee. The next meeting of the Society was held on December 2, 1920, at which time the membership had risen to 165. The Society's primary goal of members is 500 and this number is expected to be obtained before the close of 1921. Of the Buchanan County Society membership over 100 have affiliated with The State Historical Society, giving St. Joseph the largest percentage of members of any large city in the State. Judging from the enthusiasm of the leading men and women of St. Joseph, which was noted by the editor on his visit to that city in October, it seems certain that the Buchanan County Historical Society will soon be one of the strongest local organizations of its kind in the Middle West. This organization has every asset necessary to such success. It has the fundamental basis of a citizenry of high culture and public spirit. It has the second fundamental asset of invaluable historical lore and tradition stretching back into the past nearly a century. And, finally, it has the men and women of means and ability necessary to guide such an institution. Without being too optimistic, it seems to us that the Buchanan County Historical Society has an exceptionally bright future and will eventually accomplish not only a widespread educational work of value but will lay the foundation for a permanent organization of lasting worth to Buchanan county.

BATES COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

On December 17, 1920, temporary organization was effected for a Bates County Historical Society at Butler, Missouri. Professor C. H. McClure, of the Central Missouri

State Teachers College, at Warrensburg, Missouri, was present and after explaining the work of the Johnson County Historical Society and its relation to the State Historical. Society of Missouri, temporary officers were elected for the Bates County Society. Judge Charles A. Denton of Butler was elected temporary president, and a committee on membership was appointed to begin active work in January, 1921. Sometime during the latter part of this month permanent organization will be effected and an effort will be made to secure the cooperation of all public-spirited citizens of Bates county in the preservation and dissemination of historical information relating to that community and the State of Missouri. The location of old Harmony Mission and Halleys Bluff within Bates county makes that district of peculiar historical significance. The exploitation of these historic sites will be one of the purposes of the Bates County Society.

CENTENNIAL CELEBRATION AT MARSHALL.

On May 26, 1920, the Missouri Valley College at Marshall, Missouri, presented to a large audience a Missouri historical pageant. The program was of decided interest and merit, and the celebration was very much appreciated. The pageant was given under the auspices of Dean C. L. Fichthorn, of the School of Music. All local organizations of Marshall, as the D. A. R., U. D. C., the High School and the Missouri Valley College, entered into active cooperation.

Prof. Thaddeus R. Brenton, of the English Department of the University of Missouri, assisted as dramatic manager. Dr. W. H. Black, president of Missouri Valley College, is responsible for this worthwhile celebration. Dr. Black has long been interested in Missouri history, and has been especially active in forwarding the Missouri centennial movement.

CENTENNIAL CELEBRATION AT WARRENSBURG.

One of the most successful celebrations commemorative of Missouri's centennial and of Missouri history was given at Warrensburg on July 16, 1920. This was a pageant

adapted from the pageant given in Columbia on March 25 by the University of Missouri and The State Historical Society of Missouri. The pageant at Warrensburg was given by the training school students in the Central Missouri State Teachers College and by the high school students of Warrensburg. A few parts were supplied by students from the college. No attempt was made to give the pageant a professional aspect. It was held on an out-door stage and was free to everybody. The attendance was over 3,000 persons. The historic and human interest in the pageant was absorbing. In fact, it was said that the pageant drew the largest crowd that was ever seen on the campus of the Central Missouri State Teachers College.

STATE TEACHERS' ASSOCIATION ENDORSED HISTORICAL WORK.

These resolutions adopted by the Missouri State Teachers' Association at its meeting in Kansas City on Nov. 10, 1920, are indicative of the new birth of State pride and State interest in Missouri history:

"We recommend cooperation with the State Historical Society of Missouri relative to the observance of Missouri's First Centennial, and we urge all teachers to aid in the organization of Local Historical Societies affiliated with the State Society to the end that permanent interest in State History be fostered and the historical data of the State preserved.

"We respectfully request the State Fair Board to set aside the entire Educational Building for school exhibits and school purposes. We believe that all the elementary schools, high schools and State schools should participate in a great exhibit for the Centennial Year. We direct the attention of the Community Associations to the opportunity thus presented for advertising the schools of Missouri in connection with the Centennial Exhibit."

As complimentary to the declarations of the State teaching body, are the following resolutions adopted at the annual meeting of the Missouri Society of Teachers of History and Government held at Kansas City, Nov. 12, 1920:

"Believing that the Teachers of History in the High Schools of the State are or should be especially interested in the history of

the State of Missouri, we, the members of the Missouri Society of History and Government, hereby request the State Historical Society to bring to the attention of the History Teachers in the High Schools of the State *The Missouri Historical Review* with the aim that these teachers shall undertake to see that files of the *Review* are placed in the High School Libraries.

"We further request that the State Historical Society furnish each History teacher in the State with a detailed schedule of the local Historical information which may be successfully collected by the Teacher.

"In view of the approaching centennial celebration we desire to congratulate the editor of *School and Community* for his consideration in dealing with the celebration, and request that if possible a whole number be devoted in the near future to the History of the State and to the centennial celebration."

A PERSONAL MESSAGE TO MEMBERS.

For the first time in its history this Society reached and passed the one-thousand mark of active pay members. Older members of this institution will recall how its membership fluctuated between 350 and 550 during the decade of 1908-1918. Compared to other similar societies in the Mississippi Valley, this was not a poor record. In fact, it was a good one. Beginning with 1919 we began to seriously consider if not only this Society but all historical societies were interesting more than a very small percentage of their potential prospects. We determined to double the active membership of your Society in 1919 and 1920. It was realized that this could be done only through two means: first, through a *Missouri Historical Review* that was truly instructive and interesting; second, through an active, cooperative campaign on the part of the secretary and the present members of the Society. It is no more than justice to our contributors to state that today *The Missouri Historical Review* has greatly improved, and it is the purpose of the editor to continue this progress. As a result of this improvement and the public-spirited cooperation of many members, the Society has actually *doubled* its active membership in two years. Special mention and thanks are due the following members who have contributed so largely to this record: Prof. C. H. McClure, of Warrensburg;

O. G. Boisseau, of Holden; Col. Joseph A. Corby, Judge Vinton Pike, and Mrs. Louise Platt Hauck, of St. Joseph; Mr. and Mrs. John T. Milbank, of Chillicothe; Mr. Edw. J. White, of St. Louis; Mr. Geo. A. Mahan, of Hannibal; Mr. A. B. Cleveland, of Breckenridge; Mr. C. F. Ridings, of Hamilton; Mr. J. A. Selby, of Gallatin; Messrs. James Todd and J. F. Hull, of Maryville; Mr. John C. Staple, of Rockt port; Senator Geo. W. Glick, of Mound City; Mr. A. F. McCray, of Cowgill; and Hon S. H. O'Fallon, of Oregon.

Looking the facts in the face, however, although not minimizing the fact that this Society today has the largest active membership of any historical society west of the Mississippi river, does it appear to any member of this Society that the great field of historical education in Missouri has been more than scratched on the surface? Here is a commonwealth of three and a half million persons. Why should not such a State have five thousand members in its State Historical Society, aside from exchange and editorial members? We believe that every member will agree with us in placing this as a minimum figure. It will take time, perhaps several years, and work, and a good publication, to obtain this result, but with your help and active assistance it can be done.

The goal for 1921 is 2,000 active members. Here are a list of Missouri towns now having five or more members in the Society:

Bolivar	7	Kansas City	56
Bowling Green	6	Kirksville	14
Braymer	5	Lees Summit	6
Breckenridge	6	Lexington	7
Butler	6	Liberty	6
Cameron	9	Macon	9
Cape Girardeau	16	Marshall	5
Carrollton	5	Maryville	11
Chillicothe	35	Mound City	7
Columbia	51	Oregon	8
Fayette	7	Otterville	6
Fulton	6	Sedalia	13
Gallatin	11	Springfield	11
Hamilton	8	St. Joseph	106
Hannibal	20	St. Louis	128
Holden	10	Warrensburg	62
Independence	11		
Jefferson City	12		

Among the large cities in the State, St. Joseph with her 106 members has the largest percentage based on population. Among all cities over five thousand, Warrensburg with her 62 members (1.1% of her population) has the largest percentage. Otterville with 6 members has the highest percentage (1.32%) of any town in the State.

It cannot be expected that the very large cities will ever be able to furnish such percentages as Warrensburg and Otterville, but certainly all except these could furnish one per cent. If this were done, it would add over 2,000 members. An additional 2,000 should come from St. Louis, Kansas City and St. Joseph. At the present rate of growth St. Joseph alone will have over 500 members in this Society within five years.

The membership blank enclosed is for your use. If you enjoy your affiliation with this Society, find interest and value in the *Review*, and are desirous of seeing Missourians informed on their own annals—have some friend, who is not a member, fill out this blank and mail same to this Society. Your cooperation will result in Missouri taking first rank in the field of popular, historical education. No better or more lasting initial commemoration of Missouri's centennial year could be observed than this.

MISSOURI UTOPIAS.

Men of all ages have dreamed of establishing a community where economic, social and political equality should exist among its members. Many such communities have been established in the United States, some of them meeting with a greater or less degree of success—the Amana Society, the Perfectionists, the Harmonists, the Icarians, and others. Missouri, as well as other states in the Union, has furnished homes for those who believed in communism as the logical basis of society. The most noted of these Missouri experiments was the colony established at Bethel, in Shelby county, by Dr. William Keil. Several years ago a most excellent article was written on this community by Dr. William G. Bek and was published in *The Missouri Historical Review.*

Very little, however, has been written concerning other communities. The State Historical Society proposes to collect all available material on this subject and publish the results in a series of articles in the *Review*.

In addition to the Bethel community, these Missouri communistic experiments are known: the Icarian community at Cheltenham; the Altruist Community at St. Louis, and the Home Employment Company at Long Lane. Dallas county was also the home of Friendship Community, established in 1872, and a society was formed at New Madrid in 1817 to carry out communistic ideas and was known as the Fanatical Pilgrims. The communistic features of the Mormon settlements in Missouri will also be considered. The material at hand on these experiments is, in most instances, very meagre. We shall therefore be grateful to our readers for any information which they may be able to furnish or for any sources of material to which they may refer us. We should have, if possible, the following data concerning each, sketch of the life and reminiscences of the founder, history, number of members, terms of admission, amount and value of property held, business methods, industries pursued, system of government, religious creeds, social customs, type of people, comparison with people in the same section of the country but outside the colony as regards social and economic position; causes of success or failure of the experiments. Moreover, there have been, no doubt, other examples of communism in the State. The foregoing data is also requested and desired concerning any other communities which may have existed in the State. Address all communications to Floyd C. Shoemaker, Secretary, State Historical Society, Columbia, Missouri.

COUNTY HOSPITALS IN MISSOURI.

In its march of progress, the State of Missouri enacted a statute in 1917 (see Session Acts of Mo. 1917, pages 145 to 150), which provides that the county court shall, upon petition of one hundred taxpayers, submit to the qualified voters of the county the question of establishing and operating a

county hospital, and the issuing of bonds to pay for the same. These bonds must be issued for a term of not exceeding twenty years, and must be sold for not less than their par value. The county hospital shall be open to practitioners of all recognized schools of medicine, and no physician shall have preference over any other. An annual tax shall then be levied for the support of the county hospital and for the payment of the bonds, and the county court shall appoint five hospital trustees, who shall have the power to fix the terms upon which patients may be admitted to the hospital, and also to determine who are charity patients. The first hospital trustees are appointed by the county court; and afterwards, at the general election, the voters shall elect the trustees, not more than three of whom shall live in the town or city where it is proposed to locate such hospital. Up to the present time, three counties have taken advantage of this statute—Audrain, Callaway and Boone; and hospital buildings are well under way in these counties.

At a special election, held on July 1, 1918, the voters of Audrain county decided, by a vote of three to one, to erect and equip a county hospital, the cost to be one hundred and twelve thousand, five hundred dollars. The first board of hospital trustees are J. W. Dry, Fred Pilcher and Nathan Phillips, of Mexico; Joseph Considine, of Thompson, and John S. Gatson, of Vandalia. The hospital is located on one acre of ground on East Monroe street in Mexico, and it will be completed about January 1, 1921.

At the general election in 1918, the voters of Callaway county decided, by a vote of four to one, to erect and equip a county hospital, the cost to be one hundred and twelve thousand, five hundred dollars. The first board of hospital trustees are Judge David H. Harris, Jesse L. Maughs and W. E. Jamerson, of Fulton; E. L. Shely, of New Bloomfield; and Haydon Duncan, of Millersburg. The hospital is located on one acre of ground on Nichols street in Fulton, and it will be completed about April 1, 1921.

At a special election, held on April 29, 1919, the voters of Boone county decided, by a vote of three to one, to erect and

equip a county hospital, the cost to be one hundred thousand dollars. After learning that that sum would not be sufficient, the Boone county voters decided, by a vote of three and one half to one, to issue seventy-five thousand dollars additional bonds to complete the hospital. The first board of hospital trustees are H. H. Banks and N. T. Gentry, of Columbia; Wm. O. Ellis, of Ashland; Thos. P. Brown, of Hallsville; and Dennis Spellman, of Sturgeon. The hospital is located on four acres of ground on East Broadway in Columbia, and it will be completed about October 1, 1921.

It is to be hoped that many other counties of Missouri will follow the good example set by Audrain, Callaway and Boone.

N. T. Gentry, of Columbia, Missouri.

THE U. S. GRANT CABIN.

Historic association will ever attach to the old U. S. Grant farm and cabin in Missouri. The farm was given to Mrs. Grant by her father, Col. Dent, of St. Louis. On it lived the great man who was to assume leadership of the Union forces and later to serve his country eight years as its chief executive. This letter from Mr. F. A. Weber, of Nursery, Missouri, was written to Mrs. Eugene Marsh, of Webster Grove, Missouri, on February 7, 1920. It is of value and interest.

"In the *Watchman Advocate*, February 6th, I note with interest what your organization 'The Daughters of 1812' are doing.

"Thinking that I might be able to give you some information on the General U. S. Grant Cabin, is the reason I am writing you this letter. There seems to be considerable confusion in regard to the Grant Cabin and in order to set some of these errors right, I will give you a history of it, as given me by my father and from my own knowledge.

"The General Grant Cabin was built on the farm our company now owns and was built in the 50's. My grandfather, Charles Weber, was a cabinet maker who purchased the property now occupied by our company and was one of the neighbors who helped to erect the Grant Cabin, on our present Grant farm property. He made the window frames, sash and doors by hand; as there were no planing mills at that time.

"My father, who died about four years ago, knew General Grant personally, having as a boy ridden on his daily loads of wood from the farm and was a staunch supporter of Grant when a candidate for President.

"We purchased the original Grant farm in 1889 from Capt. Luther H. Conn, but in the deed Capt. Conn reserved the right to remove the Cabin within two years. Shortly after purchasing the farm Capt. Conn took his daughter (now Mrs. Hammer) to the Orient. About one and one-half years after we purchased the property and while Mr. Conn was still abroad, the Cabin was sold to Mr. Justing E. Joy of Old Orchard, for, as was stated at that time, a consideration of $500.00.

"Mr. Joy immediately began the taking down the Cabin and numbering each log and taking all chinking and stone over to Old Orchard, where the building was erected and a high fence put around it, to which I understand Mr. Joy collected an admittance fee from people wanting to see the Grant-Cabin.

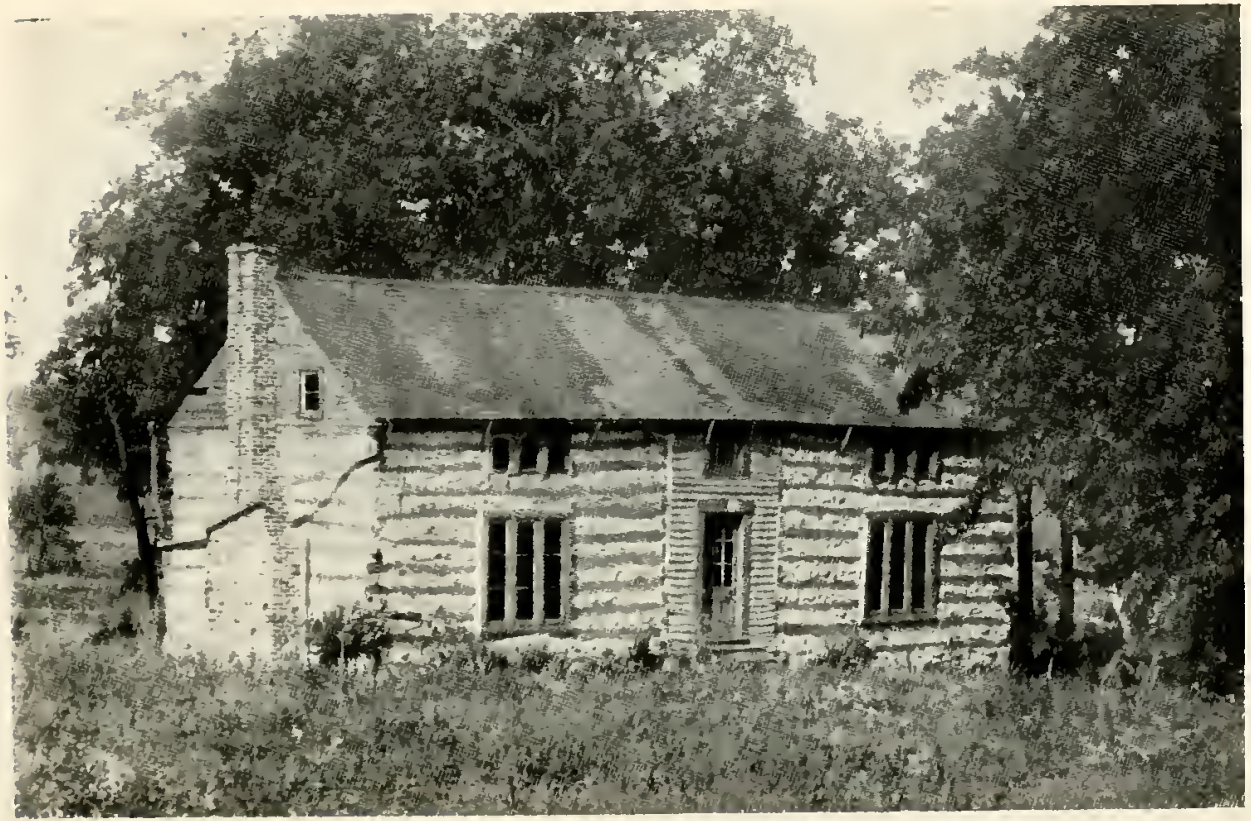
"Just before our St. Louis World's Fair, Mr. Joy sold the Cabin to Mr. C. F. Blanke of 'Coffee Fame.' Mr. Blanke then removed the Cabin to a site in the World's Fair Grounds and used same as an advertising medium in advertising Blanke's Coffee. After the Fair was over Mr. Blanke was at a loss to know what to do with the Cabin and as there seemed to be no way of getting the city authorities together and maintaining the Cabin in Forest Park, Mr. Auguste A. Busch decided to purchase it from Mr. C. F. Blanke.

"Mr. Auguste A. Busch, immediately removed the Cabin to its present site on the Auguste A. Busch grounds on the Gravois road.

"This original Grant Farm is the property we own. This is the property that was given to Mrs. Julia Dent Grant as a wedding gift. This happened in the 50's, when on account of the diverse opinions of Grant and his father-in-law regarding the slave question, it got so that it was not very pleasant living under the same roof with Col. Dent. This is why Mr. Dent gave the property north of the Rock Hill road to his daughter as her property.

"The neighbors helped to erect the Cabin and thus it became the Grant farm. After a few years' effort at farming General Grant decided to move to his old home in Illinois, as he was still too close to the Dent home. Later on the war broke out and history gives Grant's record from that time on.

"The property now owned by Mr. Auguste A. Busch, Mr. Albert Wenlick and the Gibson heirs, was known as the Dent farm and is of record as the White Haven Farm by which it was known at that time.



GRANT'S LOG CABIN

(From Steven's Missouri The Center State.)

"After Grant became President he lifted the mortgage on the Dent farm, which had been heavily mortgaged during the war, and it then all became the Grant Farm. Grant immediately started a stock farm and imported fancy cattle and horses from England, France, etc., with a view of bringing in better grades of stock into this community. My father received from President Grant an Aldeney heifer as a gift. I remember well the day this calf was given to my father.

"Later on when Grant had his heavy losses in the bank failure the entire property was turned over to the Vanderbilts in payment of a debt. The Vanderbilts held the estate for a number of years renting it out to tenants who pastured and farmed the land. It was then sold to Capt. Luther H. Conn, who was acting for the Gibson heirs and from whom we purchased our present farm a few years later.

"When Capt. Conn was in Egypt with his daughter there was considerable talk of the Government purchasing the Cabin and leaving it where it was originally constructed. My father, Henry J. Weber, at that time offered to dedicate to the United States Government sufficient ground so as to maintain the Cabin as a historical site; but this was never accepted. We made an offer to Capt. Conn before he sold the house to Mr. Joy, that if he would give the house, we would give the property and deed to the United States Government to maintain as a memorial. This was also not accepted by Col. Conn and the Gibson heirs. Thus the building was removed before the two year time limit had expired.

"The original grove of oak trees, some hickories, the old cistern and the hole where the cellar originally was, can still be seen on our Grant farm property.

"If your organizaton should at any time wish to verify the above statements or would like to make a pilgrimage to the old site of the Cabin, we will be glad to arrange to meet with you and take you over this property.

"We believe it will be an inspiration to you and may be of considerable help to you in the notable work you are doing to preserve historical sites in and around St. Louis."

CORRECTION.

The following corrections should be made to the article "A Century of Transportation in Missouri," by Mr. Edw. J. White, which appeared in the October, 1920, issue of *The Missouri Historical Review.* Our attention was called to these errors by the author.

On page 150, the word "released" in the fifth line from the top should be eliminated and the word "foreclosed" substituted therefor.

On page 151, the sixth word in the eighteenth line from the top of the page; the letter "l" is omitted from the word "Civil" before "War."

On page 153, the date "July 4th, 1850," in the fourth line from the top of the page, should be "July 4th, 1851."

On page 155, sixth line from the top, the increase in passenger fares should be "one-half of a cent per mile" instead of "one-half of one per cent."

On page 156, the word "the " in the ninth line from the top should be transposed from before the word "agencies" to before the word "transportation."

On page 158, in the twenty-first line from the top of the page, the aggregate number of automobiles in the State of Missouri, should be put at "over 300,000," in numerals, and the "$242,723.00" should be eliminated.

ON MISSOURI LITERATURE.

This letter was received from Mr. John A. Bryan, of St. Louis, Missouri, who is a member of The State Historical Society. Letters from members are always welcomed by the editor and will be gladly reproduced when they pertain to the history of Missouri and Missourians.

"I have received my copy of the Centennial Number of *The Missouri Historical Review*, and have found it most interesting and valuable as a historical document. However, I must say that, in my opinion, Dr. DeMenil's article does not do justice to the first century of literature in Missouri.

"Why did he not include Winston Churchill, who was born in St. Louis and lived here during the early part of his life? No American writer has given us more delightful delineations of Missouri than this writer, in *The Crisis* and again in *The Inside of the Cup.*

"Whose short stories demand the highest price in the literary market today? Those of a young Missouri woman, Fanny Hurst, who was born in St. Louis, and educated at our own Washington University. Moreover, her first stories were brought to the attention of the literary world by a brilliant Missouri editor, the late William Marion Reedy, who isn't even given a line in Dr. DeMenil's sketch, although he had brought out more literary geniuses than any other American editor of this generation.

"Then there is Sara Teasdale, beyond doubt one of the most brilliant poets in America today. Columbia University in New York awarded the prize for the best poetry written during 1918 to this young Missouri woman.

"Again, there is Mary Dillon, who wrote *The Rose of Old St. Louis* and other delightful novels. Mrs. Dillon is still living in St. Louis, and should certainly be included in the list of Missouri's authors.

"Another successful Missouri writer is William H. Hamby, who has lived the greater part of his life in this State, and who was educated at Drury College, in Springfield, Missouri. Readers of *The Saturday Evening Post* and other eastern magazines can testify to Mr. Hamby's ability as a story writer.

"All of the above-mentioned writers are incuded in *Who's Who in America.*

"An article on Missouri's literature might also include mention of Mrs. John Curran, whose writings under the name "Patience Worth," have received most favorable comment from the Eastern critics. Mrs. Curran resided in St. Louis until a short time ago, and her early writings were done here.

"Harold Bell Wright is another who should be mentioned, for many of his stories are of Missouri people, in the Ozarks, and he himself resided in this State when some of his earlier novels were brought out. He was formerly a preacher at Lebanon, Missouri and also held a pastorate at Pierce City, Missouri, before removing to Arizona.

"I have one correction to make in connection with Dr. DeMenil's article—on page 98, the paragraph concerning George Warder. I knew this man personally, so am sure of my ground when I offer this correction:

"Mr. Warder died in Kansas City, Missouri—not in New York—and his death occurred in January, 1907—not two or three years ago. Before going to Kansas City to reside, Mr. Warder had lived in Chillicothe, Missouri, for several years, and was brought back there to be buried by the side of his wife, who was a Miss McWilliams of that city.

"Mr. Warder built the 'Warder Grand' theater in Kansas City, at 9th and Harrison Streets. Although it is now known as 'The Auditorium,' the name 'Warder Grand' is still carved in the stone above the main entrance. It seems to me this should be mentioned because the 'Warder Grand' was the largest theater in the West at the time it was built; in fact it was too large for Kansas City, as Mr. Warder later found, to his sorrow, for he never recovered from the financial loss involved in that undertaking."

DESCENDANT OF A MISSOURI PIONEER.

The letter here set forth contains data of interest. It is typical of those Missourians who did more than the citizen of any other state to explore and settle the West. Mr. L. L. McCoy lives in Red Bluff, California. His letter is dated October 17, 1920. For years he has been a loyal supporter of The State Historical Society.

"I have been from home much of the time this summer on various trips and vacations and to some extent have lost track of several minor matters, one of which is my subscription for *The Missouri Historical Review.* On a safe venture I will enclose one dollar for which you will please give me credit and indicate by receipt to what date this will carry me.

"I have been in California forty-eight years but have never lost my interest in the great State of Missouri or her good people.

"I come from a real pioneer family. My paternal grandfather settled at St. Louis in 1816. My father was born there in 1823. I was born in Clark county in 1850.

"A brother of my grandfather (Martin McCoy) left St. Louis in 1824, wintered that winter about where Ogden now is. The winter of 1825-26, he spent around Salt Lake; the winter of 1826-27, in part at Los Angeles and in part at San Diego. The winter of 1827-28, he wintered on the Stanislaus River, in the upper San Joaquin Valley, California. In the spring of 1828 he passed up the San Joaquin Valley, full length of the Sacramento Valley then turned through the Trinity Range of mountains to the Pacific Coast, striking it above Eureka, Humbolt county. He crossed Klamath River and Smith River, and on the Umpqua River the party was attacked by Indians and all were killed except three, my uncle being one of the killed. The party was of the Smith-Sublett exploration party. I have pioneered much mountain territory of California."

BOOK REVIEWS.

Crowder, Major General E. H.—The Spirit of Selective Service. xx367 pp. Century Company, New York, 1920. $2.00.

The American reading public is fortunate in having an account of the Selective Service System of this country in the recent war from the pen of the man who had most to do with the planning and execution of the system. The book does

not pretend to be exhaustive. The author's primary purpose is not to give a detailed account of the system but to present an interpretation of its underlying principles and to show how those principles might be applied in the solution of some of our modern day public problems. There are therefore many facts with reference to the system that the reader might expect to find in the book that are lacking. These may be obtained however by going to the reports of the author as provost marshal general. But the facts that are given in the narrative part of the book are the chief essentials in the story of how America came to adopt the selective service system and how it was operated.

Special emphasis is placed in the narrative upon the fact that although we as a people were decidedly reluctant to resort to the draft when we entered the war, we readily brought ourselves around to the point of accepting it whole heartedly when we realized the exact situation. We had won all of our wars through the volunteer system and we could win this one in that way too, was the popular opinion throughout the country early in 1917. It was not generally known that the volunteer system had practically failed in the American Revolution, the War of 1812 and the Civil War, and that but for the untoward circumstances under which the enemy fought we would have been defeated each time. Moreover we did not stop to think how great the odds had been in our favor in the wars with Mexico and with Spain, thus making the volunteer system amply sufficient for the task in both of these wars. The only instance when the draft had been resorted to in our history was during the Civil War and then it proved an ignominious failure. We therefore entered the Great War with little thought of proceeding otherwise than by way of the volunteer system to which we had become wedded by tradition.

But when the situation was squarely confronted, we soon realized that after all the selective service system was alone democratic and that it was the only system whereby the war could be won and the country be saved from being wrecked in the winning. The fearful disaster that overtook England

in the first two years of the war was held up to us most effectively as a warning of what was in store for us if we proceeded in like manner. By the way, the chapter in General Crowder's book describing how the English passed from the volunteer to the selective service system is the clearest brief statement on the subject that the reviewer has as yet seen.

Fortunately the man into whose hands the planning and execution of our selective service system was largely placed, was fully acquainted with the features of the draft of the Civil War that had made it so odious and ineffective. He therefore realized that if the draft was to succeed in the Great War it must be conducted along different lines. The Civil War draft had failed partly because it had been administered by Federal officials who were strangers in the districts to which they were assigned and who sought out those liable to military service and coerced them into serving. Moreover the scheme of exemptions was such as to give undue favor to the rich. If the draft was to succeed in the Great War it must be administered not by strangers who should run down those liable to military service, but largely by local boards composed of men of the communities who would be more or less personally acquainted with those reporting to them for duty. At the outset therefore every man on appearing before the board that had jurisdiction over him would feel more or less certain that he would get a square deal. At least his case would be disposed of by his neighbors and not by strangers. Moreover the exemptions were to be such as would place the burden of military service not upon the poor who because of their poverty could not help themselves, but upon those who could be best spared from the economic point of view.

The second part of the book is largely interpretative. In the author's opinion the success of the selective service system was due to a new Americanism that was born under the stress of the war. As he sees it a spirit that was truly national came into being simultaneously in all parts of the country for the first time in our history. Cooperation between the individual and the national government was the

watch word of the hour, and under the influence of that spirit we won our greatest victory in war.

Out of this experience the author finds a method of procedure for dealing with many of our present day problems. He believes in the extension of authority on the part of the national government through the establishment of a closer relation between the national and state governments than has heretofore existed. For example he points out that in education what is needed is a real national educational policy that would express itself through the departments of education in the forty-eight different states of the Union under the direction of the Federal bureau of education. Under such an arrangement as this, illiteracy might be eradicated from the nation very quickly as well as other educational advances made.

Again he suggests that the problem between capital and labor might be solved by setting up certain institutions somewhat similar to those used in the recent draft. First, there would be a series of councils composed of representatives of labor and capital, including local councils in every industrial plant, factory and mine, a national council within each industry, and a national parliament representing all industries, the purpose of all of which would be to bring about amicable agreements between employee and employer. Second, there would be a series of advisory boards, local, state and national, each of which would be composed of men appointed directly or indrectly by the president to represent labor, capital and the public. The function of these boards would be to arbitrate in those disputes which may affect the public welfare and which capital and labor had not been able to settle. In view of the great success achieved in the selective service system by employing agencies somewhat similar to these boards, the author feels that equal success might be attained in industrial matters if approached in that spirit of cooperation that animated the country during the war.

To what extent these suggestions will meet with approval is very problematical. They merit at least serious consideration and should not be brushed aside as merely utopian.

One can not refrain from remarking about the modesty of the author in describing his own handiwork, the selective service system. Not until near the middle of the book does he disclose the fact that he had anything to do with the system. Not more than a half dozen times does he refer to himself and then usually in an incidental way.

Not only does he keep himself in the background, but he is especially careful to assign the credit for the success of the system to the great host of men and women who served on the numerous boards and in various positions under him. He even goes so far as to point out that it was the chance remark of a congressman that was responsible for the voting precincts being used for the purpose of obtaining the registration of those liable to military service instead of the post offices as was originally intended.

The first part of the book is a noteworthy contribution to the history of the war, and the whole is a most creditable addition to the growing list of works by Missourians.

E. M. Violette.

Memoirs, Life and Influence of Dr. and Mrs. Joseph Cowgill Maple, by R. P. Rider and H. E. Truex (The Hugh Stephens Printing Company, Jefferson City, 1920), is another valuable and well compiled addition to Missouri biography and Missouri Baptist literature. The book divides itself into three parts: the lives of Dr. and Mrs. Maple, by Prof. Rider; a resume of Baptist growth in Missouri during Dr. Maple's residence; and selections from the writings of Dr. and Mrs. Maple. The subject matter is exceptionally well treated, and the mechanism of the book, as regards printing, paper, binding and illustrations, is excellent.

The work and influence of Dr. and Mrs. Maple are deserving of this honor. Both did much for Missouri's spiritual and educational advancement. Both were finely qualified in person and training for realizing their modest but high ambition. The honors bestowed on Dr. Maple, the veneration in which he was held, the important church offices and pastorates

occupied by him, make him a commanding figure in the history of the Baptist Church in Missouri. Besides doing ministerial work in Kentucky and Iowa, he labored in the following Missouri pastorates—Cape Girardeau, Kansas City, Chillicothe, Springfield, again in Cape Girardeau, Mexico, Marshall and Trenton. His broad work carried him, however, into all sections of the State. He was chairman of the committee which had charge of publishing the series of *Missouri Baptist Biography*, under the general direction of the Missouri Baptist Historical Society. Four volumes have been issued under the joint authorship of Dr. Maple and Prof. R. P. Rider. The work is one of the most commendable of its kind.

Dr. Maple was born in 1833 in Ohio, reared and educated in Illinois, and performed most of his work in Missouri. He died in this State in 1917. Mrs. Maple was a native of Missouri, being born in Cape Girardeau county in 1837. Her maiden name was Miss Sarah Ellen Juden. She died in 1909. In all his ministerial, educationl, and literary activities, Mrs. Maple was a helpful coworker. The preservation of their lives is but partial payment of honor due as well as indicative of public appreciation for lasting service.

From an artistic, as well as a biographical point of view, one of the most valuable local historical works published recently in Missouri is *Men Who Made St. Joseph "The City Worth While,"* by W. P. Tracy of St. Joseph, printed by the Combe Printing Company of that city. A copy of this work was recently donated to The State Historical Society of Missouri by the author. In appearance it is one of the richest works recently seen. Nor is it less valuable in its subject matter. Only the most prominent citizens of St. Joseph are treated but the biographical sketches of these men are most complete. The purpose of the book is stated in its title and this purpose has been well and consistently carried out. Judging from the general nature of the work and its appearance, the edition was probably limited and will be greatly sought after by private collectors in the State.

A most interesting historical booklet is *Reminiscences of Lindenwood College, 1827-1920*, by Miss Lucinda de Leftwich Templin. It is filled with valuable data on this fine old educational institution for girls at St. Charles and is exceptionally well illustrated. Portions of diaries and old letters of Major and Mrs. George C. Sibley, founders of the College, are reproduced. Contrast is made between the old college of nearly a century past and the modern school of today. One chapter is devoted to "Lindenwood's Greatest Benefactors," in which special mention is given Col. James Gay Butler, of St. Louis, Mrs. Margaret L. Butler, and her neice, Mrs. Nellie Eastbik. Miss Templin, the author, is a graduate of the University of Missouri, A. B., A. M., and holds the chair of history and political science in Lindenwood College.

JUDGE WALTER B. DOUGLAS.

When a scholar who contributed to knowledge dies society loses an asset. Such a loss was the passing of Judge Walter B. Douglas, of St. Louis. He was a lawyer by training, a jurist by profession, a gentleman by nature, but a scholar par excellence. Few were there like this man. Missouri has three and a half million persons, but not a half dozen men like Judge Walter B. Douglas. We do not know of his material success, but we doubt if he was wealthy. Such a life as his largely excludes wealth gathering. He was a history saviour rather than a money saver. His philanthropy was expressed in years of toilsome service to his people. In his quiet, modest way he did much for his community and his State.

A native Missourian, he gloried in her successes and sought to remedy her defects. One of the latter was the preservation of her annals. He specialized in the French and Spanish periods of our history, and was indefatigable in this field. He was an authority in those periods of our annals. When the list of Missouri collectors and historians is completed, the name of Judge Walter Bond Douglas will there find high place.

This translation from the *Westliche Post* (St. Louis) of Nov. 9, 1920, by Hans Hackel, well expresses our estimate of this man's life:

DEATH OF WALTER B. DOUGLAS.

"The death of former circuit judge Walter B. Douglas must be considered a serious loss, not only to the city of St. Louis, but for the whole State of Missouri, for to both, he was an enthusiastic friend and advocated a better knowledge of local history and appreciation of home ties.

"The deceased had gradually developed the subject, the history of our State, into a life work, to the fulfillment of which, he devoted all his leisure hours. He was indefatigable in his efforts to develop a better appreciation of the importance and significance of a thorough knowledge of our more immediate city, county and State, thereby increasing our understanding for wider fields; no sacrifice was too great for him in the achievement of this end.

"Death took him at a time, when after many years of labor, he was about to perpetuate in book form, the results of his life-work.

"For himself, he never demanded appreciation, to say nothing of honors; that which he did, was done from most unselfish enthusiasm; he was a part of his work, and it will be difficult to find a successor.

"As a lawyer Walter B. Douglas had a stainless reputation both as counsel and judge, he manifested the same conscientious behavior which characterized his private life—at all times the substance was of more importance than the person and he was animated in his professional career by the highest conceivable ideals. He seldom appeared in public of late, but in spite of this he maintained to the last, a kindly interest in the development of the community, and all movements which aimed at betterment found in him an able and enthusiastic supporter.

"He will continue to live in the lives and hearts of all those who follow higher interests as contrasted with mere material well-being.

"Walter B. Douglas has left us a mine of truly noble concept of mind and an idealist in the best sense of the word."

PERSONALS.

Hon. August H. Bolte: Born near Union, Missouri, September 3, 1854; died at St. Louis, June 24, 1920. He served twelve years as Probate Judge of Franklin County,

and in 1896 was elected Lieutenant-Governor on the Democratic ticket with Lon V. Stephens. After serving his term in this office he became attorney for the Rock Island Railroad and later for the Bell Telephone Company.

Hon. Clarence Weaver Carney: Born in Barry county, Missouri, June 22, 1892; died at Cassville, Missouri, April 1, 1920. He was educated at the Springfield State Normal School and afterwards taught school at various places in Barry county. He was a member of the forty-ninth General Assembly as representative from Barry county.

Hon. L. F. Cottey: Born in Knox county, Missouri, March 31, 1846; died at Edina, Missouri, July 29, 1920. He was educated at Palmyra Academy and at Central College, graduating from the latter institution in 1869. Admittance to the bar came in 1872 and two years later he began the practice of law, serving as county superintendent of schools of Knox county during the intervening two years. In 1875 he was elected a member of the constitutional convention of Missouri and the following year was sent to the General Assembly as representative from Knox county. He also served in the State Senate in the 30th and 31st General Assemblies. In 1896 he was a delegate to the Democratic national convention.

Judge Walter B. Douglas: Born at Brunswick, Missouri, December 20, 1851; died at St. Louis, November 7, 1920. He was graduated from the Law department of Harvard University in 1877 and began the practice of law at once. From 1901 to 1906 he was Judge of the Circuit Court in St. Louis. Judge Douglas was greatly interested in historical work and was active for many years in the work of preserving landmarks and historical buildings in and around St. Louis. He served as president of the Missouri Historical Society at St. Louis in 1893 and 1894 and after that time as a member of the board of directors of the organization. He was also a member of the American Historical Society and of the Missouri Bar Association.

Hon. E. P. Gates: Born at Lunnenburgh, Vermont, March 5, 1845; died at Independence, Missouri, April 23,

1920. He was educated at Port Byron Academy and later attended Knox College at Galesburg, Illinois, from which institution he graduated in 1867. In 1868 he was admitted to the bar and began the practice of law at Independence. From 1886 to 1890 he served as county counselor of Jackson county. In 1896 he was elected Judge of the Circuit Court of Jackson county and served in that capacity for several years.

Dr. S. S. Laws: Born in Ohio county, Virginia, March 23, 1824; died at Asheville, North Carolina, January 9, 1921. He received the rudiments of his education at the Oldfield School in Virginia. He was graduated from Miami Uinversity in 1848 and in 1851 from the Princeton Theological Seminary. He preached for a time in St. Louis and then joined the faculty of Westminster College at Fulton. Two years later he was made president of that school, and held the office for six years. During the Civil War he was arrested as a Southern sympathizer, but was released upon his promise to exile himself from the country. This he did by going to France. Upon his return to the United States he spent a number of years in study and research, receiving, in 1870, the degree of M. D., from Bellevue Hospital Medical College of New York University and the degree of LL. B., from Columbia University. Two years later Washington and Lee University granted him the degree of D. D., and in 1875 Westminster College conferred upon him the degree of LL. D. In 1876 Dr. Laws was elected president of the University of Missouri and served in that capacity until 1889. Since that time he has been engaged principally in literary work, two of his best known published books being, "The At-one-ment" and "The Trinity."

W. G. Musgrove: Born in Lafayette county, June 14, 1843; died at Lexington, Missouri, September 7, 1920. As a boy he carried papers in Lexington and when a young man worked on various newspapers throughout the State. During the Civil War he was located at Springfield and helped to print the reports of General Price and other Confederate officers. At the close of the war he and two others went to

Lexington and started a newspaper called the *Caucasian*, the first issue of which appeared in April, 1865. About 1874 Mr. Musgrove became the sole owner of the paper and in August, 1875, consolidated the *Caucasian* with the *Intelligencer*. In 1886 he sold his interests in Lexington and became interested in Kansas newspapers, returning to Lexington in 1893. After again conducting the *Intelligencer* for several years he retired from active life.

Hon F. W. Pehle: Born in Prussia, Germany, in 1839; died at New Haven, Missouri, September 20, 1920. He was brought to Missouri by his parents in 1840, locating first in Gasconade county and a few years later in Franklin county, He began his active life as a school teacher, later farming and engaging in the real estate business. In 1874 he was elected to represent Franklin County in the lower house of the General Asembly, and was reelected in 1876 and 1878. In 1880 he was elected State senator.

Judge Henry C. Riley: Born near New Madrid, Missouri, December 18, 1850; died at New Madrid, April 12, 1920. He was educated at Kentucky Military Institute and Washington University and entered upon the practice of law at New Madrid in 1873. He served the county as school commissioner and as prosecuting attorney and in 1892 was elected Circuit Judge of the 23rd judicial circuit, serving in that capacity for eighteen years.

William P. Ruffel: Born at Glasgow, Missouri, April 7, 1864; died at Glasgow, April 29, 1920. He was educated at Lewis College in Glasgow and at Shelbina, Missouri, and Little Rock, Arkansas. In 1880 he became part owner of the Glasgow *Central Missourian* and two years later became its sole owner. He continued as editor and owner of this paper until his death.

John N. Southern: Born in Clairbourn county, Tennessee, August, 1838; died at Independence, Missouri, May 20, 1920. He was admitted to the bar at the age of 21. In 1860 he enlisted in the service of the Confederacy with the 59th Tennessee Regiment, under General Bragg. He came to Missouri after the war, but was not permitted to

practice law because of the test oath, which he refused to take. He became interested in the newspaper business and until 1879 was editor and owner of the Independence *Sentinel*. Later he was a member of the editorial staff of the Kansas City *Times*. In 1881 he resumed the practice of law.

George G. Strock: Born near Cosby, Missouri, April, 1853; died at St. Joseph, August 22, 1920. As a young man he served for a time as a reporter on a St. Joseph newspaper. In 1881 he established the King City *Chronicle*, which he conducted for a few years. He then bought the Albany *Ledger* and was its editor for about twenty years. He retired from the newspaper field about twelve years ago because of failing health.

Hon. J. C. Tarsney: Born at Medina, Michigan, November 7, 1845; died at Kansas City September 4, 1920. At the age of seventeen he joined the Union army and took an active part in the Civil War. After the war he entered the law department of the University of Michigan, graduating therefrom in 1867. He came to Kansas City in 1872 and in 1874 was elected city attorney. In 1886 he was elected as representative to Congress and was later reelected for three terms. In 1895 President Cleveland appointed him an associate justice of Oklahoma Territory, in which capacity he served four years.

THE MISSOURI HISTORICAL REVIEW

Vol. XV April, 1921 No. 3

CONTENTS.

	Page
Missourians and the Nation During the Last Century....	433
CHAMP CLARK	
Missouri Centennial Exposition.....	449
DONALD D. DAVIS	
A Guide to the Study of Local History and the Collection of Historical Material.....	453
JONAS VILES AND JESSE E. WRENCH	
Missourians in Japan.....	468
S. H. WAINWRIGHT	
The Missouri and Mississippi Railroad Debt.....	487
E. M. VIOLETTE	
The Followers of Duden.....	519
WILLIAM G. BEK	
Shelby's Expedition to Mexico.....	545
JOHN N. EDWARDS	
Historical Notes and Comments.....	561
Historical Articles in Missouri Newspapers.....	580

FLOYD C. SHOEMAKER, Editor

The Missouri Historical Review is published quarterly. The subscription price is $1.00 a year. A complete set of the REVIEW is still obtainable—Vols. 1-14, bound, $60.00; unbound, $30.00. Prices of separate volumes given on request. All communications should be addressed to Floyd C. Shoemaker, Secretary, The State Historical Society of Missouri, Columbia, Missouri.

"Entered as second-class matter at the postoffice at Columbia, Missouri, under the Act of Congress, Oct. 3, 1917, Sec. 442."

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MISSOURIANS AND THE NATION DURING THE LAST CENTURY

By Champ Clark.

MISSOURIANS IN THE SENATE.

When Gov. Benjamin Gratz Brown, one of the most brilliant of all Missouri statesmen, on an historic occasion said, "Missouri is a grand State and deserves to be grandly governed," he uttered an immortal truth. He might have added, with equal veracity, "She deserved to be grandly represented in the Congress of the United States," and she has been in the main, particularly in the Senate, where paucity of members and length of tenure more surely fix a man in the public eye than service in the House.

First and last, Missouri has commissioned 26 different men to represent her in the less numerous branch of the National Legislature, in the Chamber of the Conscript Fathers, in "the Upper House of Congress," improperly so called, or, as Senator Morgan, of Alabama, would have it, "ambassadors of a sovereign State" to the Federal Government. Beginning with David Barton and Thomas Hart Benton, her pioneer Senators, who at once attracted general attention and challenged universal admiration by reason of their commanding talents, down to this very hour, when, in the person of James A. Reed and Selden P. Spencer she holds high position in that conspicuous arena, Missouri has taken second place to none of her sister States.

These 26 Senators naturally divide themselves into two classes—the Barton line and the Benton line, 18 of the former and only 8 in the latter.

In the Barton line are Barton himself, Alexander Buckner, Lewis F. Linn, David R. Atchison, James S. Green, Waldo P. Johnson, Robert Wilson, Benjamin Gratz Brown, Charles D. Drake, Daniel T. Jewett, Francis P. Blair, Lewis V. Bogy,

David H. Armstrong, James Shields, George G. Vest, William Joel Stone, Xenophen P. Wilfley and Selden P. Spencer.

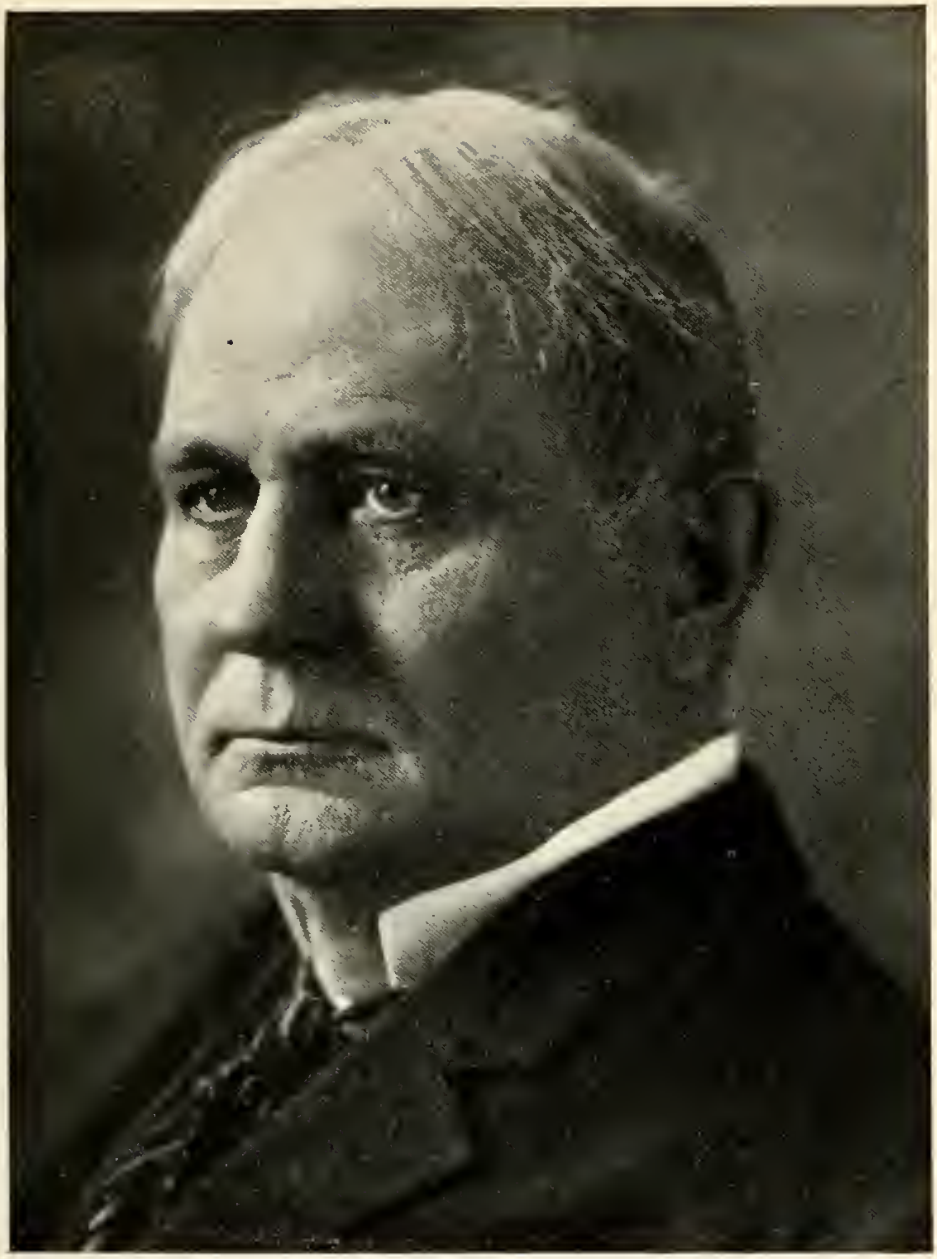
In the Benton line are Benton himself, Henry S. Geyer, Trusten Polk, John B. Henderson, Carl Schurz, Francis Marion Cockrell, William Warner and James A. Reed.

Lucky the man who gets into Barton's seat; luckier, far luckier, the man who secures that of Thomas H. Benton, as the precedents indicate a longer public life for him.

An examination of the dates at which Missourians entered and left the Senate will disclose two curious facts in Missouri history. She is the first state that ever elected two men for five full consecutive terms to the Senate of the United States—"six Roman lustrums," as Benton was wont to boast in his pompous way. These were Benton and Cockrell. The only other state to do that is Maine, Missouri's political twin. Missouri was the first State that had only one Senator for any considerable length of time through failure to elect another. By reason of the unrelenting warfare between the Bentonites and the anti-Bentonites the legislature chosen in 1854 never could and never did elect a Senator, as it was in duty bound to do, so that for two entire years Henry S. Geyer was Missouri's only Senator.

What is more, the governor did not appoint or attempt to appoint anyone to fill the vacancy, nobody then dreaming that the governor had such power. But in these later days several States have followed Missouri's example in failing to elect Senators, and, strange to say, divers governors have insisted on the right to fill vacancies by appointment under similar circumstances, until finally the Senate, after lengthy and ponderous debate, solemnly vindicated the wisdom and knowledge of constitution law possessed by the governor of Missouri in 1855 and 1856, Sterling Price, by declaring that a governor has no right to make such ad interim appointment under such circumstances.

Of Missouri's 26 Senators there were 18 Democrats, 1 Whig and 7 Republicans. Of 198 years of senatorial representation to which she has been entitled, 2 were not used, 6 fell to Whigs, 29 to Republicans and 161 to Democrats.



Your Friend,
Champ Clark

The roster of Missouri Senators is an array of names of which the Nation, no less than the State, may well be proud. There are many great men—scarcely a small one—in the list.

Missouri is proud of her immeasurably physical resources, which will one day make her *facile princeps* among her sisters; but there is something else of which she is prouder still, and that is her splendid citizenship, consisting at this day of nearly 4,000,000 industrious, intelligent, patriotic, progressive, law-abiding, God-fearing people.

When questioned as to her riches she could with propriety imitate the example and quote the words of Cornelia, the mother of the heroic Gracchi, and, pointing to her children, say truthfully and pridefully, "These are my jewels."

MISSOURIANS AND THE PRESIDENCY AND THE CABINET.

While Missouri has never had a President, Vice-President or Judge of the Supreme Court, she has been reasonably lucky in the matter of having her sons for Cabinet officers. Governor Norman J. Colman was the first Secretary of Agriculture appointed by President Cleveland in his first term. General John W. Nobel was Secretary of Interior under President Benjamin Harrison. Governor David R. Francis was Secretary of Interior during Cleveland's second administration. Honorable Charles Nagel was Secretary of Interior under Taft's administration. Honorable D. F. Houston has been both Secretary of Agriculture and of the Treasury in Wilson's administration. Honorable J. W. Alexander was appointed Secretary of Commerce during Wilson's second administration.

The first Missourian ever appointed to a Cabinet place was Edward Bates—appointed by President Millard Filmore—in 1850 as Secretary of War, but Bates declined that appointment. He was a candidate for the Republican nomination for President in 1860 and was President Lincoln's first Attorney General.

Colman, in addition to being Secretary of Agriculture, was Lieutenant Governor.

Francis was Mayor of St. Louis; Governor of Missouri; Secretary of Interior and Ambassador to Russia.

Nobel never held any high civil office but was a Brigadier General in the Union Army during the Civil War. Nobel was the only Cabinet member from Missouri with a military record.

Out of all these Cabinet Members, only two ever served in Congress—Edward Bates and J. W. Alexander.

At least four Missourians have been voted for in National Conventions for President—Edward Bates, Governor Benjamin Gratz Brown, Richard Parks Bland and Champ Clark. Col. Thomas Hart Benton was for years considered as a Presidential possibility. In fact James Barton in his Life of Andrew Jackson says that when Jackson came into the Presidency, the Democrats had a twenty-four-year Presidential programme: Eight for Jackson, eight for Van Buren and eight for Benton. "Man proposes but God disposes," and Gen. William Henry Harrison—"Old Tippecanoe"—impinged on the scene and broke off the aforesaid programme in the middle. Missouri has furnished the Democrats with two Vice-Presidential nominees—B. Gratz Brown and Gen. Frank P. Blair. It may be of interest to note in passing that they were first cousins.

There have never been but two Chairmen of the Committee of Ways and Means from West of the Mississippi, John S. Phelps of Missouri and Roger Q. Mills of Texas.

There have been only two Speakers from the Sunset side of the Great River—Gen. David B. Henderson of Iowa and myself.

It is a fact gratifying to the pride of Missourians that at the present time the General in Chief of the Army, Pershing, and the Admiral Commanding the Navy, Coontz, are both Missourians; also that Lieutenant General Bates, son of Edward Bates, was once the Commanding General of our Army.

Missouri has also had several Ambassadors, Ministers to foreign courts and U. S. Counsuls; also several Assistant

Cabinet Members. In the person of Capt. James B. Eads, she gave to the country's service the greatest of all engineers.

While Missouri never furnished a President, she furnished one President's wife, Mrs. Julia Dent Grant.

There is a mythical story that Senator David R. Atchison was President for one day, March 4, 1849. This story rests on two facts: First, that he was President pro tempore of the Senate. Second, that the fourth fell on a Sunday that year and General Taylor, President Elect, declined to be sworn in on Sunday, so that there was no President for one day.

"MISSOURI'S GRAND OLD MAN."

I know that many folks sneer at the idea of luck. All such should consider the remarkable case of Gen. Francis Cockrell of Missouri—who, after many years of unbroken success, became a "Lame Duck"—and be disillusioned.

Luck! In 1874 he wanted to be Governor of Missouri, and came very near having his heart's desire gratified in that regard. He lacked only one-sixth of one vote in a state convention of securing the nomination, which was equivalent to an election. Perhaps that is the closest shave on record for a great office.

At any rate Cockrell wanted to be Governor and was balked in his ambition by only a fraction of a vote; but a miss is as good as a mile, so we are informed by some ancient proverb-maker. He ought to have thanked God every night the remnant of his days for that lucky escape. Had he succeeded, he would, in all probability, have had before him two years in the Governor's office, and after that—a country lawyer at Warrensburg the rest of his life. His defeat was a blessing in disguise, and laid the foundations of his fortunes. It is passing strange what small and seemingly trivial things determine the destinies of men and even of nations.

By accident of being the last man to embark on a steamboat after the affair at Belmont, General Grant was started on the road to Appomattox and the White House. By flaying Sir Robert Peel on the night when he announced his free trade

policy in the House of Commons, Benjamin Disraeli took the first step in that marvelous career which dazzled the world and which ended in the Premiership, and earldom, and the Garter. Because his uncontrollable horse ran away and carried him straight into the enemy's retreating lines in some obscure battle in South Asia, enabling him to capture the commanding general, Arthur Wellesley subsequently added Waterloo to the long line of English victories, became the Iron Duke and sleeps among the storied great in St. Paul's. By reason of the fact that his pistol failed to fire—on the occasion when he attempted suicide—young Robert Clive concluded that God intended him for great things and he lived to create the British Empire in India, to become a peer of the realm and to write his name in characters of blood high upon the roll of English-speaking captains.

But to return to General Cockrell. During the campaign for the nomination he repeatedly declared that if Hardin, Colman, or anybody else defeated him, no voice would be lifted louder and no hat would be thrown higher than his would be thrown, for his successful competitor.

At that time they had the villainous custom of having all of the candidates for Governor—the vanquished as well as the victor—address the convention. It ought to have been forbidden under the statute against cruelty to animals. It was finally abolished, as the result of the primary elections.

So when Charles H. Hardin was nominated, and Cockrell was called on for a speech, he good-naturedly referred to his promise and then and there, as the indictments say, threw his big slouch hat to the lofty ceiling of the convention hall and gave a lusty yell which startled the catfish in the Missouri River. That performance made him Senator for thirty years, and no state ever had a better one. He was engulfed in the Roosevelt flood of 1904.

Cockrell never forgot either the name or the face of any person to whom he had been introduced. This faculty is simply invaluable to a public man and was of incalculable benefit to the distinguished Missouri Senator.

Luck! Go to! Suppose General Cockrell had defeated Hardin? The chances are a thousand to one that he never would have had the opportunity to prevent innumerable raids upon the Federal Treasury, thereby saving untold millions to the people. He should have hunted up the delegate who cast that fractional vote against him and dressed him in purple and fine linen as long as he lived. Some people say that Stonewall Jackson was the one Puritan soldier of our Civil War. They speak without knowledge. Stonewall was a Puritan indeed, worthy to have charged with might Oliver at Naseby, Worcester, Marston Moor and Dunbar, shouting, "God with us!" but so was Francis Marion Cockrell. He fought and prayed and prayed and fought, and it remains to this day a mooted question whether he fought more than he prayed or prayed more than he fought. If Jackson was the superintendent of a Sunday-school at Lexington, Virginia, Cockrell was engaged in the same way at Warrensburg, Missouri. He started in as a private in April, 1861; he surrendered as a brigadier during the very last days of the war. He was a volunteer without military training and that fact, ex necessitate, deprived him of any particular favor in the Confederate War Department, where the delusion prevailed that no man could be a great soldier unless he had graduated from West Point, which delusion seems to have prevailed also in the Federal war office. Nevertheless, events appear to indicate that even with this handicap, had the war lasted four years longer, General Cockrell would have risen to the highest command.

He fought! That made his soldiers love him and that is one thing which made the people of Missouri love him. He was just about as popular with the ex-Union soldiers among his constituents as with those who followed the stars and bars.

Gen. Cockrell, being a volunteer, evolved some original theories on war which are calculated to stun the typical martinets. For instance, after the first battle in which he fought, green as he was in things martial, he would never permit an army engineer to select his line of battle for him. He said that as the duty of defending the line devolved on him, he knew

better than any engineer what was a defensible line and what was not. This may have seemed presumptuous in a raw recruit, but his military history furnished his justification.

Another thing that he stuck to to his dying day, and which will give the souls of the professionals a rude shock, is that the most effective weapon with which infantry can be armed is a double-barreled shotgun. He claimed that it will discount all the new-fangled rifles ever made. His logic runs as follows, and to a civilian appears absolutely convincing: "One wounded man on the battle-field is ever so much more trouble than so many dead men. The double-barreled shotgun is unequaled as a producer of wounded men; therefore it is the best thing to arm troops with." As a clincher, he stated that in a certain battle in which he was engaged when he was a colonel two companies of his regiment were armed with double-barreled shotguns, the other eight with Enfield rifles, and that when the fighting was over, there were more dead and wounded men in front of the two companies with shotguns than in front of the eight armed with rifles. If seeing is believing, then any rational being not under "the tyranny of preconceived opinions" ought to be convinced by General Cockrell's reasoning.

I have several times told Gen. Cockrell's theory as to the value of shotguns. People thought it was the vagary of an old fogy. This was invariably the view of Regular Army Officers. To all doubters, I cheerfully commend the following excerpts which vindicate Cockrell's theory, taken from a long article by Edward C. Crossman, a high authority, in *The Scientific American* of February 2, 1918:

> It is the intention of the Aviation Section of the Signal Corps to give the candidates for flying as much practice as possible with shotgun, rifle and machine gun.
>
> At short range—which means at one hundred yards or less—the shotgun with buckshot or the largest sized pellets just under this designation is a more potent weapon than the machine gun. Lacking range and penetration and accuracy because of the spread of its pellets, at any serious range, the shotgun, preferably the automatic shotgun, covers more territory at fifty yards or seventy-five yards than any machine gun, and each discharge throws a cloud of round bullets instead of the highly concentrated, narrow

stream of the machine gun. Contrary to common impression, the machine gun is not an all-pervading sort of a weapon. I stood behind one firing at two man-figure targets at one hundred and fifty yards. The gun fired two clips of sixty shots for the total, without touching either figure and the figures were handily situated on a hillside, which marked by the dust puff each shot.

At shorter range the tendency to miss clean with the machine gun is still more marked. Here one bullet fairly follows on the heels of the other, the huge dispersion of the machine gun at longer range, caused by the vibration of the weapon is merely the infantry rifle; if the first shot of the burst misses, the next score will also likely miss, until the alignment of the gun be changed by its recoil or by the movement of the plane.

It is this buckshot that will be the logical load for the shotguns of the American aviators. It is not a new man-killing arrangement. For years the sawed-off shotgun has been the favorite weapon of the American really out gunning for the other fellow or expecting the other fellows to come a-gunning for him. The sawed off part of the contract is merely to get rid of the chocked portion of the barrel at the muzzle, and so let it handle buckshot better, and to make the gun shorter and easier to swing. At revolver ranges, no more fearful weapon was ever put into the hands of man. It is far more accurate than the revolver, while its dozen or so round bullets make hitting nearly sure with any sort of pointing.

Sentries of our army have been for years armed with riot guns for certain guard duty—a riot gun being merely a repeating or automatic shotgun shooting buckshot. Express messengers and guards of other sorts of treasure, pin their faith to the short shotgun, which is on the brackets, and close to hand.

For months, gentlemen interested in gunnery have argued the desirability of the use of the automatic shotgun for breaking up charges, because of the greater number of missiles thrown and the rapidity of fire; and reports are that these guns were used, experimentally, at least, in some of the trenches.

From the Allied standpoint, however, the gun was not of much use, because the Allies were on the offensive, and this called for rifle and bayonet.

It will be remembered that Gen. Pershing had twenty thousand sawed off shotguns sent to him, and that the Germans solemnly and vehelmently protested against their use as being

inhuman and contrary to the rules of civilized warfare. I wish Gen. Cockrell could have lived to see his condemned theory thus vindicated.

When. Gen. Cockrell came out of the army he evidently had an idea that he might some day be a candidate for office. So he had a copy made of the roster of his brigade and carried it around with him when he was campaigning. When he and Vest, Hardin and Colman were running for Governor in 1874, toward the end of the race Vest went home and somebody asked him how he was getting along. "Oh, hell!" replied the eloquent but irascible Vest, "I am doing no good.. It seems to me that half the Confederate Army must have served in Cockrell's brigade."

When the war closed Vest returned to Missouri from the Confederate Senate, and Cockrell from the Confederate Army, locating in two great, rich, adjoining counties. Vest went into partnership with John F. Philips, a Union colonel, while Gen. Cockrell formed a partnership with Thomas T. Crittenden, another Union colonel. For forty years those two political law firms whipsawed and dominated the politics of the State. Missouri was full of Union and Confederate soldiers. When a rich political plum was about ripe Vest or Cockrell would gobble it if the time seemed propitious for a Confederate. When the Union element demanded an inning the prize went to Philips or Crittenden. Thus Cockrell was United States Senator for three decades; Interstate and Foreign Commerce Commissioner for six years, as well as civilian member of the Board of Ordnance; and Vest was Senator for twenty-four years. Philips went to Congress, became state supreme judge and United States district judge, while Crittenden was Attorney General and Governor of Missouri, Consul-General to Mexico and Register in Bankruptcy. Cockrell and Vest served in the Senate side by side for twenty-four years. No state ever had a better senatorial team. Both were great Senators, very unlike. Vest was one of the crack orators of his generation, while Cockrell was one of the most indefatigable workers that ever lived. The lordly Roscoe Conkling once stated in the Senate that he was willing to accept as correct

any conclusion of Senator Cockrell on any subject which he had investigated.

I asked one of Cockrell's men the secret of his success and growth as a soldier. His reply was that when not drilling his men or on the march or in battle, while other officers were fussing and fuming and squabbling about rank and grades, Cockrell spent his time flat on his belly in his tent studying Hardee's Tactics.

Cockrell did not set up as a humorist, and yet he said one thing over which his soldiers made merry as long as the war lasted, and recall it with glee even yet when in reminiscent mood. At the siege of Vicksburg the Union engineers ran a mine under a portion of the Confederate breastworks manned by Cockrell's brigade. When it was exploded it killed and crippled many of his men, but did no damage to the Second Missouri—"Cockrell's Own." So he leaped on a parapet, and in trumpet tones which could be heard above the shrieks of the wounded and the roar of the guns he shouted: "Come on, old Second Missouri! You have died once and can die again!" It did come on with its usual gallantry, and drove back the Federals, who were pouring through the gap the explosion of the mine had made in the Confederate breastworks.

Ever after, when things were not going well, his men cheered themselves up and made the piny woods ring by bellowing: "Come on, old Second Missouri! You have died once and can die again."

Both Vest and Cockrell were effective stump speakers. Vest was witty, humorous, sarcastic, eloquent and lathered the Republicans up with vitriol so as to infuriate them almost to apoplexy. He aroused intense enthusiasm among Democrats and was of great service to his party in Democratic strongholds. Cockrell confined himself to historic facts and made a specialty of arithmetic. As nobody can take offense at excerpts from the multiplication table or to examples in addition and subtraction, he was a first-class speaker to send into close or Republican counties. He was what I once denominated him, "Missouri's great Arithmetical Orator," and he

was for years proudly acclaimed "Missouri's Grand Old Man," which he undoubtedly was.

So far as I ever heard, Cockrell was the only man ever defeated by the fraction of one vote for the nomination for a high office, but many important events have hinged on one vote. The way the fractional vote happened in Cockrell's contest was this: In a Democratic state convention in Missouri—before the primary election supplanted the convention—each county had one delegate for each five hundred Democratic votes or a major fraction thereof. In that early day some of the sparsely populated counties had only one delegate. Sometimes a county with only one vote would send two delegates entitled to one-half a vote each. Another would send three with one-third of a vote each. Strange to relate, the counties with only one vote were prone to split far more than the counties with several votes. So when a county with one vote and two delegates got their work in the common denominator was six, resulting in a fraction of one-sixth. The result of one vote properly planted is sometimes far-reaching and amazing. In his first election to the United States Senate, as heretofore related, Col. Thomas Hart Benton triumphed by only one majority.

Thomas Jefferson was elected President over Aaron Burr by one majority in the House of Representatives, each state having one vote.

Andrew Jackson was elected Major-General of the Tennessee Militia over Gen. John Sevier—an event which gave him his golden opportunity before New Orleans, and which changed the history of the Republic for a generation, perhaps forever.

Edward Everett, after four elections as Governor of Massachusetts—a gubernatorial term in the Old Bay State was one year—was defeated for a fifth term by Marcus Morton, Democrat, by one majority, which not only ended him as Governor, but eliminated him as a Whig presidential possibility.

Andrew Johnson escaped conviction in his impeachment trial by only one vote.

Louis the Sixteenth was sent to the guillotine by only one majority in the French National Assembly.

Gen. Rutherford B. Hayes was declared President by the eight to seven commission by one majority in the Commission, which declared that he had one majority in the Electoral College.

The Act of Settlement by which the Hanoverians secured the Crown and mounted the throne of Great Britain and Ireland—one of the most complicated acts upon the statute books—passed the House of Commons by one majority, ninety-six to ninety-five.

The present French Republic was established by one majority in the Assembly.

The resolution declaring war against Great Britain in 1812 passed the Senate by one majority.

The celebrated Walker Tariff bill got through the Senate by one majority, the Vice-President, George M. Dallas, casting the decisive vote.

At the famous and memorable Council of Nice some books of the Bible were declared canonical by one majority, and others shunted into the Apocrypha by one majority.

I could cite other instances of what one vote will accomplish, but these must suffice. They may well set people to studying as to how slender is the thread on which stupendous events hang—sometimes.

"THE BALD EAGLE OF THE OZARKS."

Missouri has always held a high position in the House. For example, when I first entered Congress the four strongest average delegations were from Missouri, Maine, Iowa and Texas—Missouri holding five big Chiarmanships, also with members on Ways and Means and Appropriations. While Missouri has sent many strong men to the House, Richard Parks Bland is the most famous. He built up an international reputation by persistently advocating the coinage of the silver dollar. He is known the wide world over as "Silver Dick" Bland.

What manner of man was Richard Parks Bland who cut such a wide swath in public life? He was no unknown knight riding into the presidential lists. Having held no position higher than a Representative in Congress, he was and forever will be a great historical character, a popular hero. The annals of the Republic cannot be truthfully and adequately written without honorable and elaborate mention of the great Missourian. Peace hath her victories no less renowned than war, and Bland's twenty-five years' fight for bimetallism has had more effect, for weal or woe, on human affairs than half a dozen such performances as the Mexican War, which made two Presidents, Taylor and Pierce, and one other presidential candidate, Winfield Scott.

But it is said that Bland was a man of only one idea. That's not true. It is a fact, however, that the fabric of his fame rests almost entirely on his advocacy of bimetallism, but he was thoroughly grounded in every article of the Democratic creed.

Bland was a modest man. He was very much disposed to hide his light under a bushel. He did right because he loved the right, and left the consequences to take care of themselves. I don't believe he ever seriously thought of being President till the people pressed the candidacy on him. In 1894, when I nominated him for President, in every speech I made I think he regarded me as a sort of unruly boy who loved him with more zeal than discretion.

He pulled no wires and was artless as a child.

He came near being the hero of the McKinley bill debate. Not one person in a hundred thousand knows that but it is the plain, unvarnished truth nevertheless. It happened this way. Somehow on the last day of the debate Bland secured recognition, and astonished the tariff barons, their adherents in Congress, and everybody else by offering an amendment in these words: "Whenever American farm products are exchanged for foreign articles, these shall come in free, or wherever American farm products are sold and the proceeds invested in foreign articles, these shall come in free." By so doing "the Bald Eagle of the Ozarks" carried consternation

into the ranks of the high protectionists. There was hurrying to and fro just then, sure as a gun's made of iron. Bland's plan was reciprocity which reciprocates. It made the cold chills run up and down the spinal columns of all the Republican members. It made the cold sweat ooze out on Major McKinley's Napoleonic brow. Debate was to close, and voting to begin at 3 p. m., but such was the shock and fear that Mr. Chairman McKinley had the time extended three hours, and, after all, they beat Bland's proposition only three votes.

Still, though Bland on that occasion came near snatching victory from the jaws of defeat in that tariff fight, he was called a man of one idea.

Anyone looking at Mr. Bland's serious face and observing his sedate bearing would never have dreamed that there was a day when he could trip the light fantastic toe with the best of them; but Col. Jeff Seay, who of late years has been both judge of the Supreme Court and Governor of Oklahoma, could a tale unfold on that subject which would make the natives stare if he would dive down into his memories of half a century ago. In 1870 he was pitted against "Silver Dick" for Congress in the first race Bland ever made for Congress. Colonel-Judge-Governor Jeff is as crafty as Talleyrand, and shortly before the election he privately confided to his friends that he had "Dick dead to rights, as all the Bohemian vote had been captured." But Colonel Seay was just then counting his chickens before they were hatched. Indeed, they never were hatched. Somehow Mr. Bland heard that the Bohemians were going to have a picnic in some place far from the railroad and telegraph on the Saturday before the election. So he hied himself thither, made them a speech before noon, participated in their basket dinner, and when

Music arose with its voluptuous swell
And eyes looked love to eyes which spake again

the young statesman, then in the flower of his years and still a bachelor, danced with all the pretty girls in a way that won all hearts; and what was a good deal more to the purpose,

won all the votes for miles around. That dance of victory sent Bland to Congress to enter upon that long career which filled the world with his acclaim and left Col. Andrew Jefferson Seay at home with a bad case of mulligrubs.

MISSOURI CENTENNIAL EXPOSITION

By Donald D. Davis.

Missouri is going to have a state-wide Centennial Celebration worthy of the name.

With the signing of the Centennial Exposition bill by Governor Hyde, and the appointment of a Commission of twenty-one members to supervise the Exposition, the machinery has been officially set in motion. The bill passed by the Fifty-First Assembly carries an appropriation of $150,000 to defray the expenses of the Celebration.

The dates will be August 8-20, 1921. The State Fair Grounds at Sedalia were chosen as the site. Plans for a stupendous program are already under way.

Governor Arthur M. Hyde was elected President of the Centennial Commission at the first meeting of the body held in Jefferson City, April 21. Lieutenant-Governor Hiram Lloyd was elected Vice-President, and appointed by Governor Hyde as chairman of an executive committee of seven members which will have direct charge of the Exposition, acting for the commission as a whole. Representative F. H. Hopkins of Westboro was chosen secretary of the Commission and Representative S. L. Highleyman, of Sedalia, treasurer. The members of the Commission are:

Governor Arthur M. Hyde, Lieutenant-Governor Hiram J. Lloyd, Attorney-General Jesse W. Barrett, State Auditor Geo. E. Hackmann, State Treasurer L. D. Thompson, Secretary of State Chas. U. Becker, Senators R. F. Ralph, W. T. Robinson, W. M. Bowker, J. D. Hostetter, Representatives S. F. O'Fallon, F. H. Hopkins, W. R. Lay, Wilson Cramer, S. L. Highleyman, J. W. Head, Oak Hunter, Chas. L. Ferguson, D. E. Killam, Hon. A. T. Nelson (President State Board of Agriculture) and Hon. A. C. Dingle (President State Fair Board).

The executive committee, appointed by Governor Hyde, is as follows:

Lieut.-Gov. Hiram J. Lloyd, Senator W. I. Robinson, Senator W. M. Bowker, Representative W. R. Lay, Representative Oak Hunter, Representative Charles L. Ferguson and Hon. A. T. Nelson, President of the State Board of Agriculture. This committee will supervise the general arrangements for the Exposition.

The executive committee elected E. G. Bylander, Secretary of the State Fair, General Manager of the Centennial Exposition. Mr. Bylander will direct the united efforts of the Centennial Commission, the State Fair Board and the Sedalia Chamber of Commerce in making the event a success.

A stupendous program is planned for Centennial Week, August 8-13. A pageant, to be called "The Pageant of Missouri," will be produced and given nightly on an open-air stage in front of the amphitheater. It will depict accurately the development of Missouri during the last hundred years; will require a cast of approximately 5,000 performers; and rival the famous St. Louis Pageant of 1914 in the superb beauty of its scenic setting, costumes, music and dancing.

Historical relics and museum collections will be assembled from all parts of the State, and placed on exhibition in one of the principal buildings. This work will be supervised by competent authorities, working in collaboration with local and county societies. The latter are urged to formulate plans at once for the preparation of exhibits.

A big feature of the Centennial will be the Homecoming of former Missourians. Plans for this event have been made by the Sedalia Chamber of Commerce, which has raised $25,000 for publicity purposes, and undertaken to invite Missourians everywhere to "come home" for the Centennial. Names and addresses of 30,000 former Missourians have been secured. They include former residents in every state in the Union, and five foreign countries. Thousands of them will come back to "Old Mizzou" for the Exposition.

The Sedalia Chamber of Commerce has also undertaken the task of adequately housing and feeding the Centennial

FIRST MEETING OF MISSOURI CENTENNIAL COMMISSION

Governor Hyde, president of the Commission, is seated at the table in the center. Back row, left to right: Senator W. M. Bowker, Rep. Chas. L. Ferguson, Rep. J. W. Head, Rep. W. R. Lay, State Auditor George E. Hackmann, State Treasurer L. D. Thompson, Rep. D. E. Killam, Rep. Oak Hunter. Front Row, left to right: Rep. F. H. Hopkins, Rep. S. L. Highleyman, Governor Hyde, Lieut. Governor Hiram Lloyd, chairman of the Commission's executive committee, A. T. Nelson, president of the State Board of Agriculture, and Secretary of State Charles U. Becker. The meeting was held at the State capitol in Jefferson City, April 21, 1921.

(Photo by Carl Deeg,

crowds. This will be no small task, if the experience of the Illinois, Ohio, Indiana and Maine Centennials is any guide. The crowds will come in thousands; and to house them Sedalians will throw open every private residence in the city, enlarge present hotel and restaurant facilities, install cots in schools and public buildings, and outfit a free camp ground to accommodate 20,000 people.

Wednesday, August 10, will be one of the big days of the Celebration. President Harding has been invited to attend on that date; and invitations will be sent to other high government officials and the governors of other states. Missouri was admitted to the Union on August 10, 1821. "Missouri Day" at the Centennial will celebrate the 100th anniversary of the event.

In commemoration of the occasion the United States mint will coin 250,000 Centennial Half-dollars bearing a special Centennial design. These coins are to be given out at the Exposition gates, as change for money paid for tickets.

A reunion of descendants of Missouri governors will provide an enjoyable and unique feature on "Descendants' Day." A special program will be given in their honor. All descendants of Missouri governors are asked to communicate with the Exposition management in regard to the event.

The second week of the Centennial, August 14-20, will be State Fair week. All of the usual attractions of the State Fair will be on the program both weeks, including the Fair's vast agricultural, horticultural, floricultural and live stock exhibits. Judging will be delayed until the second week, however, according to the present plan. A great machinery and tractor show has been planned, and there will be a plowing demonstration with fifty or sixty makes of tractors in the field at one time. This will be a strange sight, indeed, contrasted with the crude agricultural methods of a century ago.

Suggestions for the conduct of the Centennial Exposition are welcomed by those having the event in charge. The event is intended to celebrate appropriately Missouri's century of statehood; and the management hopes to make it a big

birthday party in which the whole Missouri "family" will take an interest.

Various local celebrations already held over the State and plans now under way for other local celebrations indicate a strong interest in the Centennial, and a willingness among Missourians to co-operate in making the Official State-wide Celebration in Sedalia a tremendous success.

The whole United States will attend—people from every state in the Union—eager to see the wonders of Missouri's Centennial Exposition, and to study the achievements, resources and possibilities of our State.

They will find a wonder show assembled on the State Fair Grounds at Sedalia.

A GUIDE TO THE STUDY OF LOCAL HISTORY AND THE COLLECTION OF HISTORICAL MATERIAL

By Jonas Viles and J. E. Wrench.

Now that Missouri is well into her second year of Centennial celebrations, with thousands of her citizens awake, as never before, to the interest and value of her history, it is time to consider seriously the problem of how to turn to some permanent and worthwhile achievement all this civic enthusiasm. The local and state-wide programs and pageants are eminently worthwhile in themselves, stimulating and expressing, as they do, justifiable local self-respect and community action, but after all in these respects they are hardly more than interesting episodes. A centennial after all should be a rather serious and sobering occasion, a time of searching of spirit, of renewed inspiration and determination to carry on worthily the traditions of the past. Missouri is celebrating something more than the mere lapse of one hundred years of statehood; she is commemorating the toil, struggle and self-sacrifice of three or four generations which made her what she is today, and make possible what she hopes to be tomorrow. Missouri history and an interest, widespread and popular, in Missouri history is obviously and inevitably the basic thing of all. We cannot hope to build straight and true the new and greater Missouri of our dreams unless we know and understand the foundations laid by the achievements and ideals of our fathers.

And now appears a paradox. There is no people in this land who have a sturdier pride in the history of their state than Missourians—and few who know less about the history of their state. This is not surprising; it is indeed inevitable, for any adequate history of Missouri is still to be written. And more than that, at present no adequate history can be written.

For History to-day no longer means a mere chronicle of wars or elections, the brief hour of prominence of the leaders, or the curious and unusual, but rather the story of the people. If one will think of how he would describe the really important values, the advantages and disadvantages of his town or county, or better still, what he would want to know about a new locality to which he was thinking of moving, he will have some idea of what interests the modern historian. Where the people came from and what brought them to Missouri, how they lived and how they made their living, what they thought and what they believed in, and then, and not until all these are understood, how these economic and social problems and their solution influenced the political thinking of Missourians—all these are what must be found in any real history of Missouri.

Such a history is absolutely beyond the unaided efforts of any one man, tho not because he must know fairly intimately the story of every family, community or county for which there are records. A fairly complete story of one family for several generations would give a large part of the knowledge necessary for a given community or even for many communities that faced the same problems and were settled by the same types of pioneers. A real history of one county would do more than half the work for ten or twenty others. History of this sort is built up largely from the careful study of type phenomena, together with variations from the type, and from statistics of various sorts. For example, a set of careful household and farmer account books from slave owners from not more than a half a dozen counties would throw a perfect flood of light on slavery in Missouri as a going concern. Such records would go far toward answering the very fundamental question of whether slavery was really profitable and whether it had any future in Missouri, Civil War or no Civil War. Similar farm accounts from 1876 to 1896 are an indispensable background to the Greenback and Populist movements.

The real obstacle to the writing of a history worthy of Missouri and her people is that as yet the work of collecting, safeguarding and classifying the material has hardly begun.

The historian must discover for himself where this material is to be found, then secure access to it, often after wearisome delays, determine its value, and sort out what he can use after a first hand examination of the whole mass. Imagine a man trying to make out an annual report or balance for the whole Woolworth chain or the United Cigar stores if he had no idea where the branches were located, no introduction to the managers and access only to the daily records of sales. Obviously life is too short. The first and indispensable task in the writing or the study of the history of the people of Missouri is the collection and arrangement of the raw material.

Already we have waited far too long. Historical material has seldom any obvious money value; the greater part of it has no part in the present day problems of this generation of living and making a living. For a time, a generation perhaps, family pride or filial affection ensures its preservation; then the family moves and the papers go into the fire. Apart from deliberate destruction such material is particularly perishable. A leaky roof or a single energetic family of rats will ruin in a short time the accumulations of a hundred years. Even when the family fully realizes the value of the records, and guards them carefully, they go when the house burns. The papers of three Missouri Senators, Atchison, Benton and Blair, have all been destroyed or seriously damaged in this way, and a great mass of material which existed only in the memories of individuals has gone beyond recall. For the history of the last thirty or forty years this material which exists only in the memories of the older men and women, which is not written down, is daily disappearing with the death of these individuals.

The collection and preservation of these records of the past, to make possible the writing of the history of the people, would be a most appropriate and worthwhile permanent result of the interest in Missouri history aroused by the centennial celebrations. It is in fact more than something appropriate and worthwhile, it is a positive duty laid on the present generation. And, unlike most new duties imposed on this already overburdened generation, this work has a pleasure and fascination all its own. The collecting instinct is strong in

most of us; the material sought for deals with our own families and homes and home communities. There is work for everyone, much of it requiring no special technical training. The value of the results justify the demand on even the busiest man or woman. And truly the laborers are as yet pitiably few and for so much of this material the night is already upon us.

The real purpose of this article, however, is not so much to make converts to this project, to sell Missouri History to Missourians, as to present definite suggestions; a practical working scheme to guide and assist all who see their duty and are anxious to get to work. The central organization for such activities is already at hand in the State Historical Society of Missouri, with its great collection lodged in a fire-proof building, its trained staff and its membership of some two thousand—the largest membership of any historical society west of Pennsylvania. This Society belongs to the people of Missouri; it is supported by State appropriations and its collections are the property of the State. *The Missouri Historical Review*, its quarterly publication, sent free to every member, is publishing important contributions to the history of the State and is the clearing house for the exchange of information about all the historical activities. The Society thru its Secretary, Mr. Floyd C. Shoemaker, of Columbia, is ready and anxious to aid, co-operate with, advise or direct any individual or group of individuals interested in Missouri History.

Common action of a group, some sort of local organization, is in every way to be preferred to individual effort, not only because of the division of labor, but because the material is so largely community material and the objective is to preserve the history of the community. The organization of a local historical society, county or city, is the first step. The problem of forming an organization is a familiar one to everyone; yet such an historical society is somewhat unique among the many organizations already in existence. Unlike most of them it is not founded on any common, economic, political or social interest. It has no axe to grind, no special class or group to serve. In it all meet on the common footing to accomplish

purely unselfish ends. It may well happen that thru the vicissitudes of family fortunes the most important contribution of material may be made by the humblest member. Such a local society might well be such a stimulus to community spirit that its indirect effects on the intellectual and spiritual life would in itself justify its existence.

But, because there are not the usual material interests to build on, the problem of getting started, of finding the men and women who are interested enough to come to the first meeting, perfect a preliminary organization and conduct the campaign for members does present a real problem. There are members of the State Historical Society in practically every county and city. Mr. Shoemaker will gladly furnish a list of these to any responsible person interested in our problem. In many cases Mr. Shoemaker himself, on his field trips, can visit the community after the preliminary work is accomplished and give his personal aid and advice. Experience has shown that usually the busiest men in the community are the ones most quickly interested. In particular, the teachers, the lawyers, the bankers and the newspaper men are promising material. The local woman's club commonly hails with enthusiasm this opportunity for service. Once started, the society soon draws to itself the men and women of vision and initiative in any progressive community.

Local conditions naturally modify the procedure. In an agricultural county, with no considerable town, the most effective method may be for a small group in each subdivision to begin a very informal organization which will send a delegation to the county seat to organize the county society. In other cases better results can be secured, no doubt, by beginning with the central organization and appointing committees to arouse the local interests. In a few counties there is room for both county and city societies, separate in organization, but co-operating and avoiding duplication of effort.

In every case the State Historical Society is ready and eager to assist in every way within its power, not only in the problems of organization, but even more in the problem of what to do after the local society is fairly launched. The State

Society hopes and expects to be the means of correlating and coordinating this local activity thruout the State, so that one county will know what the others are doing, learn from their experiences and inform them of its successes. Beginning in the April *Review* there will be a special section devoted to local historical societies and their problems. The *Review* should be in the hands of every local member; in other words, every member of the local society should be a member of the State Society also. The simplest plan would be to include the annual dues of the State Society—one dollar, which includes the subscription to the *Review*—in the dues of the local society, so that every member of the latter becomes automatically a member of the former. Experience has shown over and over again that except in the largest cities the local society that is entirely isolated all too often has a rather precarious existence. After the first enthusiasm wanes and a few leaders die or move away such a society commonly becomes moribund and eventually dies. But if the local members belong also to a permanent state-supported organization and thru its co-operation feel that they are sharing in a state-wide movement then there seems a reasonable guarantee of permanency.

Now all this discussion of local historical societies and their possibilities is not mere theorizing or dreaming; the movement for such organization is already well under way and bearing very substantial fruit. The Missouri Valley Historical Society in Kansas City has had for years a live organization. Its library and museum collections in the Allen Library are valuable. The Adair County Historical Society in Kirksville has a membership of about 200. It has a valuable library and museum in the State Teachers College building. The Buchanan County Historical Society in St. Joseph was organized in November, 1920, with 175, most of whom are also members of the State Society. It has had promised it some exceptionally valuable collections, to be donated as soon as it has a fireproof building. Plans are now under consideration for such a structure. The Missouri Baptist Historical Society in Liberty has a noteworthy collection of religious records and has published some valuable works on Missouri Baptist

biography. The Johnson County Historical Society in Warrensburg was organized in 1920 with 100 members. It is composed of local organizations, each of which has a representation on the executive committee. Membership is dual in both the State and County Societies. The Bates County Historical Society in Butler was recently organized under the dual membership plan. The Pettis County Historical Society will probably be organized before this May as well as the Livingston County Historical Society in Chillicothe. The Clark County Historical Society in Kahoka was organized in 1920 and is making plans for preserving the local records of its county.

Let us suppose then that your county society is organized with an enthusiastic membership and active, earnest officers. Just what can it collect and what shall it do with its collections? Professor J. E. Wrench has prepared the following very definite suggestions of just what material is of most value which is represented to some degree in every community. No society, it is hardly necessary to point out, will attempt the whole program at first, or perhaps ever, but every member will find something somewhere in the list that will set him to work at once.

The amateur historian very often finds himself unable to get his hands upon the material which he needs to make his studies lifelike and vivid. Quite as often the material lies almost under his hand if he but knew how to grasp it. It is with the idea of suggesting the most valuable sources and problems connected with the study of local history that the following list is presented. It neither attempts nor claims to be exhaustive but is presented merely for the purpose of stimulating interest and furnishing direction to those who are or may become interested in the local history of their respective communities and the State at large. The divisions are made in subject according to generally recognized categories of ideas merely for the sake of simplifying, if possible, the process of attack. They are also intended to furnish the basis for a division of labor, if the investigations are taken up

by a group, or to furnish logical groups for those who wish to attack the problem singly.

In the first section is included those things connected with individuals or families. That this sort of work attracts nearly every one is shown by the great popularity of genealogical study. The suggestions given here are for the purpose of indicating how these studies may be broadened in order to become of historical value.

A. PRIVATE.

(The compiler wishes to express his obligation to Prof. C. H. McClure of the State Teachers' College of Warrensburg for much of the material in this section.)

1. FACTS TO BE ESTABLISHED.

Trace ancestry back to Thirteen Colonies or to a foreign country.

a. Before Settlement in Missouri.
Nationality.
Occupation. Religion or sect. Politics.
Reasons for change of location.
Routes followed.
Location and reasons for settlement.

b. After settlement in Missouri.
Occupation. Religion or sect. Politics.
Public activities: Local, state, national.
Offices held.
Position in community.
Special interest and abilities. Hobbies.

The annual loss of private documents, some of which are of untold historical value, is something enormous. Usually thrown into attics or storerooms, they are often forgotten and disappear. They should be investigated carefully and if they contain anything of value should be preserved in a fireproof place. As many of these documents are of a very private character and their owners do not wish to part with them, an account of them and some information as to what they contain should be kept on file in the local historical society's office or the local library and a copy sent to the Secretary of the State Historical Society at Columbia.

2. DOCUMENTS TO BE COLLECTED OR LISTED.

Letters, especially those to and from public men.
Wills and deeds.
Business documents, especially account books.
Diaries.
Manuscript genealogies and local histories.
Newspapers, especially files of local and state origin.
Pamphlets, especially those locally or state printed.
Books, especially by Missouri authors.

The establishment of a little museum is one of the best ways of getting many people interested in the history of the community. Nearly every one collects something and much of this material can be made of use. In connection with the school or library a museum becomes a means of vivifying the study of history.

3. RELICS TO BE COLLECTED OR LISTED.

Heirlooms, including family Bibles.
Furniture, including bedquilts, table linen, crockery.
(Note if possible the source of manufacture.)
Tools and machinery.
Portraits and photographs.

The distinction between public and private facts can not always be clearly made. Some of the suggestions under the following heading may be applied to the previous heading and vice versa.

B. PUBLIC.

HISTORICAL GEOGRAPHY.

1. FACTS TO BE ESTABLISHED.

Draw or procure a large map of the county.
Place on it the important physical features, streams, hills, etc.

Considerable parts of the state have already been mapped by the United States Geological Survey on a scale of two miles to the inch.[1] These maps are contoured at twenty-foot inter-

[1]A strip across the State east and west between the northern boundary of Platte county and the southern boundary of Bates, that part of the State west of a line drawn along the eastern boundary of Greene county and south of the first strip and the northeastern corner of the State east of a line drawn

vals. Soil surveys have been made in many of the counties of the State and maps have been published. Maps showing the farms of the county and many other features are published by private concerns and are generally to be found in lawyers' or abstractors' offices.

Indicate the boundaries of the county, townships, municipalities, voting precincts, school districts, road districts, etc.

Locate lines of communication: Roads, railroads—built or proposed, electric lines, stage lines, rural delivery, early trails, fords, bridges, ferries, navigable streams and steamship lines, telephone and telegraph lines.

Locate all town sites laid out, whether now in use or not.

Locate schools, churches, stores, shops, mills, quarries, mines, postoffices, etc.

Collect names of all physical features and localities, including the names of farms and of all previously mentioned things, with the dates of their establishment.

2. Documents to be Collected or Listed.

Old maps, printed or in manuscript, and county atlases.

Road and railroad surveys.

Town plats.

County and town publications—commercial club, etc.—dealing with the geography or description of the locality.

Descriptions of county or locality in books, magazines or newspapers or in manuscript.

Picture postcards and photographs of buildings and scenes.

In the matter of political history it is important to know what ideas lend people to follow certain parties or platforms. The collection of material for politics is a task which can hardly be set down in any brief satisfactory way. The questions to

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through Macon have been mapped in this way. More detailed maps on a scale of one inch to the mile have been prepared by the United States Geological Survey and the Missouri Bureau of Geology and Mines at Rolla for parts of this area, the whole of St. Francois and Ste. Genevieve counties and parts of others. The State Bureau has geological maps of Miller, Morgan, Pike, Jackson, Greene, Moniteau counties on this larger scale and other counties in preparation. U. S. topographical maps may be obtained from the U. S. Geological Survey, Washington, D. C., State Maps and reports from H. A. Buehler, Director of the Bureau of Geology and Mines, Rolla, Mo.

be asked are so infinite in number. Although the suggestions in the following paragraph are quite factual and apply to the machinery of government, the spirit and the motives of the actors should always be borne in mind.

POLITICS.

1. FACTS TO BE ESTABLISHED.
   a. County.
      Name, why so called.
      Date and reasons for establishment.
      Boundaries and changes.
      County seat. When, where and how established. Changes.
      Courthouse, jail, county farm and other county buildings or institutions.
      County projects: Bond issues for improvement, etc.
      County officials: Names since beginning, terms, political party, political career, special interests, etc.
      County courts, including justices of the peace.
      Organization of political parties within county: Beginning, officials, etc. Especially former parties.
      Elections, local, state and national in county.
      Questions at issue, political alignment, changes of party.
   b. Township. Same outline may be followed for this head.
   c. Municipality. Same outline with the addition of public utilities, water and light plants, etc.

2. DOCUMENTS TO BE COLLECTED OR LISTED.

   County records and court records.
   Speeches.
   Political scrapbooks (often of great value).
   Campaign literature, especially that locally printed.
   Local platforms.
   Ballots and pollbooks.
   Party records.

The problems of livelihood and of the gaining of wealth are closely connected with the political and social development of any locality. This makes the following section of this

outline of first-rate importance. A thorough study of the economic development of the community often explains the greater part of its local actions.

ECONOMIC AFFAIRS.

1. FACTS TO BE ASCERTAINED.

Natural resources of county at various periods.
Animal, plants and trees, minerals, soil, water power.
Changes in occupations in county and causes.
Agriculture, including horticulture and stockraising:
Origins, changes, improvements, methods of treatment, marketing, yields, success.
Industrial plants: Lumbering, mining, quarrying, mills and factories.
Origins, location, organization, output, ownership, success or failure.
Commerce: Stores and trading companies, banks and trust companies.
Origins, ownership or control, success, influence, commercial clubs and commercial organizations.
Fairs and expositions.
Transportation.
Early methods: Trails, roads, fords and ferries.
Railroads and electric lines.
Horse and auto stage and freight lines.
Airplane lines.
Prices of all sorts and at all times.

2. DOCUMENTS TO BE COLLECTED OR LISTED.

All sorts of business documents, especially before 1865.
Account books and ledgers, especially for farms.
Auctions-sale posters and bills.

In the social organization and activities of the community are to be found the ideas of the community's character, the test of its ability to progress.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION AND ACTIVITY.

1. FACTS TO BE ESTABLISHED.

a. Education.
Public schools:
Place and date of establishment.
Noted teachers and scholars; subjects taught.

Private schools and academies. Same material.
Parochial schools.
Special schools: For the blind, etc.
Colleges and universities.
Libraries: Public and private. In early days some circulating libraries of great importance.
Date, place, size, contents.

b. Religion.
Churches: Date and place of establishment, buildings, preachers, creeds and schisms, great revivals and camp meetings, organizatio n into groups, relations to other churches, influence, abandoned churches.
Monastic orders.
Religious communities.
Sunday schools.

c. The Press.
Newspapers: Establishment, politics, editors, circulation, control, influence, success, correspondents, authors.

d. The Professions.
Lawyers and doctors, teachers and preachers above.

e. Literary organizations, past and present. Membership and influence.

f. Fraternal organizations.

g. Economic organizations: Grange, farm clubs, labor unions, etc.

h. Social organizations. Character and influence.

i. Social gatherings and amusements.
Types at different periods.
Distinctive ones like logrollings, husking bees, etc.
Old Home celebrations.

j. Institutions for care of defectives and delinquents.
Public institutions.
Private institutions.

k. Population.
Amount, character, changes, causes of fluctuation, etc.

2. Documents to be Collected or Listed.
Catalogues and courses of study of schools and school records.
School books.
Records of churches and communities, sermons, etc.
Newspapers.
All records of organizations of all sorts where possible.
Photographs and pictures of buildings and entertainments.

Only the most outstanding features of the various phases of the political, economic and social life of the community have been listed above. Anyone who reads this will see that many other things might be mentioned for any particular community. What has been done is to suggest at least the lines of effort which may be profitably followed by anyone who has a little time at his or her disposal and who has a liking for keeping alive the memory of the past and of those men and women who have contributed to the development of the communities in which they lived.

Finally as to the disposition of the material, we of the State Historical Society and the Faculty of the State University must speak very frankly. Obviously from a purely selfish standpoint we would be delighted if all this material were deposited in the State Society, but we realize fully what response we would get and deserve to get if our purpose was to create local collecting agencies to swell our central collection. The great bulk of this material is local and belongs in and to the local community. If it is of statewide importance and is local only in the sense that the owner happens to live in a particular county, then its transfer to the State Society might well be considered. Such material for example as the correspondence of a United States Senator would throw light chiefly on the history of the state as a whole; it might well be regarded as in a sense belonging to the State and would find its appropriate resting place in the State collection. But with such exceptions, the advancement of Missouri History, which is the common aim which unites us all, will be best served if these collections remain in the custody of the local society, if one indispensable condition can be fulfilled. As the immediate object of our activities is the preservation of these extremely perishable and often irreplacable records, no local society has the right to retain its collections unless it can place them in a really fireproof depositary and make some adequate provision for their care and preservation. Public library buildings, soldiers memorial buildings, or the Court House, if they are really fireproof, seem the most obvious places of

deposit; a private building is possible, but usually not so desirable.

The State Society does not propose to abandon its own collecting activities. Wherever it finds valuable material in danger of destruction in a community without sufficient interest to secure and preserve it, the State Society will do its best to get this material for its own collection. Individual collectors who do not succeed in forming a local society in most cases will be forced to send their material to Columbia. But the State Society will not compete with a local society which is handling satisfactorily the local material. The ideal situation would be a strong local society in close touch with the State Society thru correspondence and the *Review*, with its collections safely housed and arranged and cared for by some earnest secretary or curator. A general list or description of the material should be prepared and kept up to date, a copy sent to the State Society so that any investigator may know what is available in every county. Such lists or more general accounts based on them will be published from time to time in the *Review*. And finally when much of this preliminary work is done we will have real histories of towns and counties and the final synthesis, an adequate history of the state.

MISSOURIANS IN JAPAN

By S. H. Wainwright.

This year, the hundredth anniversary of the admission of Missouri as a State is to be celebrated. No doubt the growth of a hundred years will be reviewed from many points of view. It is not necessary to go back a century in order to find pioneer conditions. In Lewis County, for example, I myself saw the prairie sod turned on my father's farm. In 1877, my father sold his farm in Lewis County and bought in Newton County, seeking a milder climate. The family made the trip on the train, going by St. Louis. But my brother Charles and myself, both at that time under twenty years of age, crossed the State diagonally from the Northeast to the Southwest corner in a covered wagon. After crossing the Missouri River at Glasgow, we traveled through unfenced prairies and open timberland the remaining part of the journey. I mention these things to show that within the memory of those now living Missouri was a frontier State. On what ground therefore have we reason to look abroad for Missourians overseas? Can a frontier state become a base line in so short a time?

Whatever may be the explanation of the fact, the fact itself is beyond question, that Missourians form not only a considerable proportion of the emigrant population moving westward to such states as Montana, California and Texas, and eastward as well toward our great cities, but they also are to be found among those who have gone overseas, and who have a share in the up-building of civilization in many parts of the earth.

If we seek a reason for this rapid development beyond the State itself, we shall be able to ascribe the growth to at least three causes. First of all is the truth that life by its very nature is expansive, and the higher the grade of life, the greater scope of its activities. The widening influence of

S. H. WAINWRIGHT

Missouri is evidence of the living forces at work in Missouri. The expansion is an expression of the energy of its population and of the potentiality of its natural resources. A second reason to which the world-wide dispersion of the population of Missouri may be ascribed is the character of our immediate forefathers. The present generation of Missourians are children of adventurous pioneers, concerning whom Whitman wrote:

> "Conquering, holding, venturing,
> As we go, the unknown ways,
> Pioneers! Oh, Pioneers!"

If the wilderness of rolling prairies did not check the advance of our fathers in their onward march, why should the wild waves of the restless seas stay the progress of their children lured onward by the call of an expanding civilization? The preceding generation imparted as it were to this generation a momentum toward the "unknown ways." Daniel Boone carried his adventures as far westward as Missouri. But Kit Carson, his nephew, extended the line to the Pacific Coast. Lastly, as the result of our report of the work of Missourians in Japan and of the reasons which lead them so far afield, it will be seen that our institutions of learning have played an important part. The result will no doubt be a surprise to many as it was to us. We had not thought of the institutions of learning, which had risen in the midst of the population, as being organs, the function of which has been to give Missouri a wide range of efficiency in contributing to the general progress of the human race.

The difficulty of giving an account of Missourians in Japan is much greater than we at first thought it would be. There is no way of knowing even the names, much less something of the careers, of all the Missourians who have had a part in the up-building of modern Japan. The account therefore presented here is by no means exhaustive. The names given will be sufficient to show the main truth of this aspect of the history of our State. We shall be glad to contribute a supplementary note, if fuller information is sent to us of names that may have been omitted.

One of the oldest American residents in Japan is Mr. J. McGardiner of the American Protestant Episcopal Mission. Besides Bishop Partridge of Kansas City, who was at one time Bishop of Kyoto, the ancient capital and classical city of Japan, and Mrs. J. Grover Sims of Kobe, we know of no one else, except Mr. Gardiner, representing the American Protestant Episcopal Church. Mr. Gardiner was born at Eleventh and Olive Streets in St. Louis, now the heart of the downtown business section of that city. His father is a well-known man in the United States. He perfected the invention of the Gamewell Fire Alarm system which gives alarm by means of electricity, and also invented the Gardiner Automatic. Mr. Gardiner went out to Japan in 1880 as a teacher under the American Protestant Episcopal Mission, but he has devoted the greater part of his time to architecture. He has been a pioneer in this field and has put up many of the first buildings in the Western style of architecture to be seen in Japan, including mission schools, residences and churches. He was architect of the Rikkyo College and Trinity Cathedral in Tokyo. Mr. Gardiner has brought up a family in Japan. He and Mrs. Gardiner have established a home in Tokyo noted for its American hospitality. The sons and daughters of many prominent families of Japanese have been the beneficiaries of this home where they have learned the proprieties of intercourse with foreigners and have been coached by Mr. and Mrs. Gardiner before going abroad. Mr. Gardiner, as president of the American Peace Society, as a member of the Japan-American Society, and of the Tokyo Club and other organizations, has been variously identified with the public welfare. He has done much to promote friendly relations between the United States and Japan.

The Cumberland Presbyterian Church, before it entered into organic union with other Presbyterian bodies, early established mission work in Japan in which many Missourians had a part. Miss Alice M. Orr, born in Kirksville and educated at the State Normal School there, was the first missionary accepted and sent out by the Woman's Board of Foreign Missions of the Cumberland Presbyterian Church. She

went to Japan in 1881 and occupied an outpost at Wakayama, where she engaged in Evangelistic work. Later she became the wife of Rev. J. W. Laughlin, a Virginian, and took up residence near Chicago.

Mrs. A. M. Drennen, the widow of a Cumberland Presbyterian preacher, went out to Japan about 1882 or 1883 and had charge of the Wilmina Girls' School at Osaka. Later she lived at Ise, where the Ancestral Shrines of the Imperial Family of Japan are located, the most sacred spot in the Empire. Scarcely ten years before she began Christian work at this Mecca of Japan, the public notices were still posted up which had forbidden for two hundred years under penalty of death any countenance of the Christian religion on the part of the Japanese people. Mrs. Drennen did not acquire the Japanese language. An intimacy grew up between her and Oyone Hara who became her interpreter. So close were the East and West brought together in the lives of these two friends that it was said Oyone San discerned the thoughts of Mrs. Drennen before she had translated them into words, when addressing women's meetings and bible classes. Oyone San was a constant companion and was with Mrs. Drennen in Missouri when the latter passed to her reward. Mrs. Drennen snatched from the brands of the burning a little Japanese girl who was about to be sold, after the custom of the country, into a life of shame. She adopted the child and gave her the name of Daisy. This flower grew up unsoiled and was destined to blossom into a life of usefulness among the great. Thanks to Mrs. Drennen's character and guardianship, Daisy's attainments became such that she afterward was invited to be the private interpreter of the wife of an American Ambassador to the Court in Tokyo.

A little later than the time when Mrs. Drennen went to Japan, the Cumberland Presbyterian Board sent out Miss Betty Duffield from Warrensburg. Before going to Japan, Miss Duffield attended the State Normal School at Warrensburg and taught school in Johnson County. She was born in a log cabin, with four rooms, the home of her father in the early days, near Warrensburg. Her grandfather started a

town in Virginia which was called Duffield and her great-grandfather did the same in England. She has a wide circle of friends and relatives in and about Warrensburg and Senator Cockrell was among those who were intimate with the family. After reaching Japan Miss Duffield had charge of the Wilmina Girls' School in Osaka and was later stationed at Wakayama, in the interior near the Kii Channel. Later she became the wife of Professor Frank Muller and lived at Etajima, on the inland sea, where her husband was a teacher in the Imperial Government Naval College. Here the home of the Mullers' was thrown open to hundreds of students and naval officers. They took up residence later in Tokyo, where Professor Muller became the head of the Foreign Language School, the position he occupied until his death two years ago. Missouri hospitality has never had a finer illustration than in the home of Professor and Mrs. Frank Muller. Among persons of high position in Tokyo, Mrs. Muller has made many friends. One of the lessons a girl growing up in Missouri learned was to "put up" peaches and cherries, strawberries and blackberries. There is a semitropical fruit growing in some parts of the Japanese Empire called the daiyusu. Mrs. Muller discovered to the Japanese a use of this fruit they had not known before. So delicious was the marmalade she made from it, members of the Imperial household accepted jars of it prepared by Mrs. Muller and asked if more of it might be had. It would be difficult to enumerate the many good deeds, known and unknown, performed by this distinguished Missouri woman who is widely known and respected both among foreign residents and the Japanese.

Under the Cumberland Presbyterian Mission, Miss Agnes Morgan, born in Watson in Northwest Missouri, went to Japan in 1889 and had charge at one time of the Wilmina Girls' School at Osaka. Later she entered evangelistic work and now lives at Yokkai-Ichi, an interior city of Japan near Ise. At one time, Miss May Morgan, her sister, was with her and taught music in the Wilmina Girls' School. Under the same Mission Board, Rev. J. T. and Mrs. Worley, from near Odessa, went out to Japan in 1891, where they remained

for twelve years. They returned to the United States on account of Mrs. Worley's failing health. Mr. Worley was educated at the State Normal School at Warrensburg and Mrs. Worley was a student at Central Female College at Lexington. Like many other missionaries, they were both children of the manse. After returning to the United States, Mr. Worley conducted a party to the Orient for the study of education. Mr. and Mrs. Clemens from Oak Grove, also Cumberland Presbyterians, were stationed at Kagoshima, on the Island of Kyushïu, the city from which so many Japanese statesmen have come. Mr. Clemens was a teacher in the Government School at that place. The Hail brothers are venerable missionaries in Japan representing the Cumberland Presbyterians. Though not from Missouri, their children born in Japan were sent to the Mississippi Valley College at Marshall.

Presbyterians other than those sent out under the Cumberland branch have gone out from Missouri to Japan. One of the links connecting Missouri to the Japanese Empire is Park College, at Parkville, Missouri. Miss Palmer, for example, was a teacher of mathematics in Park College and afterward became a missionary to Japan. In that country, she was married to Rev. R. P. Gorbold. It would be difficult to find two persons more active in the performance of good deeds than were Mr. and Mrs. Gorbold before his untimely death which took place at their home in Kyoto two or three years ago. Undismayed by the bereavement which had befallen her, Mrs. Gorbold continued to work under the Board of Foreign Missions. Park College is becoming quite well-known among the foreign missionaries in Japan as an institution possessing advantages for children returning from overseas for schooling in the homeland. Dr. and Mrs. H. S. V. Peeke, Rev. and Mrs. K. E. Aurell and Dr. and Mrs. A. Oltman, all of Tokyo, are sending their children to Park College. Another Presbyterian is Mrs. Myers of Kobe, the wife of Dr. H. W. Myers, the daughter of Judge and Mrs. Field, prominent citizens of Lexington, and a missionary under the Southern Presbyterian Board of Missions; also Mrs. Ostrom, the wife of Rev. H. C. Ostrom and her sister, Miss Lillian Curd, both of whom are

from Fulton. These missionaries are also Southern Presbyterians. Mr. Ostrom is stationed at Tokushima on the Island of Shikoku, and is at the present time temporarily visiting colleges in the United States for the Student Volunteer Movement. Wentworth and Harry Myers, the sons of Dr. and Mrs. H. W. Myers, were sent to the Wentworth Military Academy at Lexington. Mrs. Myers is very prominent in church work in Kobe.

The Board of Missions of the Methodist Episcopal Church South has a large representation in Japan from the State of Missouri. Besides the writer of this article and his wife, both of whose parents were early itinerant preachers in the Missouri Conference, mention may be made of Rev. W. A. Davis who was born in Warren County at Marthasville, ten miles from the birthplace of Bishop Marvin by whom not only W. A. Davis, but every child in the Davis family was baptized in infancy. Educated at Central College, W. A. Davis later attended the Biblical Department of Vanderbilt University, and after many years' service in Japan, took a post-graduate course at Union Theological Seminary in New York. After leaving school, he became a member of the Missouri Conference and was appointed at different times to Renick, Prairie Hill, Jameson and Albany. He was married to Miss Ada Forster, a daughter of Professor Forster of Central College. Some years after her death, he was married a second time, this time in Japan, to Miss May Bice, a Southern Methodist missionary from California, whose father and mother were Missourians who had migrated to California from Independence, Missouri. W. A. Davis went to Japan in 1891. For many years he was stationed at Kyoto, the former capital of the Empire. At the present time he is professor of Biblical instruction in the Kwansei Gakuin at Kobe.

Central College at Fayette has been one of the great points of contact between Missouri and Japan. W. A. Davis, W. R. Weakley, S. E. Hager, the four children of S. E. Hager, Blanche, Manson, Samuel and Louise, besides Genta Suzuki Tama Nishikawa, and many other Japanese attended this institution. Blanche and Louise Hager were at first students

of Howard Payne College, as also was Mrs. Nishikawa who came with her husband, when he made a second visit to the United States. It would be well worth while, if the information were available, to make a record of all the Japanese who have attended Missouri institutions of learning, and especially of their achievements after returning to their home country. William Jewell College at Liberty, Missouri, has been linked to Japan through Dr. Kawaguchi, a professor in the Baptist Theological Seminary at Tokyo. Yataro Kobayashi, a son of a wealthy merchant of Tokyo, besides two or three other young Japanese, received a high school education at Palmyra Academy. Quite a number of Japanese students have attended the State University and Washington University, besides other schools in Missouri.

W. R. Weakley, who went to Japan in 1895, is a graduate of Central College. His home was in Lawson. That part of Missouri from which he came is to be credited with other forces than those operating in the lives of men like the James boys and the Fords. There were influences at work productive of a missionary career like that of W. R. Weakley who spent his youth in the neighborhood where the Ford boys grew up. After finishing his course at Central College, W. R. Weakley was admitted to the Missouri Conference and served a number of charges before going to Japan. He and Mrs. Weakley are now stationed in Osaka, the commercial emporium of the Japanese Empire and one of the world's great cities.

Miss Anna Bird Lanius, after some years in Japan as a teacher in the Hiroshima Girls' School, became the wife of Rev. S. A. Stewart. Her father, Rev. J. A. Lanius of Palmyra, is one of the outstanding educators of Missouri. Mrs. Stewart's grandfather on her father's side, as well as her grandfather on her mother's side, were both pioneer preachers of renown. The former, the Rev. Jacob Lanius, is well-known in the annals of early Missouri Methodism. Scarcely less well known is the latter, Rev. Jesse Bird, also an outstanding figure in the early history of the Missouri Methodism. Before going to Japan, Mrs. Stewart was a teacher in Price's

Girls' School in Nashville, Tennessee. She is vice-president of the Missouri Society of Japan.

Miss Mary Gertrude Searcy is another Missourian who is performing a service in Japan. She was born in Mountain Grove, Missouri, and her mother now lives in Columbia. Her father was Rev. B. P. Searcy. At present she is attending Language School in Tokyo. She has come out under the Board of Missions of the Methodist Church Society.

Another daughter of a well-known Missouri preacher is Miss Janet Miller, whose father, Rev. Wesley G. Miller, was a prominent pastor in St. Louis, St. Joseph and elsewhere. Miss Miller is a teacher of violin music in the Hiroshima Girls' School. Outside the school hours, unsparing of time and energy, she devotes herself to old people. Recently she has established a settlement in an Eta village, an eglected class among the Japanese condemned to social servitude. Miss Mabel Whitehead, born in Arcadia, and Miss Manie Towson, trained at the Scarritt Bible and Training School, are both daughters of Methodist preachers and are recent recruits to the Southern Methodist Mission in Japan. Miss Whitehead's father is now residing in Birmingham and is connected with the Alabama Christian Advocate. Miss Towson is the daughter of Rev. W. E. Towson of St. Louis who for many years was a missionary to Japan and who is now again under appointment to that country. Miss Towson's grandfather was General Hatton of the Southern Confederacy who was killed at the Battle of the Seven Pines. Miss Katherine Hatcher, who came to Japan with Miss Whitehead and Miss Towson, though from Georgia, was trained at the Scarritt Bible and Training School in Kansas City and for some time engaged in social settlement work at Kingdom House in St. Louis.

Mr. and Mrs. John Vories of St. Joseph, Missouri, are living at Omi, an interior city on Lake Biwa, with their son, William Vories, who is the founder and head of the Omi Mission. The son was born in Colorado but the father and mother are Missourians. Mr. John Vories is a brother of

Judge Vories, at one time on the supreme bench of the State of Missouri.

Bishop W. F. MacMurry, now a resident of St. Louis, for one year had charge of the missions in the Far East, including Japan, Korea and China. It was quite a coincident that two such well-known Missourians as Bishop W. F. MacMurry and Dean Walter Williams were in Japan about the same time on important missions.

We have mentioned Rev. W. E. Towson, who was formerly a business man in St. Louis, who took the Biblical course at Vanderbilt University and who spent many years under the Southern Methodist Board in Japan. There are others of this Mission from St. Louis. Miss I. M. Worth, for example, was an active worker in St. Paul's Methodist Church, an important congregation in North St. Louis. She went to Japan in 1895, and has trained many Japanese women as "Bible-women," for what would be called deaconess work in the United States. She is now stationed at Oita, an outpost of the Southern Methodist Mission in the Island of Kyushiu. In 1913, Miss Ethel Newcombe, a daughter of a prominent business family in St. Louis, went out from St. James, Missouri, under the same Mission Board and became a teacher of music in the Hiroshima Girls' School. Miss Sadie Cox, now Mrs. Sims, the wife of Professor J. Grover Sims, of the Kwansei Gakuin, Kobe, is from St. Louis. She is a daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Charles A. Cox. Her father has been president of the Merchants Exchange. She was educated at Mary Institute in St. Louis and at the Sommers School at Washington. Though her husband is a member of the Southern Methodist Mission, Mrs. Sims is a member of St. Peter's Episcopal Church and was a volunteer worker at the Epiphany Mission in St. Louis. Many in St. Louis will remember the active and prominent place Miss Charlotte Hess had in connection with the Y. W. C. A. drive for a fund of $450,000. Miss Hess was the spokesman when the Campaign Committee visited the leading men of wealth of that city. Later she became the wife of Professor Roy Smith of the Government Commercial College of Kobe, Japan. Pro-

fessor and Mrs. Smith, under the Southern Methodist Mission Board, devote their full time to work for students in the city of Kobe.

Representing the same Mission are Rev. H. P. and Mrs. Jones, both of whom are Missourians and who now reside at Hiroshima, an interior city of Japan on the inland sea. H. P. Jones, was born at Bronaugh and attended Morrisville College, later completing his studies in the Biblical Department of Vanderbilt University. He entered the Southwest Missouri Conference and served charges at Bunceton and Gilliam. He is now one of the Superintendents of the Mission in Japan, one of the youngest men hitherto appointed to that office. Mrs. Jones' maiden name was Nellie Delancey. She was born at Butler, Missouri. Her father is Divisional Secretary of the Knights and Ladies of Honor. Miss Virginia Garner, while a teacher in Central Female College, Lexington, Missouri, offered herself to the Board of Missions of the Methodist Episcopal Church South for work as a teacher of English literature in the Kwansei Gakuin. Before going out she took the Master of Arts degree at Chicago University. While in Japan, she published an edition of Poe's Tales, and though a woman, was in great demand as a lecturer to audiences of men on such English authors as Shakespeare, Browning and Tennyson. Under this same Mission Board, Rev. William Court, born in St. Louis and educated at Central College and at Vanderbilt University, spent many years in Japan and is now pastor of St. Paul's Methodist Church in St. Louis. While in Japan, he was in charge of Palmore Institute, a flourishing night school founded by the late Dr. W. B. Palmore of St. Louis during his travels in the Orient. From the St. Louis Conference, while pastor at Bonnetiere, J. M. Rollins was sent out under this Mission Board to Japan. He spent a number of years at Osaka and after returning to St. Louis was admitted to the Bar and engaged in the practice of law until his recent death. After returning from Japan, he was elected to the State Senate from St. Louis. Though not under the Mission Board, Frank C. Bowles went out to Japan from Fayette and spent

four years in that country. He graduated from Central College and became the principal of Central Academy at Fayette.

While in Japan he taught in a Government school at Hakodate, a part of the time and the rest of the time at Taihoku in Formosa. At this latter place, he was a member of the faculty in an experiment high school, established at the request and according to the ideals of Dr. I. Nitobe, under the auspices of the Japanese Government. Allusion has been made to the children of S. E. Hager, born in Japan, who have been attending school at Fayette. Mrs. H. P. Jones is now at home, and residing in Kansas City, where their young children are attending school. Other children born overseas and educated in Missouri are D. Todd Wainright and Samuel H. Wainright, Jr., who attended the Palmyra Academy and the Manual Training School of St. Louis, the latter completing his course at Washington University, Columbia University and the New York School of Fine Arts, and is now an art illustrator with studio in New York, while the former is working in the shipbuilding yards in San Francisco Bay, and was one time connected with Gump's Art Store in San Francisco. Elizabeth Agee Wainright, also born in Japan, attended Eugene Field and Dozier Public Schools and Soldan High School in St. Louis and Central Female College at Lexington, and is continuing her studies in New York.

While the leading role has been taken by the Presbyterians and Methodist Mission Boards, other Churches have had their representatives in Japan. Miss M. D. Jesse, a representative of the Baptist Church, is from Columbia, Missouri, and is a niece of President Jesse, formerly head of the State University. Miss Jesse is located at Sendai, in the North of Japan, and is connected with the Shokei Girls' School at that place. Miss Edith Parker, Miss Jewel T. Palmer and Rev. C. F. McCall, representing the Christian Church, are among the Missourians in Japan. Miss Parker was a teacher in Columbia before she went out to Japan. She became a resident of Tokyo, where she made many friends. Miss Palmer was born in Macon, attended the public schools at Columbia, graduated from Christian College in 1914 and took the B. S. degree in the

State University in 1916. Miss Palmer and Miss Parker reside at the same station in Tokyo. Rev. C. F. McCall is from Callaway County and attended school at Canton. He and Mrs. McCall reside at Akita, North of Tokyo, where he has been very successful in evangelistic work.

For many years there has been a steady demand for American teachers of the English language in the Government schools of Japan. The Young Men's Christian Association has rendered valuable help in procuring suitable teachers to meet these demands. Among the teachers who have gone to Japan from different parts of the United States two, besides Mr. Bowles, already mentioned, are from Missouri. Mr. E. J. Allen, from Dade County went out in 1904, after taking the Bachelor of Arts degree in the University of Missouri. He taught English in the high school at Tokuyama, in the Okura Commercial School and in a Buddhist College at Tokyo. Mr. Sol F. Light arrived in Japan in 1908, as a teacher of English. He took the Bachelor of Arts degree at Park College and taught English in Government schools in Atsugi and at Kagoshima. In this connection it may be interesting to note that Dr. Winfield Scott Chaplin, though not a Missourian by birth, established a link of connection between our State and Japan. He was a professor in the Imperial University at Tokyo from 1877 to 1882 and was chancellor of Washington University in St. Louis from 1891 to 1907.

One evening in Tokyo I went, accompanied by my wife, to a distant part of the city in response to hospitality extended to us by Miss Kate V. Johnson, who later, while visiting the United States, passed to her reward. It was a visit that we shall long cherish in our memory. After leaving the tram car, we followed a narrow and winding street into a remote neighborhood district of that great city. A hearty hospitality was extended to us in a quiet little nook in among the thickly settled district where all the houses were Japanese. Here Miss Johnson was living alone, yet not alone, for she had in her home as her ward ten or more orphan children on whom she bestowed a loving care which even a mother could scarcely excel. To provide for these Japanese children was her life

task. The affection they showed for her was as real as it was beautiful. They came into the room, each one answering to the name she had given to her, and sang to us Christian hymns and recited in the English language Miss Johnson had taught them selections from memory. No tourist could have found this bright spot in the remote district of Tokyo. Yet the higher purposes of life among the American people were being made a reality in the lives of these children through the devotion of a woman who was binding East and West together in the bonds of unselfish service. Missouri will be ready enough to lay claim to Miss Johnson in making up the annals of the history of the state. Though the latter part of her life was spent in Indiana, she was born in St. Louis November 5, 1860, and remained there until she was fifteen years of age. In 1886, under the Foreign Christian Missionary Society of Cincinnati, she began work in Akita, Japan. After thirty years of service in that Empire she passed away, leaving behind impressions that will be fruitful of good in the years to come.

It may occur to those who read the above lines that a just proportion of those who have gone overseas to engage in missionary work have not gone out from so great an institution as the University of Missouri. It is gratifying to know that in other directions the State University has made notable contribution to the upbuilding of the world's civilization. A remarkable widening of Missouri influence has been the result of the establishment of the School of Journalism in the State University. The contribution this School has made to practical journalism in Japan is notable. Dr. Walter Williams, the Dean of the School of Journalism, has himself spent several months in Japan rendering assistance in the launching of the Trans-Pacific, an economic magazine. The Japan Advertiser, a daily newspaper published in Tokyo and the foremost journal of its kind in the Far East, has recruited its editorial staff from the Missouri School of Journalism. Those who have gone out from the State University have brought high ideals and modern methods to bear upon their tasks in journalistic work and their endeavors have called forth the highest praise. We believe that it was before the School of Journalism was estab-

lished Mr. Carl Crow, journalist and author, was connected with the Japan Advertiser. Mr. Crow is from Farmington, Missouri, and is well-known in the Far East, through his contributions to current periodicals and through the books he has written. Professor Frank L. Martin, now of the School of Journalism of the University of Missouri, and one time assistant news editor of the Kansas City Star, went out to Japan, accompanied by Mrs. Martin, and during his stay there was news editor of the Japan Advertiser in Tokyo. Mr. Joseph Glenn Babb of Columbia, Missouri, took a Bachelor of Arts degree at the State University in 1914 and Bachelor of Journalism in 1915. He was news editor of the Japan Advertiser in Tokyo when the United States went into the War. He enlisted and went to France as lieutenant in the United States Army. After the War he became acting associate professor of journalism in the University of Missouri and later returned to Japan to resume his work as news editor on the Japan Advertiser. Mr. Ralph H. Turner, from Bartlesville, Oklahoma, a Bachelor of Journalism in the University of Missouri in 1916, became news editor of the Japan Advertiser in Tokyo and correspondent to the United Press. He returned home to enlist and is now with the United Press in New York. Mr. Oscar E. Riley, Bachelor of Science in the University of Missouri in the class of 1911 and a Bachelor of Arts in the class of 1912, was born in Shelbina, Missouri. He joined the editorial staff of the Japan Advertiser, and was accompanied to Japan by Mrs. Riley. He returned to the United States and is now Secretary of the Japan Society in New York. Mr. Harry E. Ridings, a Bachelor of Science in Journalism in the class of 1912 in the University of Missouri, became business manager of the Japan Advertiser, in Tokyo, and is now advertising manager of the Greenlease Motor Company, Kansas City. Mrs. Ridings, who went with him to Japan, is also a Missourian. She was a Miss George and attended the University of Missouri. Mr. Alfonso Johnson was a student of the School of Journalism of the University of Missouri, 1912-1918, and later became business manager of the Japan Advertiser. He is now business manager of The Evening Missourian, Columbia. He and Mrs.

Johnson are both from Chillicothe. She was Miss Dott Walker and taught in the Chillicothe public schools five years and attended the summer school of the University of Missouri. Mr. H. H. Kinyon holds a Bachelor of Arts degree and Bachelor of Science in Journalism from the University of Missouri in the class of 1912. He and Mrs. Kinyon, for merly Miss Mabel Brown, are both from Clinton. Mrs. Kinyon attended Stephens College in Columbia, 1910-12. Mr. Kinyon was formerly on the editorial staff of the Kansas City Star and was secretary of the State University Alumni Association and University Publisher. He and Mrs. Kinyon now reside in Tokyo, and Mr. Kinyon is managing editor of the Trans-Pacific and correspondent for the United Press. Mr. Frank H. King, Bachelor of Journalism in the class of 1917 of the University of Missouri, is from Columbia. He went out to Japan and became news editor of the Japan Advertiser, and later a representative of the Japan Advertiser and of the Associated Press and several American newspapers in Vladivostok. Miss Irene Fisher, from Hannibal, took the degree of Bachelor of Jorunalism in 1919 at the University of Missouri. She was connected with the Hannibal newspapers and later became a member of the editorial staff of the Japan Advertiser in Tokyo. She is now connected with the Near East Relief in the offices at St. Louis.

Vaughn Bryant, B. S. in Journalism in 1911 at the University of Missouri, is advertising manager of the Japan Advertiser. Bryant is from Kansas City. The following are in the news room of the Advertiser: Frank Hedges, B. J. '19, of Springfield; Duke H. Parry, B. J. '20, of Kansas City; Ben G. Kline, B. J. '17, of Savannah; Morris J. Harris, B. J. '21, of Springfield, and James H. McLain, B. J. '21, of Willow Springs.

American business has grown in the course of years and has assumed world proportions. Missourians have their share in the enterprise of upbuilding an overseas commerce. In this field as well, the University of Missouri is to be credited with a useful place. Mr. R. F. Moss, one of the most public-spirited Americans in Japan, occupies a prominent position

in the American Trading Company at Tokyo. His home is near Columbia and he became a civil engineer in the University of Missouri in 1904. In the American Association, in the American Red Cross Society, in the Tokyo Club and in other organizations of Tokyo he is one of the most active and useful members. His sister, Miss Margaret Moss, also attended the University of Missouri, and is with Mr. and Mrs. Moss in Tokyo, and occupies a position with Andrews & George, an American firm in that city. Mr. Alvin J. Accola, also connected with the American Trading Company in Tokyo, and Mrs. Accola are both from Missouri and both attended the University of Missouri. Mr. Accola was reared at Mendon, north of Brunswick. After attending the Mendon High School he took the Bachelor of Arts degree in the University of Missouri in 1915 and graduated as a civil engineer in 1917. Mrs. Accola was Miss Katherine Mize, daughter of Judge Mize of Independence. After attending the high school at Independence and the school at Sweetbriar, Virginia, she took the Bachelor of Arts degree in the University of Missouri in 1915 and Bachelor of Science in Education in 1917. She taught school one year before her marriage. Her grandfather, Roderick Mize, ran a ferry across the Missouri River at Independence in the early days. A touch of romance survives with the granddaughter as may be seen by anyone who visits the Japanese home, now the residence of Mr. and Mrs. Accola in the Japanese residence district of Tokyo. Mr. Montey, born in Albany, is connected with the Reuter News Agency in the city of Tokyo. He left Missouri while quite young though he still cherishes a feeling of attachment for his mother state. Among Americans prominent in Japan are Mr. and Mrs. William E. Schenck, residents of Tokyo. Mrs. Schenck was born in Kansas City and is the daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Moffat. Mr. Moffat, her father, is a broker in Kansas City. Both Mr. and Mrs. Schenck exhibit a fine public spirit and are very active in the community life of Tokyo. Mr. Schenck is manager of the International Corporation, an American firm. Mr. and Mrs. George D. Johnson of Kobe are from St. Louis. Mrs. Johnson was a Miss Wykecoff. Mr. Johnson is instructing engineer in a

Japanese glass company and is also a representative in Japan of the Mississippi Valley Glass Company. Mr. Theo. H. P. Mans, from St. Louis, is the manager in Kobe of a Japanese import and export company. Young McCann, a son of Rev. Z. T. McCann of St. Louis, makes occasional visits to Japan as the representative of a roofing company in St. Louis.

In American official relations with foreign countries Missouri has not been without representation in Japan, both in the diplomatic and consular service. Hon. Carl F. Diechman, born at St. Joseph in 1871 and educated in the public schools in that city, went to St. Louis, where he was engaged in business life until 1899, when he became connected with the Geodetic and Coast Survey. He entered the consular service in 1907 and was appointed to Cuba. Later in 1908 he became consul at Tamsui in Formosa and in 1909 he became consul at Nagasaki in Japan. His home is in South St. Louis. St. Louis is represented in the American Embassy at the present time by two families. Captain Watson is Naval Attache and resided formerly in St. Louis. His wife is a daughter of Benjamin Gratz, president of the Country Club, and one of the foremost citizens of St. Louis, and a man well-known for his philanthropy. Mr. J. F. Abbott, Commercial Attache to the Embassy, and Mrs. Abbott resided in St. Louis. Mr. Abbott occupied a chair in Washington University for many years as professor of the biological sciences.

With so many Missourians in Japan, the formation of the Missouri Society of Japan was but a natural step. S. H. Wainright is president of the Society. Mrs. S. A. Stewart is vice-president; H. H. Kinyon, secretary; R. F. Moss, treasurer. Bishop W. F. McMurry and Dean Walter Williams are honorary members. The membership roll includes the following:

Rev. W. A. Davis, Kobe; J. McD. Gardiner, Tokyo; Miss Mary D. Jesse, Morioka; Alfonso Johnson, Tokyo; Mrs. Johnson; Rev. H. P. Jones, Hiroshima; Mrs. Jones; Frank King, Tokyo; H. H. Kinyon, Tokyo; Mrs. Kinyon; Mrs. Lillian B. Kitashima, Tokyo; Hobart C. Montee, Tokyo; Miss Mary L. Morgan, Hokkaido; R. F. Moss, Tokyo; Miss

Margaret Moss, Tokyo; Miss Jewel Palmer, Tokyo; Miss Edith Parker, Tokyo; Dr. H. V. S. Peeke, Tokyo; John Vories, Tokyo; Dr. S. H. Wainright; Mrs. Wainright; W. R. Weakly, Osaka; W. E. Schenck, Tokyo; Mrs. Schenck; Mrs. J. Grover Sims, Kobe; Mrs. S. A. Stewart, Tokyo; Alvin Accola, Tokyo; Mrs. Accola; Dr. S. E. Hager, Kobe; Miss Ida M. Worth, Oita; Miss Ethel Newcombe, Hiroshima; Rev. C. F. McCall, Akita; J. F. Abbott, Tokyo.

In the fall of 1920 another association of Missourians was also formed—the Japan Alumni Association of the University of Missouri. There were sixteen charter members and their first meeting was held at the Seiyo-ken Cafe in Tokyo, just two days after the Missouri-Kansas Thanksgiving Day football game was held in Columbia, to hear the news of the victory. H. H. Kinyon is president of the Association; Miss Edith Parker is vice-president; Duke N. Parry, secretary; Ben G. Kline, treasurer, and R. F. Moss, president emeritus.

We are quite aware that the record we have attemped to give of Missourians in Japan is very incomplete. We are also convinced that the names given above, though not exhaustive, with their various home connections and the different positions they occupy abroad, will bring to light an aspect of the history of Missouri far greater in scope and deeper in significance than has appeared to anyone who has not given special attention to the subject. Missouri is in the heart of the group of great states forming the Middle West, a section with potential resources, the extent of which it would be difficult to estimate. We are just at the beginning of things so far as our relation is concerned to the outside world. If our ideals, and the churches and institutions of learning which are organs for their expression, continue to dominate the minds of Missouri youths as they enter upon life careers, carrying them far afield into the widening opportunities of many nations, we may feel assured that, though an inland province, Missouri may easily become a world power, imperial not in the might of physical force but through the reign of ideals and by means of faithful, efficient and self-forgetful service.

THE MISSOURI AND MISSISSIPPI RAILROAD DEBT

By E. M. Violette.

INTRODUCTION.

The first efforts at railroad building in Missouri do not constitute an altogether creditable chapter in our history. They resulted in saddling upon the State a very heavy debt which together with the Civil War debt was not liquidated until 1905[1]. The details of this story were worked out some years ago by John W. Million in his excellent book entitled "State Aid to Railways in Missouri."

There is another chapter in the history of railroads in Missouri, even more discreditable than the one pertaining to state aid, which has never been written, and this has to do with the aid given by counties and cities to companies that undertook to construct roads just after the Civil War. When the war closed large sections of the State were without any railroads at all. Only 715 miles of road had been built in Missouri by 1860 and these were decidedly insufficient for the proper development of the resources and industries of the State. Under these circumstances a widespread interest in railroad building developed very rapidly in Missouri after the close of the war, and the authorities in the counties and cities took advantage of the power that had been conferred upon them by previous legislation to subscribe liberally to the capital stock of a large number of railroad companies. In some cases the roads were built and put in operation according to the original contracts between the companies and the

[1]By 1860 the State had issued bonds in favor of seven different companies amounting to nearly $25,000,000. By 1868 the legislature decided to foreclose the mortgages which the State held upon the roads of these companies. The indebtedness at that time, including the defaulted interest, amounted to about $31,000,000. The proceeds of the sale were about $6,000,000. The net railroad debt was therefore about $25,000,000.

counties and cities, but in many instances they were not built at all or were only partly constructed. The counties and cities that subscribed to the defaulting companies generally decided that they would not redeem their bonds. The bondholders therefore took the matter into the courts and after long-drawn-out litigation obtained judgments in their favor. Many of the counties and cities then resisted the attempts to execute these judgments, and for many years some of them actually succeeded. However in recent years the controversies have all been settled by way of compromises between the bondholders and the counties and cities, and in a few years more the last dollar of these debts will be paid.

The effect of these State and local railroad debts were far reaching. Missourians have always been more or less conservative, and their unfortunate experiences in early railroad building in the State tended to increase their conservatism. It naturally followed that when the Constitution of 1875 was drafted it contained provisions which not only prohibited the State and all of its local divisions from taking stock in any kind of corporation, but also placed heavy restrictions upon them as regards taxation and the expenditures of public money.[2] If therefore one would understand why these restrictive features were put in our present constitution and have been kept there, one must know among other things the history of Missouri's railroad bonded indebtedness, especially that of the counties and cities.

As has been said the story of these county and city railroad debts in Missouri has not been written. Sections of it have been incorporated in the various county histories of the State, but generally these sections are more or less inaccurate and incomplete.

The article that follows is the first in a series that will deal comprehensively with the county and city railroad indebtedness in Missouri. The subject will be taken up in these articles by railroads one at a time instead of by counties, thus giving it a kind of unity that could not be attained if

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[2]*Constitution of Missouri*, Art. IV, Sec . 45 and 47, and Art. X.

the latter method were followed. The first of these companies to be considered is the Missouri and Mississippi Railroad Company.

ORGANIZATION OF THE COMPANY.

The Missouri and Mississippi Railroad Company was incorporated by an act of the General Assembly of Missouri, approved on February 20, 1865.[3] The board of directors was given authority by this act to survey, mark out, locate and construct a railroad from the town of Macon in Macon County thru Edina in Knox County to the northeast corner of the state in the direction of Keokuk, Iowa, or Alexandria, Clark County, Missouri, and to extend the line from Macon or any other point in a southwesterly direction to the Missouri River or to such intermediate point as they might think proper.[4]

The company was chartered for $4,000,000, the capital stock being divided into shares of $100 each. The original board of directors as named in the charter was composed of Abner L. Gilstrap, Thomas A. Eagle and Thomas Moody of Macon County; E. V. Wilson, S. M. Wirt and William F.

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[3] *Laws of Missouri*, 1864-65, pp. 86-89.

[4] The original of the Missouri and Mississippi Railroad Company, it has been claimed, (*Macon Republican*, May 29, 1884), was the Bloomington and Alexandria Railroad Company which had been incorporated by an act of the General Assembly of Missouri, approved on Dec. 13, 1855. (*Laws of Missouri*, 1855, pp. 273-274). By its charter this company was authorized to survey, mark out, locate and construct a railroad from the town of Alexandria in Clark County to the town of Bloomington, which at that time was the county seat of Macon County, (Macon was not made the county seat of Macon County until 1863. See *Laws of Missouri*, 1862-63, pp. 148-150) and from thence on to Glasgow in Howard County. The route of this road, it will be seen, was to be practically the same as that laid out later for the Missouri and Mississippi Railroad. The Bloomington and Alexandria Railroad Company proved however to be merely a paper organization, and nothing was ever done under its charter towards constructing a railroad. Knox County subscribed $190,000 to the capital stock of this company in January, 1859. (*Knox County Records*, II, 308-309, 311).) As far as is known this was the only subscription which this company ever received.

A railroad company called the Missouri and Mississippi Railroad Company was chartered by the legislature on March 8, 1849. (*Laws of Missouri*, 1848-49, pp. 373-74) but there is no connection between it and the company we have under consideration. The road of the company chartered in 1849 was to run from Lexington on the Missouri river south via Warsaw to a point on the Mississippi river below the mouth of Apple Creek.

Plummer of Knox County; and Erastus Sackett, James M. Crane and John H. Cox of Clark County.[5] The company did not effect an organization however until April, 1866.[6]

On March 24, 1870, the charter of the company was amended by the State legislature whereby it was authorized to build a bridge over the Missouri River at Glasgow and to extend the road from Glasgow in a southwesterly direction to the western boundary line of the State. It was moreover authorized to increase its capital stock so as to carry out these projects.[7]

What efforts the promoters of this company made to sell stock to private parties is not fully known. One of the early presidents of the company is on record as saying that the private subscriptions to the stock did not exceed $50,000.[8] With these subscriptions however we are not at all concerned here. What we are interested in is the history of those that were made by counties thru which the road of the company was to pass.

The thirteenth article of the charter of this company provided that it should be "lawful for the corporate authorities of any city, or town, the county court of any county desiring so to do, to subscribe to the capital stock of said company, and may (*sic*) issue bonds therefor and levy a tax to pay the same not to exceed one-twentieth of one per cent upon the assessed value of taxable property for each year."[9]

There are two points in this article that need to be noted very carefully. The first is that it was not necessary for the city, town or county authorities to submit to the people a proposition to make a subscription to the capital stock of the company. Subscriptions might be made by these local authorities at their discretion. There was nothing unusual however in this particular provision. From 1837 to 1860,

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[5] *Laws of Missouri*, 1864-65, pp. 86-87.

[6] *56 Mo. Reports*, 128.

[7] *Laws of Missouri*, 1870, pp. 104-107.

[8] This was brought out in an injunction suit about 1886 by Knox County against George W. Harshman, one of the Knox County bondholders. (From the bill of exceptions in *Knox County vs. Harshman, U. S. Supreme Court*, October Term, 1889, 216-218.)

[9] *Laws of Missouri*, 1864-65, p. 88.

inclusive, the legislature of Missouri had included in the charters of at least 57 railroad companies a provision which authorized county courts to subscribe to the capital stock of these companies without referring the proposition to a vote of the people.[10] In most of these charters this authority was also conferred upon city councils. There was in addition to this special provision in the charters of these 57 different railroad companies a general act passed in February, 1853, which authorized any county court or any city council to subscribe to the capital stock of any railroad company, thus doing away with the need of a special provision in the charter of a railroad company authorizing county courts and city councils to make subscriptions. This act also provided that the county court and the city council subscribing or proposing to subscribe might for information cause an election to be held to ascertain the sense of the taxpayers of the county or city as to the subscription and as to whether the same should be paid by issues of bonds or by taxation. But this election was optional with the county court or the city council.[11] There was therefore ample precedent for what the legislature did in February, 1865, when in chartering the Missouri and Mississippi Railroad Company it included this special provision authorizing county courts and city councils to make subscriptions to the capital stock of the company without first taking a vote of the people.

It should be noted that a general statute had been passed in 1860 which made it obligatory upon the county court or the city council to submit a proposition to subscribe to the capital stock of a railroad company instead of optional as it had been under the act of 1853. It further provided that if a majority of all the resident voters of the county or city should cast their votes in favor of the proposition to subscribe,

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[10]*Laws of Missouri*, 1836-37, pp. 243, 251, 275; 1848-49, pp. 222, 284, 376; 1850-51, pp. 320, 371, 438; 1852-53, pp. 135, 321, 331, 340, 341, 349, 358, 364, 369, 375; 1854-55, pp. 225, 341, 405, 409, 433, 437; 1855, pp. 133, 204, 263, 332, 336; 1856-57, pp. 93, 100, 106, 108, 114, 118, 132, 137, 142, 146, 151, 155, 166, 170; 1857, pp. 58, 62, 68; 1858-59, p. 406; 1859-60, pp. 399, 404, 413, 418, 422, 425, 432, 438, 443.

[11]*Laws of Missouri*, 1852-53, pp. 135-36.

then the county court or the city council should make the subscription, and that no county court or city council should make a subscription unless authorized by a majority vote of the resident voters.[12] But this statute was set aside by the legislature of 1865 as far as the Missouri and Mississippi Railroad Company was concerned, inasmuch as the charter granted to this company authorized county courts and city councils to make subscriptions to its capital stock without a vote of the people. It was also set aside by the legislature at the same session in favor of two other companies.[13]

Apparently it was from counties, cities and towns that the Missouri and Mississippi Railroad Company expected to get most of the subscriptions to its capital stock, and between 1867 and 1871 it succeeded in getting $934,600 subscribed by Clark, Knox, Macon and Chariton counties and Chariton Township in Howard County. The details of these subscriptions will be given later.

The second point to be noted in connection with the thirteenth article of the charter of the company is the exceedingly low rate of taxation that might be levied by the corporate authorities for the purpose of paying for the subscriptions made to the capital stock of the company. For this there was no precedent whatsoever. In fact the rate was so low as to lead the company to make an effort to get it increased by the state legislature in 1868. A bill to that effect was introduced into the house of representatives on February 12, 1868,[14] by Thomas Eagle, of Macon County, who was one of the members of the original board of directors of the company. It passed the house on March 24,[15] and was rushed thru the senate on the following day.[16] But it was never signed by the governor, and hence never became law.

Why Governor Fletcher did not sign this bill has remained more or less of a mystery to this day. In a conversation with

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[12] *Ibid.*, 1860-61, p. 160.

[13] *Ibid.*, 1864-65, pp. 88, 108-109.

[14] *House Journal, Adjourned Session, 24th General Assembly of Missouri*, p. 308.

[15] *Ibid.*, p. 764.

[16] *Senate Journal, Adjourned Session, 24th General Assembly of Missouri*, p. 550.

Mr. Thomas K. Skinker of St. Louis, who as an attorney for certain of the bondholders investigated the matter about 1873, Governor Fletcher said that he thought he had signed it, as he had intended to approve all the railroad bills that had been passed by the legislature. Mr. Skinker found this unsigned bill in the Secretary of State's office among those that had been signed, and it has been supposed that in going over the bills passed by the legislature, the governor missed this one and let it go without his signature.[17]

According to Mr. Skinker the directors of the railroad company, feeling sure that the bill had been signed by the governor and had thus become law, printed it in pamphlet form and thus gave out the impression that a change had been made in the rate of taxation from 1–20 of 1% to ½ of 1%. On the strength of this representation, certain financiers who had not been interested in investing in the Missouri and Mississippi Railroad Company bonds, were thereupon induced to buy some of them. Among these financiers were the Huidekopers of Pennsylvania, about whom we shall learn a great deal later. They were advised to invest in some Macon County bonds by their attorney, Mr. Joseph Shippen, then of St. Louis, who is said to have been misled by the pamphlet that had been issued by the railroad company.[18]

In connection with this it might be stated that it has been claimed that the original bill as introduced into the legislature in 1865 provided for a levy of ½ of 1% and not 1–20 of 1%. Colonel Gilstrap, one of the original promoters of the company, has been quoted as saying that the bill passed thru one house of the legislature with the provision for ½ of 1%, but that is some way this provision was changed to 1–20 of 1% before the bill went to the governor for his signature.[19] The journals of the legislature for 1865 however do not reveal any attempt to modify the bill during its passage.

The most plausible explanation of the matter is that in the original draft of the bill the rate of the levy was written out in figures, ½ of 1%, and that when the bill came to be

[17]Related to the author by Mr. Skinker on Dec. 1, 1920.
[18]From a conversation with Mr. Skinker on Dec. 1, 1920.

enrolled this was mistaken for 1–20 of 1% and was written out in words to that effect.

It is not at all likely that is was ever intended to limit the tax to one twentieth of one per cent. Macon County, where the president and the leading spirits of the company resided, had only five millions of taxable property at that time.[20] A tax of 1–20 of 1% levied on this would yield only $2,500. This would be not quite enough to pay the interest on a subscription of $35,000 at seven per cent, which was a moderate rate for those days. It is obvious that so small a subscription would not go far towards building the thirty miles of railroad proposed in Macon County, and this was likewise the case with each of the other counties. Inexpert as were the promoters of this company, they certainly could not have overlooked so simple a thing as this. It is therefore a fair conclusion that no such limit as one-twentieth of one per cent was ever intended by them.

Moreover it would appear that for a few years at least the county courts of some of the counties thought that either the rate of the levy provided for in the charter of the company was ½ of 1% or they were not limited in making the levy. This is seen in the levies that were made in some of the counties in the late sixties and early seventies for the purpose of paying the interest on their subscriptions to the company. The levies during these years were far in excess of 1–20 of 1%. More attention will be given to this matter later.

It is not clear just when the work of constructing the road was actually begun. It seems however to have been well under way by the summer of 1869,[21] and by March, 1870, the road was said to have been surveyed from Clark City to Glasgow, a distance of 114½ miles thru Clark, Knox, Randolph and Chariton counties,[22] and 48 miles of road bed were reported

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[19]Related by Major B. F. Dysart of Macon in an address in that town in 1904. See *Macon Republican*, Nov. 26, 1904.

[20]*56 Mo. Reports*, 128.

[21]*Edina Sentinel*, Dec. 21, 1871.

[22]Clark County, 18½ miles; Knox County, 32 miles; Macon County, 31 miles; Randolph County, 12 miles; Chariton County, 21 miles. Quoted in the *Macon Republican*, Oct. 28, 1892, from an issue of the *Macon Republican* of March—, 1870.

to have been built and made ready for ties.[23] In the summer of 1871 contracts were made with the Iowa Railroad Construction Company to complete the construction of the road from Alexandria to Glasgow by January, 1873, and to furnish it with a certain amount of rolling stock. Considerable work seems to have been done under this contract during 1871 and 1872,[24] but the road was far from completed by the opening of 1873.[25] According to an item in the *Kansas City Journal* in August, 1873,[26] the grading had by that time been completed between Glasgow and Salisbury and between Macon and Edina, and iron was being laid in these sections.[27] The grading between Salisbury and Macon and between Edina and Keokuk was reported in this article as progressing rapidly. Mention was also made of the contemplated extension of the road at once from Glasgow to Kansas City.

By this time strong suspicions had arisen as to the integrity of the railroad company. Early in 1873 the Macon county court passed a resolution stating first, that there was general suspicion that the managers of the company had used the money that had been subscribed for other purposes than had been contemplated in the subscription, and second that the frequent demands which had been made upon the managers of the company for an account of expenditures had been ignored. The court then instructed the county attorney to make application to the Macon county circuit court for a peremptory writ of mandamus commanding the managers of the railroad company to give the county court access to the books of the company and to issue an exhibit showing what had been done with the money subscribed by Macon County.[28]

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[23] Knox County, 17 miles; Macon County, 15 miles; Chariton County, 16 miles. Nothing in Clark or Randolph counties. From the same sources as the preceding footnote.

[24] *Edina Sentinel*, Jan. 11, 1872. The original contracts are still on file in the county clerk's office at Macon.

[25] *Clark County Gazette*, Jan. 16, 1873.

[26] Reprinted in the *Edina Sentinel*, Aug. 21, 1873.

[27] At least five miles of track were laid from Macon northeast towards Salt river. (*Macon County Records, F., 14.*)

[28] *Macon County Records, E*, 535-536.

Some papers on file in the county clerk's office show that the county court met with no success in the matter.[29].

Evidently things were not going well with the company, whether from their own neglect or misdoings or from some other cause, and by the close of 1873 the company decided to abandon its enterprise. The great panic that occurred in the fall of that year is credited by some with bringing about this decision. The company then ordered the track that had been laid down from Macon to be torn up. Considerable excitement was stirred up in Macon County over the matter. The county court filed a petition with the circuit clerk of Macon County on November 28, 1873, praying for a temporary injunction against the railroad company, the Western Construction Company and J. R. Woodruff and Ed. C. Bates.[30] But as the circuit court was not in session at that time, the county court holding that it was entitled to immediate relief, enjoined the defendants from taking up and removing the iron rails and ties until the circuit court could take up the matter.[31] Later Judge Henry of the circuit court issued a temporary injunction as the county court had asked, ordering the defendants to discontinue tearing up the track. Angry words were exchanged between the railroad men and the sheriff and his posse when this injunction was served, and an attempt was made upon the life of the county attorney, Mr. W. H. Sears.[32]

Notwithstanding these legal proceedings all the iron and ties that had been laid in Macon County were ultimately removed.[33] It is not clear however as to whether the iron and ties that had been laid between Salisbury and Glasgow were likewise removed.[34] This section was in time acquired by the

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[29]Some other papers in the same office also show that in 1871 the Macon County Court tried to make an investigation of the financial condition of the company but failed.

[30]The company had by this time changed its name to the Keokuk and Kansas City Railroad Company. (See *Clark County Gazette*, Jan. 16, 1873.)

[31]*Macon County Records, F, 14.*

[32]*Clark County Gazette*, Jan. 1, 1874, quoting from *Macon Times*; *Macon Times-Democrat*, Dec. 29, 1904

[33]*Macon Times-Democrat*, Dec. 29, 1904.

[34]*Clark County Gazette*, Aug. 5, 1875, states that the section between Salisbury and Glasgow was completed and in running order at that time.

North Missouri Railroad Company, now the Wabash Railroad Company, and is to this day the Salisbury and Glasgow branch of the Wabash system. It is the only section of the Missouri and Mississippi Railroad that has been used for railroad purposes. Other sections of the road bed stretching thru Clark, Knox and Macon counties, with here and there deep cuts and heavy fills, remain today very much the same as when they were originally constructed, and they serve as constant reminders of the unfortunate experiences of these counties in railroad building shortly after the Civil War.

As far as is known work was never resumed upon the road after the attempt late in 1873 to remove the iron near Macon. There was some talk in 1875 of certain English capitalists taking hold of the road and completing it, but nothing ever came of this talk.[35]

In seeking for an explanation as to why the Missouri and Mississippi Railroad Company failed, two facts should be remembered. First that the men in charge were not railroad men. In the case of this company, as of all others having special charters, the legislature had designated a number of men to be the first board of directors and managers of the affairs of the company. These usually belonged to the class of leading citizens. Prominent among them always were lawyers, and the rest were farmers, merchants, doctors and now and then a minister of the Gospel. Railroad men were not named because at that time there was none in the rural districts of Missouri.

Second, that there was no adequate financial provision for the road. This road was to be 114½ miles long. The total resources of the company amounted to $984.600, of which $934,600 were in county bonds. This allowed $8,600 per mile, providing the bonds could be sold at par. But the bonds had to be marketed in eastern cities where little was then known of rural Missouri except that it had been recently harried by war. This did not tend to establish its credit, and hence the bonds sold at very heavy discounts.

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[35] *Chicago Tribune*, July 27, 1875, quoted in *Clark County Gazette*, Aug. 5, 1875. See also *Macon Republican*, Aug. 7, 1874.

At this day it is not easy to determine exactly what were the plans of the board of directors of the Missouri and Mississippi Railroad Company, notwithstanding the construction contract referred to above. But in general the idea of the railroad builders was not that they would create and operate a railroad, but that they would grade and bridge their line and lay down the ties, and then they would find some company who would furnish the iron and put the railroad in operation. This at that time was the general tenor of the communications written to the city newspapers about railroad enterprises in the interior of Missouri. Perhaps the directors of the Missouri and Mississippi Railroad Company had something like this in mind.[36]

Perhaps if the panic of 1873 had not occurred the directors of the Missouri and Mississippi Railroad Company might have succeeded in getting their road far enough along so as to interest some company in taking it over and completing and putting it in operation.

COUNTY SUBSCRIPTIONS.

MACON COUNTY.

The first county to make a subscription to the Missouri and Mississippi Railroad Company was Macon County. Probably this was due to the fact that many of the promoters of the company, including A. L. Gilstrap, John W. Henry, Clark Green and John F. Williams, lived in Macon County, and no doubt they used their influence with the county court in getting them to make a subscription.[37] On April 2, 1867, the county court of Macon County subscribed $175,000 to the capital stock of the company, ninety per cent of which was to be paid in the bonds of the county, running for five years at the rate of six per cent interest.[38] The records show no other conditions upon which this subscription was made.

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[36]From a conversation with Mr. Skinker on Feb. 10, 1921.
[37]Article by Judge C. P. Hess in the *Macon Republican*, Oct. 28, 1892.
[38]*Macon County Records, D, 333.*

The county court was evidently interested in the project and was anxious to see it put thru successfully, as might be inferred from the action taken on May 8 when it appointed A. J. Williams and John W. Henry to attend the sessions of the Knox county court a few days later and use their influence in getting that body to subscribe to the stock of the company in order that the location and completion of the road might be expedited.[39] The people of Knox County had already voted at a special election on March 12, 1867, to subscribe $100,000 to the capital stock of some railroad company,[40] and if the county court had acted promptly Knox County would have been the first to make a subscription instead of Macon. Whether this Macon County delegation had any influence on the Knox County Court or not we can not say, but as a matter of fact Knox County court very shortly after made a subscription.[41]

After the Macon County Court had made its subscription of $175,000, some persons in the county began to raise objections to what had been done and sought to prevent the court from issuing the bonds to cover the subscription. A taxpayers' convention was held in the court house in Macon on August 17, 1867, to discuss the matter, and as a result of this meeting an injunction suit was instituted in the Macon County Circuit Court to restrain the Macon County Court from issuing the bonds.[42]

This suit was based on the ground that the constitution of the State which went into effect on July 4, 1865, had repealed by implication the law of February 20, 1865, by which the Missouri and Mississippi Railroad Company had been incorporated and under which the Macon County Court had made its subscription. It was pointed out that whereas the law of February 20, 1865, had authorized subscriptions to the capital stock of this company by the corporate authorities of cities and towns and the county courts of counties without

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[39] *Ibid.*, D, 351.

[40] *Knox County Records, III, 288.*

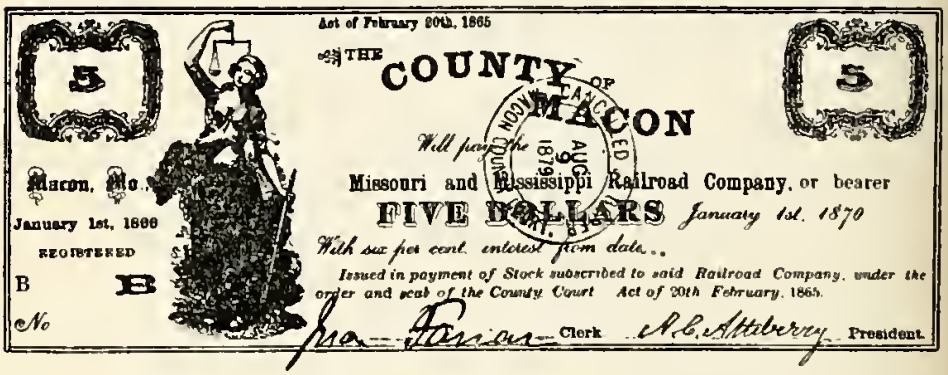
[41] *Ibid.*, III, 302.

[42] Article in *Macon Republican* for June 19, 1884, quoting from *Macon Argus*, for August, 1867.

(Contract Stock Certificate.)

This is to certify that the County of Macon
in the State of Missouri has this day subscribed to the
Capital Stock of Missouri and Mississippi Railroad Company, the sum of
one hundred and twenty five thousand Dollars
~~on the portion pursuant thereto~~ in pursuance of his contract this day executed
and delivered to said Company Given this seventh day of
April A. D. 1867
A. L. Gilstrap and Thomas Moody Stock Com'rs.

CONTRACT STOCK CERTIFICATE OF THE FIRST MACON COUNTY SUBSCRIPTION, APRIL 2, 1867.


Act of February 20th, 1865
THE COUNTY OF MACON
5
5
Macon, Mo.
January 1st, 1868
REGISTERED
B
No
Will pay the
Missouri and Mississippi Railroad Company, or bearer
FIVE DOLLARS January 1st, 1870
With six per cent. interest from date.
Issued in payment of Stock subscribed to said Railroad Company, under the order and seal of the County Court Act of 20th February, 1865.
Clerk
President.

M. AND M. RAILROAD BOND OF MACON COUNTY.

the matter being referred to the people for their assent, the Constitution of the State which went into effect on July 4, 1865, contained a section (Article XI, Section 14), which provided that the General Assembly should not authorize any county, city or town to be a stockholder in, or loan its credit to any company, association or corporation unless two-thirds of the qualified voters of such county, city or town at a regular or special election held therein should assent thereto. It was also pointed out that the legislature of Missouri had at its

session of 1865-66 revised the general railroad law so as to conform to this section of the Constitution.[43]

Accepting these views, Judge Burkhardt of the Macon County Circuit Court therefore decided that, since the subscription of the Macon County Court to the capital stock of the Missouri and Mississippi Railroad Company had not been made until after the Constitution of 1865 had gone into effect and the law of 1865-66 had been enacted, the county court had no authority to make any subscription under the law of February 20, 1865, and that hence the one it had made in 1867 was illegal. An injunction against the Macon county court forbidding it to issue the bonds was therefore granted.[44]

Meanwhile the Missouri and Mississippi Railroad Company thru A. J. Williams, T. A. Jones and A. L. Gilstrap brought suit in the Supreme Court of Missouri for a writ of mandamus to compel the Macon county court to issue the bonds. After considering the case the Supreme Court decided in October, 1867, that the section of the State Constitution in question (Article XI, Section 14) was a limitation on the future power of the legislature and was not retroactive so as to have any controlling application to laws existing when the constitution was adopted, and that since the Macon county court had made its subscription under the law of February 20, 1865, the company was entitled to the bonds.[45] The Macon county court then ordered the county clerk to issue the bonds in pursuance of the contract with the company.[46]

On getting the news that the Supreme Court of Missouri had issued a mandamus ordering the Macon county court to issue the bonds to the railroad company, the people of Macon gathered en masse in the courthouse and proceeded to make glad over the outcome. A. L. Gilstrap was called to the chair and formally announced the decision of the court and congratulated the people of the county on that matter. Congratulatory remarks were also made by John W. Henry and

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[43] *41 Missouri Reports*, 453-456. *General Statutes of Mo.*, 1866, p. 338.

[44] Article in *Macon Republican*, June 19, 1884, quoting from *Macon Argus*, August—, 1867.

[45] *41 Missouri Reports*, 453-465.

[46] *Macon County Records, E*, 408.

others. After adopting some formal resolutions expressing their pleasure at the action of the Supreme Court and pledging their co-operation in the building of the road, the meeting voted to thank the county court for supporting internal improvements, and especially for supporting the Missouri and Mississippi Railroad Company.[47] In view of some very important later developments in this matter in Macon County, it will be well to keep in mind this incident.

In 1870 the Macon county court made a second subscription of $175,000.[48] The records show that on February 23, 1870, James A. Clark, attorney of the Missouri and Mississippi Railroad Company appeared before the Macon county court and moved that it subscribe an additional $175,000 to the capital stock of the company. The motion was laid over until the March adjourned term.[49]

Apparently two of the judges of the county court were favorable to the second subscription from the very start, but they had to meet with the opposition of the third member, Judge C. P. Hess.[50] It was he who caused the motion to be put off when it was first introduced. Moreover he took it upon himself to publish some articles in the *Macon Journal* disclosing the facts concerning the railroad as he knew them, and urging the calling of a mass meeting of citizens to consider the matter. He also caused the court to defer consideration of the motion a second time. But no one appears to have paid any attention to his disclosures or his call for a mass meeting, and finally the court voted on April 12, 1870, to subscribe the $175,000 additional stock.[51]

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[47] *Macon Argus*, Oct. 30, 1867, reprinted in *Macon Republican*, June 19, 1884.

[48] Between the first and the second subscriptions of the Macon county court, the county courts of four other counties made subscriptions. An account of these other subscriptions will be given in the course of this article.

[49] *Macon County Records*, *E*, 77-78.

[50] A. C. Atterbury, James R. Aldermann and William D. Roberts composed the county court that made the first subscription in 1867. James R. Aldermann, William D. Roberts and Charles P. Hess composed the court that made the second subscription in 1870. Hess had been elected over J. S. Newmeyer who had been very active in the attempt to keep the county court from issuing the bonds for the first subscription. The re-election of Aldermann and Roberts and the election of Hess would indicate that the people had approved of the first subscription.

[51] *Macon Republican*, Oct. 28, 1892. *Macon County Records*, *E*, 97.

The second subscription was made upon certain very definite conditions which were accepted by the company in writing. They were as follows: (1) That the money realized from the second subscription should be expended in constructing the road from Macon in a southerly direction, commencing where the road should cross the Hannibal and St. Joe Railroad; (2) that if the company should at any time locate and build any machine shops for the benefit of the road, they should be located and erected at Macon; (3) that the line of the railroad should be located so as to run thru Macon within 400 feet of the Hannibal and St. Joe and the North Missouri depots as then located.[52] Judge Hess claims that when he saw that the other judges were going to vote for the second subscription in spite of his opposition, he succeeded in getting these conditions attached to the subscription, and on that ground he joined the other judges in voting for it.[53]

No voice seems to have been raised against this second subscription, aside from that of Judge Hess, until June 6, 1870, when a mass meeting was held in Macon to protest against the issuance of the bonds.[54] Why the opposition did not express itself during the six weeks while the motion was pending before the county court and why it remained inactive until nearly two months after the court had made the subscription, is not at all clear.

Instead of there being any great widespread opposition to the second subscription, it has been claimed that sentiment was strong in Macon and College Mound in favor of the subscription on the ground that it would secure the prompt completion of the road, and it is stated that at a mass meeting

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[52] *Macon County Records, E, 97-99.*

[53] From letters of Judge Hess to the author, dated January 7 and February 19, 1921. Judge Hess claims also that he consented to the second subscription on the further condition that the bonds be issued to the company after the road south of Macon had been completed and then at the rate of $10,000 to the mile. This condition was never made a matter of record. In fact he states that the bonds for the entire second subscription were signed by the presiding judge and the county clerk on the evening of the day when the court made the subscription and handed over immediately to the company.

[54] *Macon Republican*, July 31, 1884.

held shortly after the one held on June 6, the action of the county court was heartily endorsed.[55]

As a result of these two subscriptions Macon County became obligated to the extent of $350,000. As matters turned out this sum was much larger than that subscribed by any other county.

KNOX COUNTY.

Knox County was the second county to subscribe to the capital stock of the Missouri and Mississippi Railroad Company. The matter was started there by a petition being presented to the Knox county court on February 6, 1867, asking that a special election be held to ascertain the sense of the qualified voters of the county in regard to the court subscribing $100,000 for the purpose of constructing a railroad thru the county. The court complied with the petition and ordered an election to be held on March 12, 1867, on an alternative propostion which in substance was as follows:[56] Shall the court subscribe $100,000 to a railroad company which may construct a railroad running west from Quincy, Illinois, to some point on the Missouri River, or to a company which may construct a railroad running southwest from Alexandria thru Knox County to intersect the North Missouri Railroad at or near Macon City, or to any other railroad company which may be duly organized under the laws of Missouri and may construct a railroad thru Knox County running thru Edina and connecting with the North Missouri Railroad, or running to Quincy, Illinois, or Macon or any point on the Missouri or the Mississippi River? The stock was to be payable in Knox County bonds bearing 7% interest and running for ten years, and all the money arising from the sale of these bonds was to be expended in the construction of the railroad within the county.[57] The election was held and resulted in 510 votes being cast for the proposition and only 98 against.[58]

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[55] *Ibid.*

[56] *Knox County Records*, III, 274.

[57] On March 5 the county court made some slight changes in the order of the election. (*Knox County Record*, III, 284-285.) Much was made of these changes later when the county opposed the payment of the bonds.

[58] *Ibid.*, III, 288. The vote by townships was as follows:

	For	Against
Greensburg township	32	11
Lyon	48	1
Salt River	31	38
Jeddo	52	0
Benton	101	4
Center	225	7
Fabius township	21	37

In pursuance of this vote the county court on May 13, 1867, subscribed $100,000 to the capital stock of the Missouri and Mississippi Railroad Company on the following conditions: (1) That the sum of ½ of 1% of the subscription be paid in cash to defray the expense of the survey of the road thru Knox County; (2) that the remaining 99½% of the subscription be paid by issuing bonds of the county bearing 7% interest and running ten years; (3) that the bonds be issued to the railroad company only for work actually done on the railroad within the limits of Knox County, which amount of work should in all cases be shown by the estimates of the engineer of the company and verified by his oath.[59]

In the controversy that arose later over the payment of these bonds the county court denied that they had been issued under the authority of this vote of the people and claimed that they had been issued under the authority of the county court itself as provided for in the charter of the company. The details of this matter will be dealt with later.

To the original subscription of $100,000, which had been authorized by a vote of the people, the county court of Knox County on its own authority subscribed $130,000 in 1869 and $55,000 in 1870, in all $185,000. The records show that on April 6, 1869, a representative of the railroad company appeared before the Knox County Court and produced evidence to the effect that an eastern company proposed to take the contract to finish the roadbed, furnish the iron and equipments from the Mississippi River to the Missouri River, and asked that on the strength of this situation the county court subscribe an additional $100,000. The court responded that if the railroad company should make such a contract that

[59] *Knox County Records*, III, 302.

would insure the completion of the road within eighteen months, they would make the additional subscription of $100,000 payable in Knox County bonds bearing 7% interest. Of that amount $80,000 would be issued when the road was completed and cars were running from the northeast terminus to Edina, and $20,000 when it was completed thru the county.[60] The subscription was actually made on these terms on June 9, 1869.[61] The conditions of the subscription were later modified (Sept. 6, 1869), so that $50,000 of the bonds were to be issued on the completion of the road bed from Clark City in Clark County, to Edina in Knox County, and the remaining $50,000 when the cars were running between these two points.[62]

At the same time that the conditions of this $100,000 subscription were changed, the county court subscribed an additional $30,000 payable in Knox County bonds running for two years and bearing 7% interest. This was to assist in completing the "roadbed, ties, bridges, etc.," of the road from Edina to Macon.[63]

On May 2, 1870, the county court made another subscription of $55,000 with the provision that the stock should be taken and paid for in the bonds of the county bearing 7% interest for ten years from February 1, 1870, and that in no case should the bonds be issued or made payable except for work actually done on the railroad in Knox County, which amount of work should be shown by the estimates of the railroad company and verified by their oaths.[64]

By these actions of the county court, Knox County became obligated to the amount of $285,000 in behalf of the Missouri and Mississippi Railroad Company, of which amount $100,000 had been voted by the people and $185,000 had been subscribed by the county court on its own authority.

But fortunately for the county, the county court succeeded in withdrawing the subscription for $100,000 that had been made by the county court in 1869. The withdrawal came

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[60] *Ibid.*, III, 452.
[61] *Ibid.*, III, 473-474.
[62] *Ibid.*, III, 488.
[63] *Knox County Records*, III, 488.
[64] *Ibid.*, III, 580.

about in this way. It will be recalled that this subscription had been made upon certain rather definite conditions. Instead therefore of turning over the bonds to the railroad company at the time when the subscription was made, the court appointed Philip B. Linville as trustee for the county and the railroad company for the purpose of receiving and holding in trust the $100,000. This was done on November 10, 1870. Certain modifications were made at that time in the conditions that had been laid down when the subscription had been made. The trustee was to pay out the bonds to the railroad company only when the railroad was completed from Macon via Edina to the Iowa, Missouri and Nebraska Railroad, now the Burlington from Keokuk to Centerville, and should have cars running thereon. If the road should not be completed and have cars running upon it by July 4, 1872, then the trustee was to bring the bonds into court and destroy them and the subscription was to be considered void. Provision was also made for an extension of time beyond July 4, 1872, if the company should be delayed in its work and in making contracts because of any suit that was pending or any controversy that might arise out of the forfeiture of a certain contract. The trustee was put under a $200,000 bond, and the railroad company was required to give assent to the changes in the conditions of the subscription.[66]

It is not known whether there was any considerable opposition in the county to the additional subscriptions at the time when they were made, but by the latter part of 1871 the action of the court began to be criticized so as to call forth newspaper comment.[66] Special exception seems to have been taken to the subscriptions of $30,000 and $55,000. By the close of 1872 sentiment became very strong in favor of cancelling the bonds for $100,000 that had been placed in the hands of Linville.[67] The road was far from being finished at that time and the future was not very promising. The court therefore ordered Linville to produce the bonds for cancellation. Accordingly

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[66] *Knox County Records*, III, 636-639.
[66] *Edina Sentinel*, Dec. 28, 1871, Jan. 4 and Feb. 15, 1872.
[67] *Ibid.*, Jan. 16, 1873.

on February 4, 1873, he brought the bonds into court and at their order burned them "under the direction and in the presence of the court."[68]

On the next day Thomas O. Walmsley, former president of the county court, appeared before that body and turned in bonds for $2,000. He had been given $7,000 in bonds as a trustee which evidently he was to turn over to the railroad company as estimates of work were presented to him by the chief engineer. He actually turned over $5,000 to the company so that he had only $2,000 to return to the court. As soon as these bonds were produced in court, they were forthwith destroyed.[69] It is not known what subscription these bonds were a part of, but it is probable that they were a part of the $55,000 subscription.

Deducting the $102,000 bonds that had never been delivered to the company but were destroyed in February, 1873, from the total of all the subscriptions, it would appear that Knox County was obligated to the Missouri and Mississippi Railroad Company to the extent of only $183,000. As a matter of fact, however, its obligations amounted to $184,600.[70] The difference came about in this way. The first subscription of $100,000 was overpaid by $12,500; the one for $30,000 was underpaid by $11,900; and the one for $55,000 by $2,000. Tabulating these figures we get the following:

	Amount of subscription.	Amount of bonds issued.
1867	$100,000	$112,500
1868	30,000	19,100
1870	55,000	53,000[71]

Of the total amount of bonds issued, $100,000 had been authorized by the people and the remainder, $84,600, by order of the county court.

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[68] *Knox County Records*, IV, 120.

[69] *Ibid.*, IV, 125.

[70] *Knox County Records*, IV, 280. *Knox County History*, 720.

[71] Doubtless the difference here is due to the $2,000 bonds that Judge Walmsley returned to the court and burned at its order.

CHARITON COUNTY.

In 1867, the year in which Macon and Knox counties made their initial subscriptions, Chariton County likewise subscribed $100,000. The first step towards that end was taken by the county court on October 18, 1867, when it ordered an election to be held on November 28, for the purpose of submitting to the vote of the resident taxpayers "without regard to race (*sic*), sex, collor (*sic*)" a proposition authorizing the county court to subscribe $100,000 stock in the Brunswick and Chillicothe Railroad Company, and $100,000 in the Missouri and Mississippi Railroad Company, provided that each of these roads should run thru Chariton County.[72] The date of the election was later changed to December 5.[73]

The county court records do not disclose what the results of the election were, but evidently they were favorable, for four days after the election the county court subscribed $100,000 to the capital stock of the Missouri and the Mississippi Railroad Company, payable in the bonds of the county subject to the following conditions: First, that the Missouri and Mississippi Railroad Company should locate and construct their road so that it would not cross the North Missouri railroad at a point east of Salisbury at a greater distance than one mile west of Keytesville, and that it would cross the Missouri River between Cambridge and Keytesville Landing; second, that when the president of the Missouri and Mississippi Railroad Company should present to the county court of Chariton County sufficient evidence that they were able with the addition of the Chariton County bonds to construct their road thru Chariton County and that they will spend the same for this purpose and no other, and shall present a certificate of paid up stock in the Missouri and Mississippi Railroad Company to the amount of $100,000, then the county court would issue to the company bonds to the amount of $100,000 bearing 8% interest.[74]

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[72] *Chariton County Records*, A, 681.
[73] *Ibid.*, A, 701.
[74] *Chariton County Records*, A, 707-708.

There was a further condition that within ninety days from the sale or hypothecation of the bonds, the company would begin work on the railroad somewhere within the county, and that the whole should be completed within twenty-four months from the sale or hypothecation of the bonds.[75]

A change was made in the conditions of the subscription on December 23, 1868, by striking out all the restrictions relative to where or on what line the road should be built, provided however that it should extend for 24 miles thru the county. Provision was also made that if the railroad company was not able by their own means together with the $100,000 stock taken by the county and with other stock taken by the "counties of Chariton and Saline," to grade and prepare the roadbed thru Chariton and Saline counties, then the order of the Chariton county court subscribing $100,000 would be null and void.[76] A still further change was made in the conditions on March 2, 1869, reducing the number of miles that the road should extend thru the county from 24 to 21.[77]

Notwithstanding the fact that the subscription was made in December, 1867, the bonds were not issued until May 14, 1869.[78] Evidently the county court delayed taking action for the purpose of seeing whether the railroad company would be actually able to construct the road or not.

There is no evidence that Chariton County was ever asked to make a second subscription. She therefore became obligated to the extent of only $100,000, which amount had been voted by the people and had not been subscribed by the county court alone.

CLARK COUNTY.

Clark County did not become interested in the Missouri and Mississippi Railroad Company until 1868, and it was three years before she completed arrangements for a subscription. As to why the matter was delayed so long we shall now see.

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[75] *Ibid.*, A, 707-708.
[76] *Ibid.*, B, 119.
[77] *Ibid.*, B, 146.
[78] *Chariton County Records*, B, 184.

On July 7, 1868, the Clark county court ordered a special election to be held thruout the county on the following August 1 for the purpose of ascertaining whether the people would authorize a subscription of $75,000 to the capital stock of the Alexandria and Nebraska City Railroad Company and a similar amount to the capital stock of the Missouri and Mississippi Railroad Company, with the provision that the subscriptions would be paid in bonds of the county running for twenty years at 7% interest, and that the bonds should be placed in the hands of a county commissioner and paid to the railroad companies when their roads were built and cars actually running across the country.[79]

On July 22 the terms of this proposition, as far as the Missouri and Mississippi Railroad Company was concerned, were changed so as to obligate the company to construct its road so that it would pass thru certain points, such as Fairmount and St. Francisville. The terms were further changed so as to entitle the railroad company to $37,500 of the bonds when the road should be completed and cars running to the junction of the road with the Alexandria and Nebraska City Railroad, and the remaining $37,500 when the road was completed and cars running to St. Francisville.[80]

The records show that the election was carried by a "majority of the qualified voting taxpayers of the county,"[81] but the number of votes for and against is not recorded. James Fitz Henry was thereupon appointed by the county court as the agent of the county to carry out the terms of the contract as had been agreed upon and submitted to a vote of the people. One of the county judges, it should be said, protested against this order.[82]

The Alexandria and Nebraska City Railroad Company accepted the terms of the contract on August 7, 1868, less than a week after the election,[83] but the Missouri and Mississippi Railroad Company did not accept them until July 14, 1869,

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[79] *Clark County Records*, F, 257-258.
[80] *Clark County Records*, F, 265-266.
[81] *Ibid.*, F, 280.
[82] *Ibid.*
[83] *Ibid.*, F, 282-283.

and the acceptance was not filed with the county court until September 8.[84]

Meanwhile efforts were made to have Washington Township in Clark County subscribe also to the capital stock of the Missouri and Mississippi Railroad Company. The county court set the election for three different dates, November 25, 1868, March 9, 1869 and April 7, 1869.[85] But no record has been found as to whether any of these elections was ever held, and if so, what the results were.

Notwithstanding the fact that the county had voted the subscription in 1868, and the railroad company had accepted the terms of the contract in 1869, the bonds were not issued by the county court at once. Evidently the railroad company was not able to meet the terms of the contract.

On January 9, 1870, the county court was asked to subscribe on its own authority an additional $125,000 in the bonds of the county, provided the company would construct the road continuously from Edina to Fairmount by way of Kahoka and St. Francisville.[86] The court refused to comply with the request, but it ordered a special election to be held on July 30, 1870, for the purpose of ascertaining whether the qualified voters favored an additional subscription of $75,000 to Missouri, Iowa and Nebraska Railroad Company (the same as the Alexandria and Nebraska City Railroad Company), and an additional subscription of $125,000 to the Missouri and Mississippi Railroad Company on condition that the roads should be completed thru the county and put in operation.[87]

A thoro search thru the county court records and the newspapers failed to show what the outcome of this election was. But it has been reported that the proposition was rejected by an overwhelming majority.[88]

Notwithstanding this expression of disapproval on the part of the people, the county court in May, 1871, on the motion of J. M. Archer, attorney for the Missouri and Missis-

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[84] *Ibid.*, F, 606.
[85] *Ibid.*, F, 293, 391, and 445-447.
[86] *Clark County Records*, G, 95-98.
[87] *Ibid.*
[88] *History of Clark County*, 294.

sippi Railroad Company, subscribed 2,000 shares at $100 a share in the capital stock of that company. One of the county judges, S. W. Morehouse, protested against the subscription.[89] The subscription was made on the following terms and conditions:[90] First, that it should be paid in the bonds of the county running for 20 years at 8% interest; second, that the proceeds from the sale of the bonds should be used in constructing that part of the road running thru Clark County; third, that when the company should file with the county clerk their acceptance of the subscription, the court should issue the bonds and deliver them to the financial agent of the county. This agent should have the right to sell the bonds and turn over the proceeds of the sale to the railroad company as fast as the work progresses on the road in Clark County; fourth, that the railroad company should locate and maintain their railroad within one-third of a mile of Fairmount and extending in a northeasterly direction to St. Francisville, and should locate depots at those places; fifth, that the company should begin work at both ends of the line within sixty days after the issue and delivery of the bonds, and keep up the work steadily; sixth, that the acceptance by the railroad company of the subscription would be construed as a release of all rights and privileges and franchises to which it was entitled under the subscription of 750 shares at $100 each made in August, 1868.

The railroad company promptly accepted these terms on which the subscription of $200,000 was made and rescinded the subscription of $75,000 made in 1868.[91]

The action of the county court aroused a storm of great fury thruout the county. The *Clark County Gazette*, edited by W. B. Christy, was very bitter in its denunciation of the county court.[92] The *Alexandria Commercial* however favored the action of the county court.[93]

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[89] *Clark County Records*, G, 460.
[90] *Ibid.*, G, 461-464.
[91] *Clark County Records*, G, 464.
[92] *Clark County Gazette*, May 10, May 17, and May 24, 1871.
[93] *Ibid.*, May 24, 1871.

On January 5, 1871, a large number of citizens of the county met at Waterloo, the county seat of Clark County, and presented to the county court a petition that had been signed by 1,760 citizens of the county asking it to rescind its action in subscribing $125,000 in addition to the $75,000 that had subscribed by vote of the people in August, 1868.[94] The petition set forth the following reasons for what it asked: First, the order of the court in making the subscription had been procured by fraud, connivance and misrepresentation; second, the subscription had been taken against the wish and will of a large majority of the taxpayers of the county, as the number of signers to the petition would indicate; third, the subscription and order had been made without any guaranty that the proceeds of the bonds would be expended on that part of the road lying in the county; fourth, the order was illegal, irregular and void.

The petition was overruled by the county court the next day and was thereupon withdrawn.[95] Whereupon a meeting of the anti-railroad men was held on the same day at Waterloo and a special committee was appointed to confer with the county court. This special committee at once asked the court to rescind its order subscribing to the capital stock of the Missouri and Mississippi Railroad Company, but the court refused to comply and even declined to withhold the bonds until after the committee had had a chance to confer with the railroad company about the matter.[96]

The county court however appointed a committee of four citizens to confer with the directors of the railroad company for the purpose of securing and protecting the best interests of the county in the subscription that had been made.[97] On the same day, June 6, the railroad company formally reported to the county court that it accepted the subscription of $200,000 and released the county court from the subscription of $75,000 that had been made by vote of the people in 1868.[98]

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[94] *Clark County Records*, G, 471-472; *Clark County Gazette*, June 7, 1871.
[95] *Clark County Gazette*, June 7, 1871. *Clark County Records*, G, 477.
[96] *Clark County Gazette*, June 7, 1871.
[97] *Clark County Records*, G, 479-480.
[98] *Ibid.*, G, 480-481.

The controversy was taken up by the *Edina Sentinel* in behalf of the railroad company. In an article this paper declared that the court had determined a year previous to subscribe $200,000 to the capital stock of the Missouri and Mississippi Railroad Company and had carefully drawn up an order that would have secured the interests of the county and also have insured the completion of the road. The court had however been deterred from issuing the order by "a mob of 150 rough and hard men" who assembled at Waterloo and "drank whiskey freely and would let no man but anti-railroad men speak."[99]

The *Clark County Gazette* answered the *Sentinel* by saying that the county court had not consulted its constituency by either submitting the proposition to a vote or by circulating petitions, that the order of May, 1870, had been very loosely drawn and gave no assurance at all, that the "mob" was composed of 600 to 1,000 of the best citizens of the county, that there were only four cases of drunkenness in the crowd, and that everybody was allowed to speak whether for the railroad or not.[100]

The committee of citizens which had been appointed by the county court to confer with the railroad company met with the officials of the company very shortly and tried to get them to agree that the road would be built before the bonds should be issued or that they would give bond to the amount of $400,000 that the road would be completed by a specified time. The company refused to agree to these terms but proposed to guarantee to complete the railroad thru Clark County by June, 1873, and have cars running between Fairmount and St. Francisville, provided no obstacles to the construction of the road should be interposed by Clark County or its citizens. It also proposed to call for the bonds at the rate of only 80 cents on the dollar while the road was being built to meet the expenses of construction. It further agreed not to ask for a second subscription from the county.[101]

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[99]*Clark County Gazette*, June 7, 1871.
[100]*Clark County Gazette*, June 7, 1871.
[101]*Ibid.*, June 14, 1871.

In spite of the very definite opposition of so large a number of people in the county, the county court issued the bonds,[102] and the county thereby became obligated on behalf of the Missouri and Mississippi Railroad Company to the amount of $200,000.

CHARITON TOWNSHIP IN HOWARD COUNTY.

Howard County was not interested in the Missouri and Mississippi Railroad Company to the same extent as Macon, Knox, Chariton and Clark counties because the railroad was to touch the county at only one point and that one point was Glasgow. Now Glasgow is at the extreme southwestern corner of the county, just across the line from Chariton County. The road was to run from Salisbury to Glasgow and cross the county line at the latter point. Hence it was difficult to get any county wide interest in the matter. It was therefore left to Chariton Township in which Glasgow is located to do something of herself, if Howard County was to have any part in the project. Hence a petition was presented to the Howard county court by some resident taxpayers of Chariton Township on October 15, 1868, asking that a proposition should be submitted to the qualified voters of Chariton Township on October 20, 1868, as to whether the township should subscribe $100,000 to the capital stock of the Missouri and Mississippi Railroad Company.[103]

The subscription was to be made subject to the following conditions:[104] First, the railroad company should build the road so as to run near the limits of the township and come within the corporate limits; second, the bonds were to run for ten years at 8% interest; third, the proceeds of the bonds were to be used in constructing the road from Glasgow to the north until the amount was expended; fourth, the bonds were to be delivered to a commissioner appointed by the county court who should deliver them to the company as soon as contracts for the construction of the railroad had been

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[102] *Ibid.*, June 28, 1871.
[103] *Howard County Records*, XV, 30-31.
[104] *Ibid.*

entered into and the commissioner should be satisfied that the work had been commenced in good faith; fifth, the subscription should not be binding unless the work should be begun within two years from date.

The election was later deferred to December 1, 1868, on practically the same terms [105] and it resulted in a favorable vote, 275 votes being cast for the proposition and only 83 against it.[106] On February 1, 1869, a commissioner was appointed to subscribe $100,000 in behalf of Chariton Township[107] and presumably the bonds were delivered at once or very shortly thereafter to the railroad company.[108]

SUMMARY.

Summarizing we find that four counties and one township became obligated thru the issuing of bonds in behalf of the Missouri and Mississippi Railroad Company as follows:

Macon County—	$350,000..	$175,000 in 1867 by order of the county court.
		175,000 in 1870 by order of the county court.
Knox County....	184,600..	100,000 in 1867 by vote of the people[109].
		12,500 in 1867 by order of the county court.
		19,100 in 1868 by order of the county court.
		53,000 in 1870 by order of the county court.
Chariton County..	100,000..	100,000 in 1867 by vote of the people.
Clark County....	200,000..	200,000 in 1871 by order of the county court.

[105] *Ibid.*, XV, 51-52.

[106] *Howard County Records*, XV, 80.

[107] *Ibid.*, XV, 99.

[108] The county court of Howard County was petitioned by the citizens of Prairie Township to submit a proposition to subscribe $75,000 to the Missouri and Mississippi Railroad Company, and it ordered an election to be held on October 6, 1868, at Roanoke. (See *Howard County Records*, XV, 67). The records do not show whether this election was ever held or not.

[109] This is a disputed point, as has already been indicated.

Chariton Township in Howard county	100,000..	100,000	in 1869 by vote of the people.
Total.....	$934,600		

From this it will be seen that two counties had made subscriptions by order of their county courts, one county and one township by vote of the people, and one county partly by order of the county court and partly by vote of the people. If, as Knox County later claimed, her first subscription was by order of the county court and not by vote of the people, then there would be three counties in the first group instead of two.

In this connection mention should be made of the fact that on January 30, 1872, less than a year after the last subscription had been made to the Missouri and Mississippi Railroad Company, the legislature of Missouri passed an act repealing that section of the charters of 60 railroad companies that had been granted between 1837 and 1865, inclusive, so far as this section authorized county courts to make subscriptions without first having obtained authority by a two-thirds vote of the voters of the county.[110] Not every one of these 60 railroad companies had actually materialized, but many of those that had been organized under their charters were, like the Missouri and Mississippi Railroad Company, failing or had failed and were entailing great loss on the part of the subscribing counties and cities. The legislature therefore sought to put an end to further loss by this sweeping measure.

(To be continued in the next number of the *Review*.)

[110] *Laws of Missouri*, 1872, 76-78.

THE FOLLOWERS OF DUDEN

By William G. Bek.

FOURTH ARTICLE.

LETTERS OF FREDERICK STEINS.

"On April 1, 1834, I left New Loehdorf in order to go to Neuenhaus, where my wife and children had already gone. The parting from our friends was sad for all of us. On the following day several other emigrants—Ehlis, Rothe, Kloenne and my brother Peter arrived in wagons. Still having some matters of business to attend to in Hoehe, my family and I departed for that place and then continued to Langenfeld and thence to Hittdorf. The emigrants from Benrath and Langenfelt having arrived, we took a boat, and after many delays arrived at Ordingen. Here my parents joined us, as did also Scheulen, Schmitz, Huelsen and Schuetz. At Ruhrort we were joined by Arnz and the Boehmer family. At this place I and several others left the boat in order to go to The Hague to secure our passes. We took a small, fast steam-boat which soon overtook the passenger ship carrying our company. As we passed our friends who had crowded into the bow of the ship cheered us with a lusty bon voyage. In Lobith on the Dutch border we had to leave our boat because our passes had to be approved by the Prussian embassador in The Hague. Brueggerhof and I took a cart to drive over to Arnheim, while the rest of our small group stayed in Lobith. At Arnheim B. and I took the mail coach for The Hague. The following morning we went to the Prussian embassador and complained because the Dutch would not honor our Prussian passes. The embassador at once went to the Office of Foreign Affairs and after a lengthy interview informed us that our affair was a serious and complicated one and that he would take counsel with the king. That same evening we were told that the

king intended to let us thru. This was a great relief, for all day long we had been ordered to go from the Office of Foreign Affairs to the office of the justice and back again. We surely thought the Dutch would choke on the letter of their stupid laws. Late on Tuesday we were told to go back to Arnheim, where on Wednesday, or at the latest, on Thursday morning our passes would be in the hands of the Procureur-Criminel.

"The impression which the tidy, beautiful estates of the Dutch peasants made on us on our way here is unforgetable.—The road from Lobith to Arnheim runs for the most part between dikes and is therefore narrow, but it is good. From Arnheim to The Hague the road is paved with brick, and since it is level everywhere the mail coach traveled so fast that it covered the distance of some sixty German miles in twelve hours.—In The Hague we took advantage of our idle time to inspect the city and its surroundings. We visited Sheveningen, where I saw the North Sea for the first time, just as the tide was coming in.—I can not describe the repulsive impression which the dirty, ragged people of Sheveningen made on me. Almost all of them were begging and asked for alms.—Close to Sheveningen we saw a light-house which we visited and where a dirty fisherman let us in. From there we looked far out upon the ocean. Then we returned to The Hague again to enjoy the pretty park and the beautiful pictures and paintings and the many curious specimens in the museum, but all the while it seemed to me as if we were surrounded by people from Sheveningen, it seemed as if I could not get rid of their smell of blubber.

"On the eighth of April we had finished our business and started back to Arnheim. On our way we took a side trip to Rotterdam to inspect our ship, the Jefferson, which was riding at anchor on the Maas River.—The road to Rotterdam is most unattractive, gloomy and desolate.—On the ninth we reached Arnheim and the following morning we saw the Procureur-Criminel, who had just received our papers from The Hague. New difficulty had arisen on account of the formalities of the Dutch government. I am beginning to wonder if I shall be able to get away from here to-day. Brueg-

FREDERICK STEINES

gerhoff had the good sense to stay in Rotterdam.—In the inns everything is very expensive, not on account of lack of provisions, but because the people have to raise the excessive state taxes. Oh Europe! Europe! what unnatural exertions your distorted conditions make necessary! I feel that I am fortunate to be so close to your borders. Even my last hours spent in you must bring such things to my attention that my departure may be made more easy. Is it not painful, most painful to have to curse one's fatherland, because selfish, crowned despots have forged about her bonds, so that a human being, who has the love of freedom in his breast, can not endure to live within her borders? Farewell Germany! Farewell Europe! May there rise over you a new, a more cheering sun, whose light will send peace and joy into the hearts of men.—A young Englishman who took breakfast with me, also cursed his wretched difficulties with his passes. He said such things were unknown in England. Dear young man, England, too, has its defects. Perhaps there are defects everywhere. If this is the case we shall part all the more gladly when the great curtain falls and the great spectacle of the world vanishes from our sight. But I shall hope for the best. In the still seclusion of the Missouri forests, where nature still reigns supreme, there it must be better. There many hearts shaken by storms will find peace, that peace for which alone it yearns.—I do not like the customs of the Dutch. They do not dine till three or four o'clock in the afternoon. During morning hours the lazy people sleep. Except on extraordinary occasions the business hours do not begin till eleven o'clock in the forenoon. At six o'clock in the evening the business houses are open again, and even in The Hague we transacted business till eleven o'clock at night. —It is unpardonable on the part of the Dutch government to impose such delay and such difficulties upon us Prussians, since we are supplied with valid passes, and have given evidence that we have property, and especially when these various facts have been attested by a Dutch notary."

Baltimore, June 8, 1834.

"Dear Dellmann and dear sister:—

"On the morning of April 17 the anchors were raised and we left Rotterdam, but were detained at the locks of Helvoetsluis. On the twentieth we saw the coasts of England and of France. We had passed Calais and Dover during the previous night. The twenty-second we were in the Atlantic Ocean. The twenty-third brought us fine northeast wind, which is always agreeable because then the ship does not lie on its side. During such days we shortened the lagging hours with songs and jests. For twelve days we had terribly stormy weather. On the seventh of May we were under the 36th degree of latitude and the 39th of longitude. The captain intended to steer in a southwesterly direction and later to cross the Gulf Stream at right angles. Prevailing winds, however, finally forced him to turn northward, so that after much tacking we arrived at the great Bank of Newfoundland on the eighteenth of May. Here the weather was most disagreeable. On the first of June we were opposite Cape Henry where a pilot came to us. In the afternoon of this day we saw the American coast for the first time. The whole ship's company at once gathered about me and joyfully sang the following song which I had written on the twenty-fifth of May in the neighborhood of Nova Scotia.

(In the "Immigrants' Song," Mr. Steines expresses the joy felt at the sight of the American shore, where he thinks tyranny has no abode, where man is free in the exercise of his legitimate employment, and unmolested in the enjoyment of his earnings. He recalls the anguish felt at severing the bonds and ties of the homeland. He voices the hope which fills all the hearts at the end of the long and perilous journey. He pledges the undivided loyalty of all the immigrants to the principles for which American stands and pleads that America may receive them as hospitably as they come trustingly. He sings the praises of the Father of our Country who laid the foundation of this glorious government. In conclusion he rejoices that the children of the immigrants will have a rich inheritance in being American citizens.)

"On account of unfavorable winds we cast anchor, somewhat southeast of the mouth of the Potomac, on the afternoon of June the second. On the afternoon of the fourth we reached Fort McHenry, where health officers came to us, and altho they found us in excellent health, we were obliged to lie at anchor in order to comply with the quarantine law. We landed in Baltimore at noon on the sixth of June.

"The higher one ascends the Chespeake the more beautiful its shores become. What beautiful, dense and extensive forests one sees, and what countless shades of green they present! Very, very picturesque! The city of Baltimore is very well situated. However, it is still too young, and too much in the process of developing to be called beautiful. Cows and swine seek their food in the streets. The presence of so many negroes and mulattoes, of course, made a peculiar impression on us. I must confess that I was very much surprised to see so many negroes parade the streets today, Sunday, adorned like the most elegant white persons.

"Today the clergymen of this city offered thanks to God for bringing us safe and sound to land. We endured many hardships on our journey but after all nothing like a ship from Bremen, which has been held in quarantine since the 31st of May on account of smallpox, which had broken out among the passengers and had taken a toll of four deaths. One young woman who lodges at the same place with us—German House, Pratt Street corner at the bridge—unfortunately became a widow on this ship. All these people came from the region of Hessen-Homburg.—An exceedingly great number of Germans arrive here and in other cities, as I learn daily from the papers.

"Father, mother and brother Peter have gone to the German Lutheran Church. I was unable to go because I am suffering from a boil on my right leg.—The heat is already quite oppressive, and every one is getting lighter clothing and straw hats. Many of our company are already quite Americanized, as far as clothing is concerned.—We have met many Germans who emigrated before us. Even during the first days of our residence here I have been surprised by Ger-

man men and women who addressed me on the street and inquired whether I had also arrived on the boat that had lately come. Answering in the affirmative they exhausted themselves in lamentations and deprecations regarding their lot. Even among the educated Germans I find some who criticise the state of Missouri very severely. Then I usually cross-examined these people, and it was usually found that they had not seen the state of Missouri at all, and thus were criticising without true cause, or they had other unmistakably selfish intentions. Some laud the state of Illinois, others praise the state of Ohio, while still others prefer Pennsylvania, Maryland or Virginia. Everyone is guided by his own interests or the purpose of his speculation. Of Duden they say: 'That man has much to answer for, he has led many people into misery.' But we do not care a straw for all that, and shall hasten as quickly as possible to the lower Missouri. On our whole journey we were cheerful and are so still. On the first of May some remarked: 'My, what a storm!' and someone replied: 'Never mind, in Solingen, there are also storms in Solingen.' This led to discussions in which the officers of justice, the tax collectors and others who have distinguished themselves by tyranny, deception, extortion and injustice of all kinds were severely criticised. To my great joy, however, I have always found that the King of Prussia is highly esteemed, but that he is criticised severely for not punishing his subordinate officers in an exemplary manner, when they transgress so unpardonably against his subjects. —But I must not discuss this point further, it might lead too far. Silence is also a good thing. The sweetest revenge is, after all, to heap coals of fire on the head of one's enemy.

"Father and brother Peter have just come from Mr. Karthaus where they have made inquiry in regard to the transportation of our belongings to the Ohio, and also as to the matter of money exchange. Our baggage will be loaded tomorrow or the day after. We shall take the railroad as far as Fredericktown, the present terminal of the road, and from there the railroad company will transport our goods to Wheeling. The freight charges will be $1.50 per hundredweight.

"In regard to the money exchange, I must tell you, that there was not enough money on hand in Rotterdam to properly change our money. We naturally refrained from taking drafts on special banks here. In exchanging Prussian Friedrichsdor, English sovereigns, and Dutch ten Gulden pieces one sustains a great loss here. The Dutch ducat fares but little better. It is most advisable to bring Fr. Kronthaler and five franc pieces, for in their exchange but slight loss is sustained. The scale of exchange at present is as follows: 1 Friedrichsdor, $3.70; 1 sovereign, $4.44; 1 ten Gulden piece, $3.75; 8 Kronenthaler, $1.08; 1 five franc piece, 94 cents; 1 Napoleond'or, $3.62.

June 12.

"This morning at 5 o'clock our parents, Auguste and Ernst together with old Mr. Bennerz departed for Fredericktown. The rest of us will not leave till this afternoon since we have business to transact.—Our provisions of which we had a great surplus, we sold for $200.00—our baggage was loaded yesterday. Our parents, brother Peter, myself and two families from Leichlingen have chartered two railroad cars to haul our 7098 pounds of baggage, at $1.50 per one hundred pounds. At Fredericktown the cars will be placed on other trucks. From there we shall ride on the baggage wagons to Wheeling. As far as Fredericktown we shall travel in the passenger coach. No fare is charged us from here to Fredericktown, as the price paid for the baggage includes transportation for the persons.—Please have the printer Siebel in Solingen insert an item in his paper stating that we have all arrived safely, for at present we do not have the time to write to all of our friends. You shall not have any lack of letters from us later on. Auf Wiedersehn!

Your loving brother,

FREDERICK STEINES."

Frederick Valley on the Tavern Creek,
Franklin County, Missouri, September 15, 1834.

"Dear Relatives and Friends:—

"Finally I undertake to write to you, but with what feelings you will be able to judge, in a measure, as you read

on. I am unfortunately obliged to report to you many unpleasant things. I have delayed writing you for two reasons. In the first place I had hoped that you should hear of my misfortune in an indirect way before I gave you confirmation of the awful truth. In the second place it was absolutely impossible for me to tell the gruesome story. Now that time has healed the wounds in part, I feel that I can relate to you my misfortunes. The telling will relieve my feelings and ease my suffering. This is the dreadful news; I am a widower and I am childless. Brother Peter, too, is a widower. Incomprehensible indeed are God's ways.

"Late in the afternoon, on the second of July, we arrived in St. Louis. After we landed, brother Peter at once hastened up town, and soon came back with brother Hermann and cousin Greef. The joy of meeting was indeed great. I was charmed to have made such a long journey successfully and to have lost none of those who constituted the happiness of my life. Was it not, in a great measure, for the sake of my children that I had attempted the great undertaking, and did they not surround me well and cheerful? Everybody agreed that rarely did German immigrants arrive so sound and well.

"Brother Hermann, whom we wrote from Fredericktown, had engaged for us a dwelling for a month. We betook ourselves there at once. Good old Bennerz had to spend another night with our baggage on the boat. St. Louis is situated on a hill, like most of the American cities that I have seen. Its situation is pretty and seems to be healthful. Yet it is maintained, that from the opposite-lying state of Illinois, which is said to contain much lowland and many swamps, bad, unhealthful air is carried across.

"On Saturday morning the children seemed to be in perfect health and Auguste and Ernst vied with one another as to who could carry some of the purchases of household articles up stairs most quickly. The heat had for some days been extremely great. In the cities along the Ohio sporadic cases of cholera had been reported, also a sort of fever which the natives called bilious fever. In St. Louis also some persons were afflicted with the ailment. But we were still all

well, perfectly well. On the fifth of July the whole family enjoyed its dinner to the fullest. About three o'clock in the afternoon my brothers and I went out of town to visit with Peter Knecht. On the following morning I intended to go out to the country to buy some land. We had just arrived at Peter Knecht's and were engaged in pleasant conversation, when cousin Greef came rushing in breathlessly and said, 'Fritz, come home quickly, your oldest daughter is getting very sick!' How I got home I do not know. I arrived there simultaneously with the physician who had been summoned. Auguste was pale as a corpse and to add to my terror, Ernst, too, had just been put to bed, dreadfully sick. All medical skill and effort was in vain. At six o'clock Auguste died, and half an hour later little Enrst was a corpse. During the night Peter's wife had an attack of the most violent convulsions and the following morning she, too, lay dead. Ida, my third child also had an attack but after a few days seemed to be on the road to recovery. On the morning that Peter's wife died, my dear wife, with whom I had lived so very happily, began to complain of great weariness. She went to bed, slept almost continuously, and died on Wednesday morning, the ninth of July. On the evening before my youngest child, Lebrecht, died of the terrible cholera also. Two days later, while out walking with my brother Peter, to find a little diversion and consolation, Peter suffered a violent attack of abdominal pain. Hurrying home with him we found our friend, the old Mr. Paffrath, sick in bed, suffering from the cholera. On the following morning the poor old man was dead. How he did suffer! Brother Peter was very, very sick. He firmly believed that he would not recover and charged father and me to look after his young son, Otto. Mother felt badly, as did also father, and brother Hermann was quite ill. My little Ida continued to ail, but, as the physicians told me, was out of danger.

"Almost everybody suffered from abdominal troubles. How could it be otherwise under the circumstances? Such frightful heat, clouds of dust in the streets, stench everywhere in the city, arising from animals which had died in the streets,

or from swamps near the city that were drying out, or from tanneries, slaughter houses and similar sources, for boundless is the filth in the American cities, and nowhere a trace of rules of sanitation. No wonder that one sees the hearse almost continuously on the streets during the hot months.

"Thinking that Ida was slowly but surely on the road to recovery, several of us left the city to look for suitable land. While gone I had the most terrible forebodings that things were not right with my child. Arriving on the 30th in St. Louis, the awful news awaited me that my last child had died on the 25th and had been buried the following day.—Spare me the attempt of describing a nameless grief.

"Now let me go back and tell you about our journey from Baltimore to St. Louis. In Baltimore we made a contract with the railroad company to haul us and our possessions over their line, which is finished as far as Fredericktown. This distance we made very rapidly, for leaving Baltimore at 5:30 o'clock in the afternoon we arrived in Fredericktown two and a half hours later. Here the wagon or rather car boxes were bodily placed on other sets of trucks, and six horses were hitched to each wagon. Our company now consisted of father and mother, brother Peter with his wife and child, Pafrath with his wife and cousin, Weber and wife, young Jansen, the six of us and our two servants. We had engaged two wagons together which cost us $75.00 each, from Baltimore to Wheeling.

"Our journey was a very pleasant one. The only really disagreeable thing about it was the unvarying meat diet which was offered us. When we got tired of riding we walked for a distance. Sometimes we entered into conversation with some of the farmers who lived by the roadside, and being invited to come into the house we had occasion to see the inner arrangement of their log houses, which were often tidy and neatly fitted out. On such occasion my wife's eyes would beam with joy at the anticipation of our own home of similar nature which was to be.

"The gardens which we saw along the way were very wretchedly kept. They were almost lost in weeds. On this

account there but few vegetables to be had, only occasionally some carrots, cucumbers, onions or radishes. Breakfast, dinner and supper were almost always alike, consisting of meat, coffee, or tea, sweet milk or buttermilk. No fruit is to be had in the United States this year since severe frosts destroyed all the blossoms of the fruit trees last March.

"Fredericktown is a pretty and lively town, and the surroundings are very picturesque. The railroad to this place must have cost an enormous sum of money. In places deep cuts have been made thru solid rock, and one time we passed over a bridge where we could see the wagon road far below us. We traveled too fast to get a good view of the country but the unknown varieties of trees, the fences that surround all the fields, and things of this kind reminded us that we were no longer in our native country. A short distance from Fredericktown we came to the first chain of the Alleghanies. They are mountains indeed.—The highways were in a very bad condition. We are told, however, that Congress has appropriated a large sum of money for their repair and building up.—We always spent the night in the places where the railroad employees stopped. There we also got fresh horses on the following morning. At noon, too, the horses were changed.—In America every meal costs 25c, regardless as to how much or how little you eat. This is very expensive, and I advise that immigrants provide themselves with flour and coffee in Baltimore, so that they can bake their own cakes and prepare their own gruel and coffee on the way. Bacon, too, is easily fried, and the lard fried out of the bacon, when mixed with flour, makes little rolls which are very palatable. —We have not found the people in the mountains as hospitable as the Americans had been described to us. For every trifle we had to pay dearly.—A very peculiar custom obtains in the taverns. If one asks for a drink of brandy, the barkeeper sets a flask of the liquor on the bar and a small glass and a flask of water beside it. The customer puts as much of the brandy as he desires in the glass and then takes a drink of water after he has drunk the liquor. In Maryland, Pennsylvania and other places where small coins are in circulation such a drink

costs from three to five cents. Here in Missouri, however, where small coins are unknown, such a drink costs a picayune or 6¼ cents. If the customer serves himself twice, no matter how much or how little, a fact which the barkeeper carefuly notes, he must pay double.—Neither does it make any difference if the boarder asks for only rolls and coffee for breakfast, the charge for a meal is uniformly 25c. The American never pretends to sit down to anything but a full meal.—At any lodging place where one may chance to stop, the traveler has absolute freedom to do his own baking, cooking or frying, and the landlord will not look askance at him on that account. In case one does his own cooking, the night's lodging costs only from six to ten cents.—We have seen travelers do some very queer things in inns. We have seen them come into the office of the inn, and tho they did not lodge or take their meals there, occupy a chair in the middle of the room, lay their bundles, etc., beside them, spit tobacco juice on the floor, throw their quid in the corner of the room, and after having rested pick up their belongings and go away. To us Germans this seems very peculiar. Our women especially were offended thereby, since they are not accustomed to such things.—Our journey thru the mountains, tho associated with some discomforts, was greatly enjoyed by all of us. On this side of the mountains the people are more hospitable than the mountaineers, especially the German Americans among them, are. West of the mountains we bought more cheaply and in some instances milk was even given to us.—The towns which we passed thru on our way from Fredericktown to Wheeling are: Middletown, Boonsburg, Forstberg, Uniontown, Brownsville, Hagerstown, Clear Spring, Hancock, Flintstone, Cumberland, Petersburg, Smithville, Centerville, Hillsburg, Bealsville, Williamsburg, Washington, Martinsburg, Claysville, West Alexandria, West Union, Wheeling, Hagerstown, Brownsville and Washington are the most important.—On the 21st of June we arrived in Washington (Pa.), where we rested the following day, it being Sunday, since the line-wagons do not travel on that day. While there we experienced a real American thunderstorm, the like of

which I have never observed in Germany. It was most violent.—The city of Wheeling occupies a narrow valley. Countless coal shafts can be seen on the opposite bank of the Ohio. In Wheeling we stopped at Hotel Lafayette with an honest German Swiss whose name is Hozier. While there I read of the death of General Lafayette in Paris.—On the 26th we left for the west on the steamer Science. Its destination is Louisville.

"Before I continue that part of my story, however, allow me to return once more to our trip through the mountains.—The inhabitants of the eastern states often migrate to the western part of the Union, and for this reason they are very anxious to sell their belongings in the east. The German immigrant must therefore be on his guard. Everywhere people will ask him whence he comes and whither he goes. They will speak of the western states in a most disparaging manner. They will praise the advantages of the east. Before long they will mention one farm after another, which, they say, can be bought at a great bargain. Many Germans have allowed themselves to be thus deceived, and many others will do so later, for the snares are all too artfully laid. So, for example, I met a young fellow one day, who manifested exceeding joy, because, as he said, he had met good countrymen again. He insisted that we should take a drink with him. When he heard that we intended to go farther west, he said that he was very sorry to hear that, since the east was so much better than the west. Soon there came also a man who purported to be a Frenchman, and who claimed that he had emigrated when France put Louis Philippe on the throne, saying that he had left his fatherland because he did not like the latter ruler. He spoke French, German and English fluently. This man looked more Jewish than French to me. He too became very much animated when he learned that we were bound westward. I soon detected their purpose and told them so. I told them that I recognized in them, the clever agents who were sent out to find buyers for the estates of some land owners. After some protestation they gave me up and tried their cunning on Prafrath. The latter was indeed very much tempted to

take their advice. He asked me as to what he should do. I told him what I thought about it, but urged him to use his own judgment. In the end he decided to go with us.

"As soon as the newspapers announce the arrival of immigrants every speculator sends his agents and helpers to the highways which the immigrants are said to travel. They are found in the inns and everywhere along the way. They insist upon accompanying you on your way for a distance. What are they trying to do? They want to get the money of the immigrant, that is all.

"But let me return to our account down the Ohio. Owing to the heavy rains which had fallen, the Ohio was very high and the steamboats could ply without danger of getting stuck. For this reason we hastened all the more to continue our journey. We had hardly been on our way for two hours when one of the paddle wheels struck a tree trunk which shattered it into splinters.—We had taken second class passage, they call it being "on deck" here. We were well taken care of. The room was large and had windows and a hearth for cooking. For the purpose of preparing meals every immigrant ought to provide himself with a tripod. It is extremely convenient during the ocean voyage as well as on the river steamer.—On the morning of the 28th we arrived at Cincinnati, where a stop of two hours was made. I hastened up town to see some acquaintances of ours.—Cincinnati is a beautiful city. It has perhaps the cheapest market in America. The presence of cows and swine on the streets is very offensive, however. But this is a condition which I observed in all the American cities that I have seen.—On Sunday the 29th we arrived at Louisville, and since we found a boat ready to depart for St. Louis, we did not have an opportunity to see the town. The captain of the "Science" had the kindness to land his boat close to the other boat, the "New Companion," helped me make a contract with the captain of this boat, and made it easy for us to transfer our belongings from one boat to the other. At noon we were on our way again, and passed thru the canal which is built around the falls of the Ohio. This canal has five locks. The canal is quite narrow and has

several troublesome bends.—At Portsmouth we saw the mouth of the canal which extends from New York thru Lake Erie to the Ohio, and thus connects the western part of the country with the eastern and the Atlantic Ocean.—On the evening of the 30th we ran ashore, due to the neglect of the pilot, and had to await the arrival of another boat to pull us out.—At Marietta we took on board an old man who acquainted us with the fact that he was the father of that Mr. Gall who wrote so disparagingly about America. The old man spoke very passionately about America and asserted that it was impossible that the Lord could have created this country. We all got tired of Mr. Gall and if he had not presently left the boat, I am sure that he would have gotten a beating from some of the angry Americans.—Without any further serious mishap we reached the mouth of the Ohio and steamed up the great Mississippi toward St. Louis where we arrived on the evening of July the 2nd.

"The gruesome story of what happened to my family I have already told in the earlier part of this letter. I shall not speak of that any more, but dwell upon other things that transpired about that time.—

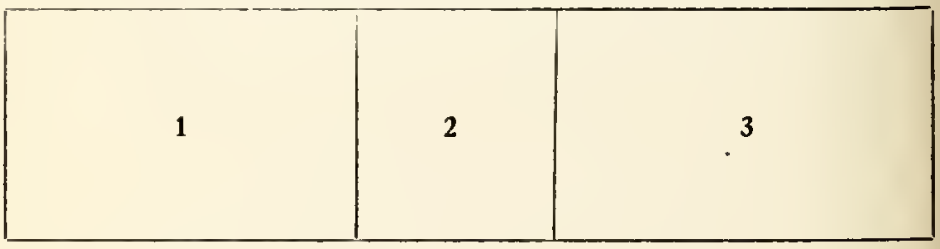
"On the 16th of July, when the survivors of my family were thought to be out of danger, cousin Greef and I went out into the country to look at some farms that were for sale and also to inspect some state lands, which are here commonly called public or congress lands. On the evening of the 19th of July we came back to St. Louis. We had seen a few good farms and good congress land, in fact the very place where I am now living. But in order not to proceed too hastily, I went once more with brother Hermann, Pfaffrath, Weber, Erkblatt and Steffens to look at other congress lands. On the 25th the last three mentioned gentlemen returned to St. Louis. The rest of us went some thirty miles farther up the Missouri, as far as Washington, which lies on the south bank of the river, almost directly opposite Duden's farm. We did not like it so well at Washington, so we went back to the Tavern Creek and the Wild Horse Creek, where Mr.

Wirth from Remscheid lives. On the 30th of July we got back to St. Louis."

October 17.

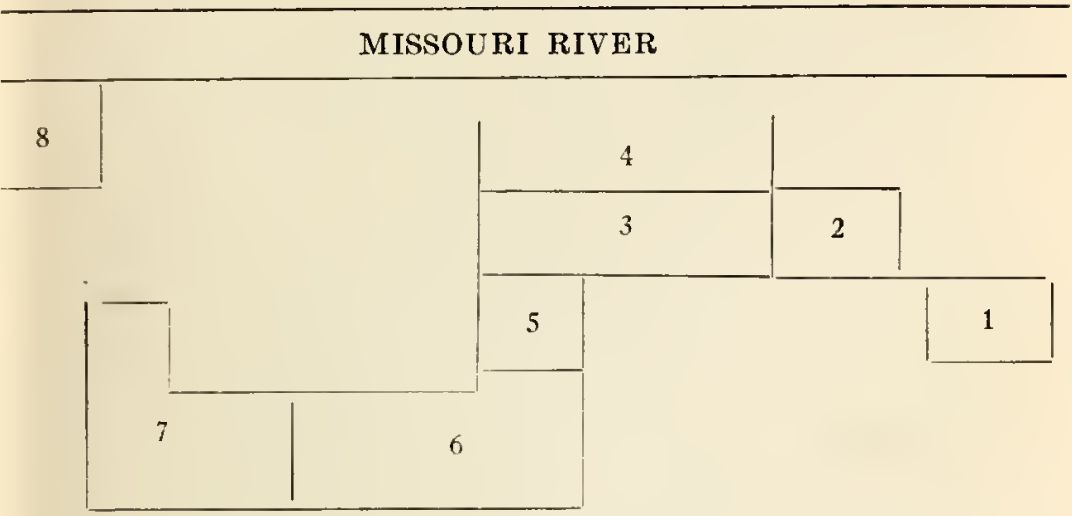
"On the Tavern Creek I bought a farm from Billy Bacon, as you see, from a private owner. The farm contains 115 acres, of which 30 acres are cleared land. I bought not only the farm, but also the crop, consisting of corn, wheat, oats, potatoes, cotton, pumpkins, also the stock—1 horse, 10 head of cattle, 11 sheep, about 50 hogs, chickens, and beehives, moreover, plows and other farm implements, harness, etc., all for $1,000.00. In St. Louis I went to the land office and bought a small tract of congress land which joins the farm. In all the farm now contains 158 acres. As you observe the plots of congress land do not always contain exactly 40 acres. The congress land was bought at 1¼ dollars an acre. There was a small "improvement" on the land, for which I gave the owner $15.00. The "improvement" consists of a clearing of 7 acres, but no buildings.

"I have just finished a house which cost me $45.00. Thus provision has been made for the first shelter. A larger and more handsome house, which will be connected with the former by a hallway, will be erected next week. The ground plan of my house will be something like this:



No. 1 is 20 feet long, No. 2, the hall, 12 feet, No. 3 is a room 22 feet long. The width of the building is uniformly 16 feet. This is an American log house. No. 1 was built for me by the Reverend McKennon, No. 2 is being built by Doctor Terril. You see from this that the local scholars (may God, however, have mercy on their scholarship) are at the same time tradesmen.—The surroundings here are very attractive, abounding in many hills.

"I shall now draw a little sketch to show you the location of my farm in relation to the farms of my neighbors and the Missouri!



Farm No. 1 is occupied by Adolph Greef. No. 2 belongs to Mathias Wahl from Schleiden, who will come here from St. Louis next spring. He is a shoemaker. No. 3 is my property. No. 4 to my neighbor Stump, an American. I intend to buy this farm during the next few days. No. 5 belongs to Florenz Kochs from Gesenkirchen. He has been living here for the last three weeks. No. 6 is the farm which my parents and my brother occupy. No. 7 is Doctor Terril's farm. No. 8 is Doctor Kincaid's place on the Missouri, it is now unoccupied and for sale. All these farms have one or more good springs, the water of which collects and forms a brook in the lower part of my farm. This brook increases in size and empties as a considerable stream in the Missouri on farm No. 8.

"In half an hour I can walk to our parents' place, and the same length of time I can reach the Missouri. Three miles east of us we have a highway, the Franklin road, which makes communication with St. Louis and other places easy. We have also a good driveway to Knecht's place where there is a steamboat landing.

"On my place I find all the trees described by Duden.—We have no fruit this year on account of the late frosts last spring. Last year the farmers had a great abundance of fruit.—In an earlier part of my letter I spoke of an "improvement." Let me tell you what is meant by this expression. Poor speculators hunt out a good place where a good spring and good soil is found. There they build the most necessary buildings, clear some land and live there till someone buys the land at the land office. The purchaser seeks to come to some understanding with the "improvement man" before the purchase is made. On each one of farms Nos. 1, 2, 3, 5 there were small "improvements."—I have bought a saddle horse which easily makes the distance of 32 miles from here to St. Louis in from five to six hours.—On Ridenhour Creek, also called Fiddle Creek the following have recently settled: Herminghaus, Brueggerhof and Wengler.—Deus has bought some land from Mr. von Martell and also some congress land on the north side of the river. I am told that he has not made a good bargain. I am somewhat surprised at him for leaving this neighborhood. The society of the high-toned Latin farmers must have attracted him. Somehow I cannot help feeling that it was largely his fault that our company was so badly broken up after we arrived in America.—Arnz, Scheulen, Kloenne, Clarenbach, Ubert, Sandfort, Muehlinghaus and Jaeger Heuer have all gone 100 miles farther west and have settled in the neighborhood of Jefferson City.—Mrs. Krischbaum and Mr. Steffens have jointly bought a little farm some nine miles from here. Mr. Kirschbaum died a few days after they moved to the farm.—The mortality among the German immigrants has been enormous during the year. Dings, Rettig, Daniel Knecht, Paul Kuester and the latter's brother-in-law, Huelsen, Abraham Kirschbaum, Mrs. Wengler, Mrs. Ubert, Zimmermann, Eckblatt, Weber, Mrs. Weber, all of our acquaintance have passed away. Many others were sick but recovered. I alone, in spite of all the horror, in spite of all the sleepless nights, have remained well and sound. In my wretched state of mind I have often wished for death myself. I disregarded every precaution in regard to food and

drink but still I remained well.—On page 169 Duden tells about the trouble which many of the immigrants have with boils. As you already know I was thus afflicted. Old Mr. Busch, who now lives at St. Charles, has so many boils, that according to the statement of Brueggerhof and Hermann his skin looked as rough as the bark of an oak tree. You see, dear folks, here everything that is German must give way, even the skin is peeled off.—In my opinion the cause for this great mortality is to be found in the ignorance of the people regarding local condition of health. No Germans ought to come here during the months of July, August and September. I myself have regretted a thousand times that I did not come last year for during the winter we should have learned much to our advantage. Neither ought immigrants to stay in the American cities, they are places of filth of the first rank.

"October 18, the anniversary of the great battle of Leipzig.

"You doubtless would like to know something of the people with whom we are living here. Moreover, you will want to know how we Germans like it here.

"The people live very comfortably here, but some of them are exceedingly lazy. Oftentimes I have seen the man of the house stretched out on his back in the middle of the room sleeping for hours, his wife sitting in a rocking chair, her hands folded idly in her lap, and the daughters of the house sitting lazily about fanning themselves. The women like to adorn themselves and on ordinary occasions appear as well dressed as the German women are on Sunday. The men on the other hand are almost always carelessly dressed, and it is not at all surprising to see the husband wearing tattered garments walking or riding beside his wife in all her finery. But you must remember—Liberty and Equality!—There are no differences in rank. The poorest and the richest mingle on equal terms. —The meaning of taxes is scarcely known, and military obligations are an unknown quantity. There is no oppression of any kind here, so that a German feels here as if he had been taken from imprisonment into freedom.—Churches exist only in the cities. Here in the country transient clergymen preach

occasionally in private homes. The schools are very poorly taken care of, but somehow American life seems to compensate for many other omissions. I have traveled much in my neighborhood, but everywhere I was made to feel that I was among educated people.—The American homes do not make necessary nor do they even suggest the necessity of luxury in the way of furniture.—I find the people here exceedingly friendly. But they are all speculative, and if they can drive a sharp bargain and get a little more in a deal than is right they will rarely pass the opportunity by. If, on the other hand, you stand your ground and frankly tell them, 'That is too much, so and so much is sufficient,' they are usually satisfied. This is no place for a stupid person.—Our parents and brothers like it well here. Hermann has given up his position in St. Louis and lives on a farm and practices medicine on the side. Mother misses her nice furniture which she left in Kettwig, and father misses his old circle of friends. This is but natural for it is hard for old persons to become adjusted to such entirely new conditions.—Everybody rides on horseback here. Even father and mother have learned it.—All our German friends like it here. We have all arisen to a new and better life. It seems to me that we should pity the dead, especially on account of the fact that they were not permitted to really enjoy their life here for even a short time.—I own 2 horses, 3 cows, 3 calves, 24 chickens and 12 geese; also a yoke of oxen and a wagon. Everybody assures me that I have an unusually fine yoke of oxen. My brothers say it was a mere accident that I came into possession of such fine oxen, but I cannot forego the pleasure of doing justice to my ox-sense. This I had ample opportunity of acquiring during the later years of my stay in the Fatherland, during which time I frequently came in contact with the most perfect oxen of my region. Under such circumstances I ought certainly to have learned to know a good ox when I saw one.—At the present time I am chiefly engaged in laying out a garden and a farmyard. Wild apple, plum and cherry trees are found in great number on my farm. I have a few pawpaws and persimmons that have resisted the frost and are even now very palatable.

There is no lack of game, but hunting in the forest is difficult because we have no dogs to find the game. The wild duck, and goose, and turkey, as well as the deer, give us very delicious meat.—The woods are often very unsightly because the farmers burn the dry leaves and grass in an attempt to secure better pasture for their stock. This not only destroys the undergrowth but also does damage to young trees and even to old trees.—This region is underlaid with limestone.—I do not know whether there is any coal here or not. No one seems to care since there is such an abundance of wood for fuel.—Horses cost from $30.00 to $50.00 a head. Saddles cost from $6.00 to $20.00 in St. Louis and the rest of the riding equipment and harness is in proportion to this item. Good, well trained oxen cost from $30.00 to $40.00 per yoke. A light four-wheeled wagon with a box costs from $50.00 to $80.00. A cow with calf is valued at $10.00 or $15.00. Fat hogs weighing about 150 pounds cost $4.00 a head. Furniture is dear as is, in fact, everything that is made by the artisan. Day labor is high—50 cents. Manufactured articles are cheap, and for this reason no immigrant ought to bring this sort of things with him. Hardware and steel tools are better and more suitable to the local need than those from abroad. The only exception to this last statement is the spade. I find the American spade clumsy and awkward. If in future you have the opportunity to send me from 50 to 100 spades, I shall be glad to pay you for the trouble and cost. Woolen garments are expensive here, and yet I should not recommend that a large amount of them should be brought by the immigrant, for in the summer time only thin garments are worn. Auf wiedersehn to all.

Your loving brother and friend,

FREDERICK STEINES."

"Frederick's Valley, November 22, 1834.

"My dear relatives:

"After the loss of my family I was, of course, very much downcast and hoped to die myself. If my parents and my brothers had not been here, I should not have settled here

but should have gone back east. But now I own a farm which I am managing myself and there is lacking nothing for my happiness except the intelligent and clever assistance of a good wife. In vain I wish for the return of my dear departed. However much the heart may rebel, intelligence commands that in whatever situation we may find ourselves, we should choose that which is most suitable and best. For this reason I have just become engaged to Bertha Herminghaus, who was born on the 28th of August, 1818, at Galkhausen near Reusrath. She is a cheerful girl, pretty, healthy and strong. She and her parents came to this country with us. Now they live in my neighborhood.

"January 29, 1835.

"On the second of December my betrothed and I rode to St. Louis, accompanied by Mr. and Mrs. Brueggershof. My fiance is an excellent horsewoman. Returning on the 8th we were horrified to hear that brother Peter had had serious difficulty with a rupture from which he suffered while he was yet in Germany. He suffered the attack while out horseback riding. Three physicians sought to give him relief but on the 22nd of December poor brother Peter died. On the 23d we buried him. I made the address at the grave, basing my remarks on the text from Isaiah: 'For my thoughts are not your thoughts, etc.' Brother Peter's Otto, a sturdy, splendid little fellow, now lives with me.

"Because of the mourning in which our family is, Bertha and I were quietly married on January 1. Several days later we assembled our relatives and neighbors at our home to celebrate the wedding feast.

"The weather here is subject to unusual changes. From the latter part of September to the present time we have had rather heavy night frosts but the days were warm. January has been quite mild, so that we are reminded of the German April.

"As I have previously stated there is a great lack of vegetables. It was with a great deal of difficulty that I managed to buy some beets and a few bushels of potatoes and a few parsnips. Our diet therefore consists largely of

bread and meat, coffee and tea. I bought 300 pounds of beef, and we laid by 1000 pounds of pork. I am now diligently preparing ground for a garden. Sometimes when I am out spading in my garden the Americans come over and say: 'That work is too hard, you will kill yourself.' Then I reply: 'I shall not kill myself, but I fear I shall die if I eat nothing but bread and meat as you people do.'

Bennerz, my hired man, is felling trees, and Mina, the hired girl, helps in the clearing by cutting down the hazel bushes with which the valley is thickly overgrown. In this work she is assisted by a German scholar who has lived with me since September. This man has had remarkable experiences in his life, has spent much time in the company of nobles and princes, but now prefers to cut down trees and hazel bushes in the American forest.

"February 16, 1835.

"I was unable to continue my letter on account of the cold weather which set in. On the 30th of January it began to rain and then to snow. Suddenly the thermometer dropped to 21° C. The snow lay a foot deep. The ordinary log house does not protect against such weather. Experience has taught me that one needs just as substantial houses here as in Germany. Duden's advice on page 237 in regard to having a certain surplus for a better dwelling is well to be heeded.

"The German settler simply cannot live like the local planters do. These people live like veritable Hottentots. Most of their houses are without windows. Instead of a window an opening is left between the logs. In cold weather this is stopped up with rags or small boards. If light is required the door must be opened. Within this shack the people all gather around the great fire place. They live a wretched life indeed. Their food consists of corn bread and bacon, and then again bacon and corn bread with coffee or tea. Yet they seem to be satisfied and wish for nothing better, in fact many of them do not know that there is anything better. How strange that just in a land where nature and the political conditions make it possible to have the greatest superabundance so easily, man is too lazy to acquire it. It is therefore

well that many European immigrants should come, in order that this sort of living be done away with.

"But let me refer again to the cold weather. In the mornings when we awoke, there was ice on the bedcovers. Boiling water with which we attempted to wash off the table, froze before it could be wiped off. The whole day long the table was covered with ice. Cups filled with hot coffee almost instantly froze to the table. We stood or sat about the fire while eating our meals, but in spite of this the fat from our meat at once became thick and cold on our plates. The poor stock was indeed to be pitied. Calves and young hogs died. I myself lost a calf and three young pigs. Other farmers sustained much heavier losses, largely, no doubt, because they were too lazy to feed their stock. In this way Dr. Terrill lost 30 head of hogs. I gave my live stock all the corn they could eat, and to this I attribute the fact that I did not sustain greater losses. The climate here is by no means such as one might expect from the geographical location and from the report of Duden. The weather is very inconstant and is subject to the most extreme changes. Duden's report seems, on the whole to be somewhat phantastic, unless it be that during his stay here the weather was exceptionally fine. Because of the inconstancy of the weather many Americans are moving to Texas, where the climate is better and the weather not subject to such extreme changes.

"On page 153 Duden says that St. Louis is a very healthful place, and yet every farmer takes precaution not to go there during the months of July and August. The reasons for this I have given previously. The above statement and many others lead me to believe that Duden allowed himself to be deceived by the Americans. These people are given to exaggeration. If it is cold, then it never was *that* cold before, if it is hot, then it was never *that* hot before. If he wants to sell a piece of land or a head of live stock or anything else, then his possessions are always better than anything else of the kind in the world. When all is summed up, it must be said, that the state of Missouri is no Utopia, as Europeans commonly assume, and there is no thought of Utopian living.

My friends, I know why I like it better in America than in Germany, but I pray you not to come here, for you are not I, and I am not you.

"The occupation of the farmer is a very difficult one, because of the lack of proper assistance. The difference between day labor and the price of our produce is too great to make the work profitable. Imagine, if you can, what would happen if a German farmer had to do all the various kinds of work himself on his estate; if plowing, sowing, harvesting, the making of various implements, the building of houses, etc., the care of the garden, the care of the live stock, etc., etc., all had to be done by his own hands. But that is just the condition of affairs here. It is for this reason that the farmer's life is so destitute of joy. Genuine happiness of life certainly does not consist of work and the eating of meat."

March 3, 1835.

"All of February it was very cold and even now the snow lies more than a foot deep on the ground. The Mississippi was frozen over for six weeks, so that four-horse wagons could pass over it.

"Before I close this letter I must tell you of a terrible plague from which we suffer, it is the American scab or itch, some call it the Brazilian itch. Duden makes passing mention of this ailment on page 169. He also states that with the advent of cold weather it disappears again. But I tell you that this is *not* so. I am suffering terribly from this malady. In the evening the itching begins, and makes every kind of work impossible. Every part of the body is affected by it to some extent, tho it attacks the abdomen seriously, and the feet worst of all. This awful itch did not make itself felt until the cold weather set in. In the evening it is absolutely impossible for me to read or write, and often times am compelled to go to bed at the approach of darkness. You see, my German friends, man seems to be destined to scratch in this world. If his scales are not knocked off for him, then he is placed in such a situation where he is obliged to scratch for himself. The Americans are not free from the itch either, tho they are not attacked as severely as the foreigners. The

physicians here know no remedy against this plague. My friend Doctor Kinkaid, a Scotchman, who studied in Leipzig and there took part in the campaign of 1813, has taught me a schottish, which he calls the itch dance. In executing this dance one hops and jumps about in even time and scratches and rubs quite lustily. I must confess that this itch dance, in itself most uncomfortable, affords me more pleasure than the most successful parade, which I have ever participated in, gun in hand. Auf Wiedersehn!

"FREDERICK STEINES."

SHELBY'S EXPEDITION TO MEXICO

AN UNWRITTEN LEAF OF THE WAR.

John N. Edwards.

FOURTH ARTICLE (REPRINT)

CHAPTER IX

Gen. Jeanningros held Monterey with a garrison of five thousand French and Mexican soldiers. Among them was the Foreign Legion—composed of Americans, English, Irish, Arabs, Turks, Germans and negroes—and the Third French Zouaves, a regiment unsurpassed for courage and discipline in any army in any nation on earth. This regiment afterwards literally passed away from service at Gravelotte. Like the old Guard at Waterloo, it was destroyed.

Jeanningros was a soldier who spoke English, who had gray hair, who drank absinthe, who had been in the army thirty years, who had been wounded thirteen times, and who was only a general of brigade. His discipline was all iron. Those who transgressed, those who were found guilty at night were shot in the morning. He never spared what the court martial had condemned. There was a ghastly dead wall in Monterey—isolated, lonesome, forbidding, terrible—which had seen many a stalwart form shudder and fall—many a young, fresh, dauntless face go down stricken in the hush of the morning. The face of this wall, covered all over with warts, with excrescences, with scars, had about it a horrible smallpox. Where the bullets had plowed it up were the traces of the pustules. The splashes of blood left by the slaughter, dried there. In the sunlight these shone as sinister blushes upon the countenance of that stony and inanimate thing, peering out from an inexorable ambush—waiting.

Speaking no word for the American, and setting down naught to the credit side of his necessities or his surroundings,

those who had brought news to Jeanningros of Shelby's operations at Piedras Negras had told him as well of the Cannon sold as of the arms and ammunition. Jeanningros had waited patiently and had replied to them:

"Wait awhile. We must catch them before we hang them."

While he was waiting to lay hands upon them, Shelby had marched to within a mile of the French outposts at Monterey. He came as a soldier, and he meant to do a soldier's work. Pickets were thrown forward, the horses were fed, and Gov. Reynolds put in most excellent French this manner of a note.

GEN. JEANNINGROS, Commander at Monterey—General:

I have the honor to report that I am within one mile of your fortifications with my command. Preferring exile to surrender, I have left my own country to seek service in that held by His Imperial Majesty, the Emperor Maximilian. Shall it be peace or war between us? If the former, and with your permission, I shall enter your lines at once, claiming at your hands that courtesy due from one soldier to another. If the latter, I propose to attack you immediately.

Very respectfully yours,
JO. O. SHELBY.

Improvising a flag of truce, two fearless soldiers, John Thrailkill and Rainy McKinney, bore it boldly into the public square at Monterey. This flag was an apparition. The long roll was beaten, the garrison stood to their arms, mounted orderlies galloped hither and thither, and Jeanningros himself, used all his life to surprises, was attracted by the soldierly daring of the deed. He received the message and answered it favorably, remarking to Thrailkill, as he handed him the reply:

"Tell your General to march in immediately. He is the only soldier that has yet come out of Yankeedom."

Jeanningros' reception was as frank and open as his speech. That night, after assigning quarters to the men, he gave a banquet to the officers. Among those present were Gen. Magruder, Ex. Senator Trusten Polk, Ex-Governor Thomas C. Reynolds, Gen. T. C. Hindman, Gen. E. Kirby Smith, Gen. John B. Clark, Gen. Shelby, and many others

fond of talk, wine and adventure. Jeanningros was a superb host. His conversation never tired of the Crimea, of Napoleon III's *coup d'etat*, of the Italian campaign, of the march to Pekin, of Algeria, of all the great soldiers he had known, and of all the great campaigns he had participated in. The Civil War in America was discussed in all of its vivid and somber lights, and no little discussion carried on as to the probable effect peace would have upon Maximilian's occupation of Mexico. Jeanningros was emphatic in all of his declarations. In reply to a question asked by Shelby concerning the statesmanship of the Mexican Emperor, the French General replied:

"Ah! the Austrian; you should see him to understand him. More of a scholar than a king, good at botany, a poet on occasions, a traveler who gathers curiosities and writes books, a saint over his wine and a sinner among his cigars, in love with his wife, believing more in manifest destiny than drilled battalions, good Spaniard in all but deceit and treachery, honest, earnest, tender-hearted and sincere, his faith is too strong in the liars who surround him, and his soul is too pure for the deeds that must be done. He cannot kill as we Frenchmen do. He knows nothing of diplomacy. In a nation of thieves and cut-throats, he goes devoutly to mass, endows hospitals, laughs a good man's laugh at the praises of the blanketed rabble, says his prayers and sleeps the sleep of the gentleman and the prince. Bah! his days are numbered; nor can all the power of France keep his crown upon his head, if, indeed it can keep that head upon his shoulders."

The blunt soldier checked himself suddenly. The man had spoken over his wine; the courtier never speaks.

"Has he the confidence of Bazaine?" asked Gen. Clark.

Jeanningros gave one of those untranslatable shrugs which are a volume, and drained his goblet before replying:

"The Marshal, you mean. Oh! the Marshal keeps his own secrets. Besides, I have not seen the Marshal since coming northward. Do you go further, Gen. Clark?"

The diplomatist had met the diplomatist. Both smiled; neither referred to the subject again.

Daylight shone in through the closed shutters before the party separated—the Americans to sleep, the Frenchman to sign a death warrant.

A young lieutenant of the Foreign Legion, crazed by that most damnable of drinks, absinthe, had deserted from outpost duty in a moment of temporary insanity. For three days he wandered about, taking no note of men or things, helpless and imbecile. On the morning of the fourth day his reason was given back to him. None knew better than himself the nature of the precipice upon which he stood. Before him lay the Rio Grande, the succor beyond, an asylum, safety; behind him the court martial, the sentence, the horrible wall, splashed breast high with blood, the platoon, the levelled muskets—death. He never faltered. Returning to the outpost at which he had been stationed, he saluted its officer and said:

"Here I am."

"Indeed. And who are you?"

"A deserter."

"Ah! but Jeanningros shoots deserters. Why did you not keep on since you had started?"

"No matter. I am a Frenchman and I know how to die."

They brought him in while Jeanningros was drinking his generous wine, and holding high revelry with his guests. When the morning came he was tried. No matter for anything the poor young soldier could say, and he said but little. At sunrise upon the next morning he was to die.

When Jeanningros awoke late in the afternoon there was a note for him. Its contents, in substance, was as follows:

"I do not ask for my life—only for the means of disposing of it. I have an old mother in France who gave me to the country and who blessed me as she said good-bye. Under the law, General, if I am shot, my property goes to the state; if I shoot myself my mother gets it. It is a little thing a soldier asks of his General, who has medals, and honors, and, maybe a mother, too—but for the sake of the uniform I wore at Solferino, is it asking more than you can grant when I ask for a revolver and a bottle of brandy?"

Through his sleepy, half-shut eyes, Jeanningros read the message to the end. When he had finished he called an aide:

"Take to the commandant of the prison this order."

The order was for the pistol and the brandy.

That afternoon and night the young Lieutenant wrote, and drank, and made his peace with all the world. What laid beyond he knew not, nor any man born of woman. There was a little light in the east and a little brandy in the bottle. But the letters had all been written, and the poor woman in France would get her just due after all.

Turn out the guard!

For what end? No need of soldiers there—rather the coffin, the prayer of the priest, the grave that God blessed though by man decreed unhallowed. French to the last, the Lieutenant had waited for the daylight, had finished his bottle, and had scattered his brains over the cold walls of his desolate prison. Jeanningros heard the particulars duely related, and had dismissed the Adjutant with an epigram:

"Clever fellow. He was entitled to two bottles instead of one."

Such is French discipline. All crimes but one may be condoned—desertion never.

Preceding Shelby's arrival in Monterey, there had come also Col. Francois Achille Dupin, a Frenchman who was known as "The Tiger of the Tropics." What he did would fill a volume. Recorded here, no reader would believe it—no Christian would imagine such warfare possible. He was past sixty, tall as Tecumseh, straight as a rapier, with a seat in the saddle like an English guardsman, and a waist like a woman. For deeds of desperate daring he had received more decorations than could be displayed upon the right breast of his uniform. His hair and beard, snowy white, contrasted strangely with a stern, set face that had been bronzed by the sun and the wind of fifty campaigns.

In the Chinese expedition, this man had led the assault upon the Emperor's palace, wherein no defender escaped the bayonet and no woman the grasp of the brutal soldiery. Sack, and pillage, and murder, and crimes without a name all

were there, and when the fierce carnage was done, Dupin, staggering under the weight of rubies, and pearls, and diamonds, was a disgraced man. The inexorable jaws of a French court martial closed down upon him, and he was dismissed from service. It was on the trial that he parodied the speech of Warren Hastings and declared:

"When I saw mountains of gold and precious stones piled up around me, and when I think of the paltry handfulls taken away, by G-d, Mr. President, I am astonished at my own moderation."

As they stripped his decorations and his ribbons from his breast, he drew himself up with a touching and graceful air, and said to the officer, saluting: "They have left me nothing but my scars."

Such a man, however, tiger and butcher as he was, had need of the army and the army had need of him. The Emperor gave him back his rank, his orders, his decorations, and gave him as well his exile into Mexico.

Maximilian refused him; Bazaine found work for his sword. Even then that fatal quarrel was in its beginning which, later, was to leave a kingdom defenseless, and an Emperor without an arsenal or a siege-gun. Dupin was ordered to recruit a regiment of Contre Guerrillas, that is to say, a regiment of Free Companions who were to be superbly armed and mounted, and who were to follow the Mexican guerrillas through copse and chapparal, through lowland and lagoon, sparing no man upon whom hands were laid, fighting all men who had arms in their hands, and who could be found or brought to bay.

Murder with Dupin was a fine art. Mistress or maid he had none. That cold, brown face, classic a little in its outlines, and retaining yet a little of its fierce Southern beauty, never grew soft save when the battle was wild and the wreck of the carnage ghastly and thick. On the eve of conflict he had been known to smile. When he laughed or sang his men made the sign of the cross. They knew death was ready at arm's length, and that in an hour he would put his sickle in amid the rows and reap savagely a fresh harvest of simple

yet offending Mexicans. Of all things left to him from the sack of that Pekin palace, one thing alone remained, typical of the tiger thirst that old age, nor disgrace, nor wounds, nor rough foreign service, nor anything human, had power potent enough to quench or assuage. Victor Hugo, in his "Toilers of the Sea," has woven it into the story after this fashion, looking straight, perhaps, into the eyes of the cruel soldier who, in all his life, has never listened to prayer or priest:

"A piece of silk stolen during the last war from the palace of the Emperor of China, represented a shark eating a crocodile, who is eating a serpent, who is devouring an eagle, who is preying on a swallow, who is in his turn eating a caterpillar. All nature which is under our observation is thus alternately devouring and devoured. The prey prey on each other."

Dupin preyed upon his species. He rarely killed outright. He had a theory, often put into practice, which was diabolical.

"When you kill a Mexican," he would say, "that is the end of him. When you cut off an arm or a leg that throws him upon the charity of his friends, and then two or three must support him. Those who make corn cannot make soldiers. It is economy to amputate."

Hundreds thus passed under the hands of his surgeons. His maimed and mutilated were in every town from Mier to Monterey. On occasions when the march had been pleasant and the wine generous, he would permit chloroform for the operation. Otherwise not. It distressed him for a victim to die beneath the knife.

"You bunglers endanger my theory," he would cry out to his surgeons. "Why can't you cut without killing?"

The "Tiger of the Tropics" also had his playful moods. He would stretch himself in the sun, overpower one with gentleness and attention, say soft things in whispers, quote poetry on occasions, make of himself an elegant host, serve the wine, laugh low and lightsomely, wake up all of a sudden a demon, and—*kill.*

One instance of this is yet a terrible memory in Monterey.

An extremely wealthy and influential Mexican, Don Vincente Ibarra, was at home upon his *hacienda* one day about

noon as Dupin marched by. Perhaps this man was a Liberal; certainly he sympathized with Juarez and had done much for the cause in the shape of recruiting and resistance to the predatory bands of Imperialists. As yet, however, he had taken up no arms, and had paid his proportion of the taxes levied upon him by Jeanningros.

Dupin was at dinner when his scouts brought Ibarra into camp. In front of the tent was a large tree in full leaf, whose spreading branches made an extensive and most agreeable shade. Under this the Frenchman had a campstool placed for the comfort of the Mexican.

"Be seated," he said to him in a voice no harsher than the wind among the leaves overhead. "And waiter, lay another plate for my friend."

The meal was a delightful one. Dupin talked as a subject who had a prince for his guest, and as a lover who had a woman for his listener. In the intervals of the conversation he served the wine. Ibarra was delighted. His suspicious Spanish heart relaxed the tension of its grim defence, and he even stroked the tiger's velvet skin, who closed his sleepy eyes and purred under the caress.

When the wine was at its full cigars were handed. Behind the white cloud of smoke, Dupin's face darkened. Suddenly he spoke to Ibarra, pointing up to the tree:

"What a fine shade it makes, Senor? Do such trees ever bear fruit?"

"Never, Colonel. What a question."

"Never? All things are possible with God, why not with a Frenchman?"

"Because a Frenchman believes so little in God, perhaps."

The face grew darker and darker.

"Are your affairs prosperous, Senor?"

"As much so as these times will permit."

"Very good. You have just five minutes in which to make them better. At the end of that time I will hang you on that tree so sure as you are a Mexican. What ho! Capt. Jacan, turn out the guard!"

Ibarra's deep olive face grew ghastly white, and he fell upon his knees. No prayers, no agonizing entreaty, no despairing supplication wrung from a strong man in his agony availed him aught. At the appointed time his rigid frame swung between heaven and earth, another victim to the mood of one who never knew an hour of penitence or mercy. The tree had borne fruit.

And so this manner of a man—this white-haired Dupin—decorated, known to two Continents as the "Tiger of the Tropics," who kept four picked Chasseurs to stand guard about and over him night and day, this old-young soldier, with a voice like a school-girl and a heart like a glacier, came to Monterey and recruited a regiment of Contre-Guerrillas, a regiment that feared neither God, man, the Mexicans nor the devil.

Under him as a Captain was Charles Ney, the grandson of that other Ney who cried out to D'Erlou at Waterloo, "Come and see how a Marshal of France dies on the field of battle."

In Captain Ney's company there were two squadrons—a French squadron and an American squadron, the last having for its commander Capt. Frank Moore, of Alabama. Under Moore were one hundred splendid Confederate soldiers who, refusing to surrender, had sought exile, and had stranded upon that inevitable lee shore called necessity. Between the Scylla of short rations and the Charybdis of empty pockets, the only channel possible was the open sea. So into it sailed John C. Moore, Armistead, Williams, and the rest of that American squadron which was to become famous from Matamoras to Matebuala.

This much by the way of preface has been deemed necessary in order that an accurate narrative may be made of the murder of Gen. M. M. Parsons, of Jefferson City, his brother-in-law, Col. Standish, of the same place, the Hon. M. D. Conrow, of Caldwell county, and three gallant young Irishmen, James Mooney, Patrick Langdon, and Michael Monarthy. Ruthlessly butchered in a foreign country, they yet had avengers. When the tale was told to Col. Dupin, by John

Moore, he listened as an Indian in ambush might to the heavy tread of some unwary and approaching trapper. After the story had been finished he asked abruptly:

"What would you Americans have?"

"Permission," said Moore, "to gather up what is left of our comrades and bury what is left."

"And strike a good, fair blow in return?"

"Maybe so, Colonel."

"Then march at daylight with your squadron. Let me hear when you return that not one stone upon another of the robber's rendezvous has been left."

Gen. M. M. Parsons had commanded a division of Missouri infantry with great credit to himself, and with great honor to the State. He was a soldier of remarkable personal beauty, of great dash in battle, of unsurpassed horsemanship, and of that graceful and natural suavity of manner which endeared him alike to his brother officers and to the men over whom he was placed in command. His brother-in-law, Col. Standish, was his chief of staff, and a frank, fearless young officer whom the Missourians knew and admired. Capt. Aaron H. Conrow had before the war represented Caldwell county in the Legislature, and had, during the war, been elected to the Confederate Congress. With these three men were three brave and faithful young Irish soldiers, James Mooney, Patrick Langdon and Michael Monarthy—six in all who, for the crime of being Americans, had to die.

Following in the rear of Shelby's expedition in the vain hope of overtaking it, they reached the neighborhood of Pedras Negras too late to cross the Rio Grande there. A strong body of guerrillas had moved up into the town and occupied it immediately after Shelby's withdrawal. Crossing the river, however, lower down, they had entered Mexico in safety, and had won their perilous way to Monterey without serious loss or molestation. Not content to go further at that time, and wishing to return to Camargo for purposes of communication with Texas, they availed themselves of the protection of a train of supply wagons sent by Jeanningros, heavily guarded by Imperial Mexican soldiers, to Matamoras. Jeanningros gave

them safe conduct as far as possible, and some good advice as well, which advice simply warned them against trusting anything whatever to Mexican courage or Mexican faith.

The wagon train and its escort advanced well on their way to Matamoras—well enough at least to be beyond the range of French succor should the worst come to the worst. But on the evening of the fourth day, in a narrow defile at the crossing of an exceedingly rapid and dangerous stream, the escort was furiously assailed by a large body of Juaristas, checked at once, and finally driven back. Gen. Parsons and his party retreated with the rest until the night's camp was reached, when a little council of war was called by the Americans. Conrow and Standish were in favor of abandoning the trip for the present, especially as the whole country was aroused and in waiting for the train, and more especially as the guerrillas, attracted by the scent of plunder, were swarming upon the roads and in ambush by every pass and beside the fords of every stream. Gen. Parsons overruled them, and determined to make the venture as soon as the moon arose, in the direction of Camargo.

None took issue with him further. Accustomed to exact obedience, much of the old soldierly spirit was still in existence, and so they followed him blindly and with alacrity. At daylight the next morning the entire party was captured. Believing, however, that the Americans were but the advance of a larger and more formidable party, the Mexicans, neither dismounted nor disarmed them. While at breakfast, and at the word of command from Gen. Parsons, the whole six galloped off under a fierce fire of musketry, unhurt, baffling all pursuit, and gaining some good hours' advantage over their captors. It availed them nothing, however. About noon of the second day they were again captured, this time falling into the hands of Figueroa, a robber chief as notorious among the Mexicans as Dupin was among the French.

Short shrift came afterwards. Col. Standish was shot first. When told of the fate intended for him, he bade goodbye to his comrades, knelt a few moments in silent prayer, and then stood up firmly, facing his murderers. At the

discharge of the musketry platoon, he was dead before he touched the ground. Two bullets pierced his generous and dauntless heart.

Captain Aaron H. Conrow died next. He expected no mercy, and he made no plea for life. A request to be permitted to write a few lines to his wife was denied him, Figueroa savagely ordering the execution to proceed. The firing party shortened the distance between it and their victim, placing him but three feet away from the muzzles of their muskets. Like Standish he refused to have his eyes bandaged. Knowing but few words in Spanish, he called out in his brave, quick fashion, and in his own language, "Fire!" and the death he got was certain and instantaneous. He fell within a few paces of his comrade, dead like him before he touched the ground.

The last moments of the three young Irish soldiers had now come. They had seen the stern killing of Standish and Conrow, and they neither trembled nor turned pale. It can do no good to ask what thoughts were theirs, and if from over the waves of the wide Atlantic some visions came that were strangely and sadly out of place in front of the chapparal and the sandaled Mexicans. Monarthy asked for a priest and received one. He was a kind-hearted, ignorant Indian, who would have saved them if he could, but safe from the bloody hands of Figueroa no foreigner had ever yet come. The three men confessed and received such consolation as the living could give to men as good as dead. Then they joined hands and spoke some earnest words together for the brief space permitted them. Langdon, the youngest, was only twenty-two. A resident of Mobile when the war commenced, he had volunteered in a battery, had been captured at Vicksburg, and had, later, joined Pindall's battalion of sharpshooters in Parsons' Division. He had a face like a young girl's, it was so fair and fresh. All who knew him loved him. In all the Confederate army there was neither braver nor better soldier. Mooney was a man of fifty-five, with an iron frame and with a gaunt scarred, rugged face that was yet kindly and attractive. He took Langdon in his arms and kissed him twice, once on each cheek, shook hands with

Monarthy, and opened his breast. The close, deadly fire was received standing and with eyes wide open. Langdon died without a struggle, Mooney groaned twice and tried to speak. Death finished the sentence ere it was commenced. Monarthy required the *coup de grace.* A soldier went close to him, rested the muzzle of his musket against his head and fired. He was very quiet then; the murder was done; five horrible corpses lay in a pool of blood; the shadows deepened; and the cruel eyes of Figueroa roamed, as the eyes of a tiger, from the ghastly faces of the dead to the stern, set face of the living. General Parsons felt that for him, too, the supreme moment had come at last.

Left in that terrible period alone, none this side eternity will ever know what he suffered and endured. Waiting patiently for his sentence, a respite was granted. Some visions of ransom must have crossed Figueroa's mind. Clad in the showy and attractive uniform of a Confederate Major-General, having the golden stars of his rank upon his collar, magnificiently mounted, and being withal a remarkably handsome and commanding looking soldier himself, it was for a time at least thought best to hold him a prisoner. His horse even was given back to him, and for some miles further towards Matamoras he was permitted to ride with those who had captured him. The Captain of the guard immediately in charge of his person had also a very fine horse, whose speed he was continually boasting of. Fortunately this officer spoke English, thus permitting Gen. Parsons to converse with him. Much bantering was had concerning the speed of the two horses. A race was at length proposed. The two men started off at a furious gallop, the American steadily gaining upon the Mexican. Finding himself in danger of being distanced, the Captain drew up and ordered his competitor in the race to halt. Unheeding the command, Gen. Parsons dashed on with the utmost speed, escaping the shots from the revolver of the Mexican, and eluding entirely Figueroa and his command. Although in a country filled with treacherous and bloodthirsty savages, and ignorant of the roads and the language, Gen. Parsons might have reduced

the chances against him in the proportion of ten to one, had he concealed himself in some neighboring chapparal and waited until the night fell. He did not do this, but continued his flight rapidly down the broad highway which ran directly from Monterey to Matamoras. There could be but one result. A large scouting party of Figueroa's forces, returning to the headquarters of their chief, met him before he had ridden ten miles, again took him prisoner, and again delivered him into the hands of the ferocious bandit.

Death followed almost instantly. None who witnessed the deed have ever told how he died, but three days afterward his body was found stripped by the wayside, literally shot to pieces. Some Mexicans buried it, marking the unhallowed spot with a cross. Afterward Figueroa, dressed in the full uniform of General Parsons, was in occupation of Camargo, while the same Colonel Johnson, who had followed Shelby southwardly from San Antonio, held the opposite shore of the Rio Grande on the American side. Figueroa, gloating over the savageness of the deed, and imagining, in his stolid Indian cunning, that the Federal officers would pay handsomely for the spoils of the murdered Confederate, proffered to deliver to him Gen. Parson's coat, pistols and private papers for a certain specified sum, detailing, at the same time, with revolting accuracy, the merciless particulars of the butchery. Horrified at the cool rapacity of the robber, and thinking only of Gen. Parsons as an American and a brother, Gen. Johnson tried for weeks to entice Figueroa across the river, intending to do a righteous vengeance upon him. Too wily and too cowardly to be caught, he moved back suddenly into the interior, sending a message afterward to Col. Johnson full of taunting and defiance.

Who so sheddeth man's blood, by man shall his own blood be shed. Dupin's avengers were on the track, imbued with Dupin's spirit, and having over them the stern memory of Dupin's laconic orders. Leave not one stone upon another. And why should there be habitations when the inhabitants were scattered or killed.

Las Flores was a flower town, beautiful in name, and beautiful in the blue of the skies which bent over it; in the blue of the mountains which caught the morning and wove for it a gossamer robe of amethyst and pearl; in the song and flow of running water, where women sat and sang, and combed their dusky hair; and in the olden, immemorial groves, filled with birds that had gold for plumage, and sweet seed and sunshine for mating and wooing songs.

Hither would come Figueroa in the lull of the long marches, and in the relaxation of the nights of ambush, and the days of watching and starving. Booty and beauty and singing maidens all were there. There red gold would buy right royal kisses, and there feasting and minstrelsy told of the pillage done, and the rapine and slaughter beyond the sweep of the mountains that cut the sky line.

God help all of them who tarried till the American squadron charged into the town, one hundred rank and file, Frank Moore leading—all who had beard upon their faces or guns within their hands. A trusty guide had made the morning a surprise. It was not yet daylight. Some white mist, like a corpse abandoning a bier, was creeping up from the lowlands. The music and the lights had died out in the streets. The east, not yet awakened, had on its face the placid pallor of sleep. What birds flew were weary of wing and voiceless in the sober hush of dreamless nature.

Leave not one stone upon another. And the faces of the Americans were set as a flint and the massacre began. Never were six men so terribly avenged. It need not be told what flames were there, what harsh and guttural oaths, what tawny faces blanched and grew white, what cries, and volleys, and shrieks, and deaths that made no moan arose on the morning, and scared the mist from the water, the paradise birds from their bowers amid the limes and the orange trees. It was over at last. Call the roll and gather up the corpses. Fifteen Americans dead, eleven wounded, and so many Mexicans that you could not count them. Las Flores, the city of the Flowers, had become to be Las Cruces, the City of the Crosses.

When the tale was told to Dupin, he rubbed his brown bare hands and lent his arm on his subaltern's shoulder.

"Tell me about it again," he ordered.

The tale was told.

"Oh! brave Americans!" he shouted. "Americans after my own heart. You shall be saluted with sloping standards and uncovered heads."

The bugles rang out "to horse," the regiment got under arms, the American squadron passed in review along the ranks, the flags were lowered and inclined, officers and men uncovered as the files marched down the lines, there were greetings and rejoicings, and from the already lengthened life of the whitehaired commander five good years of toil and exposure had been taken. For a week thereafter he was seen to smile and to be glad. After that the old wild work commenced again.

HISTORICAL NOTES AND COMMENTS

The continued public spirit of Missouri's authors and historians is set forth in this issue of the *Review*. These contributors hail from Missouri, North Dakota and Japan—but all are loyal sons of the old State. Readers of the *Review* will appreciate the worth of these contributions, which are valuable from both an academic or historic point of view and a practical as well. Certainly, such exploiting of our annals is worth while.

In addition to the forthcoming articles scheduled for the *Review* as set forth in the January number (page 394), these three will also appear:

A Century of Mining in Missouri, by Prof. E. B. Branson.
Social, Religious and Political Life in Western and Southwest Missouri up to the Civil War, by Wiley Britton.
A Century of Missouri Legal Literature, by Judge John D. Lawson.

Copy of the second chapter of Mr. Breckinbridge Jones' article on Banking in Missouri was not ready for inclusion in this issue and will be printed in a future number of the *Review*.

COMMENTS.

"I hope that the Society will get what it is entitled to by way of an appropriation. The splendid showing you can make on the light expenditures you have made, surely must convince the most skeptical legislator that there is much good in The State Historical Society and much good in its achievements—with the promise of increasing results for the advancement of the interests of the State of Missouri as each year goes by. As an advertisement of our State it is the cheapest way that I have ever heard of and the *MOST EFFICACIOUS*."

Wm. Clark Breckenridge, Bibliographer,
St. Louis, Missouri,
January 15, 1921.

"Have not received the January number of *The Missouri Historical Review* as yet. Kindly mail me the same. Our Missouri Society here in Wichita certainly enjoyed the October issue. We found it very instructive as well as profitable. Kindly send January issue to this address."

Mrs. T. C. Speh, President Missouri
Society of Wichita, Wichita Kan.
January 12, 1921.

"Enclosed find draft for $1.00 for my dues in The State Historical Society of Missouri for the current year. The quarterly publications of the Society are most valuable. Having lived in old Caldwell county from 1860 to 1887 I find *The Missouri Historical Review* most interesting reading. Success to The State Historical Society of Missouri."

J. P. Renfrew, a former Missourian,
Alva, Oklahoma,
January 6, 1921.

"I am in receipt of the *Review* of the centennial number. This number alone is worth 5 years membership fee in The State Historical Society."

J. M. Lowe,
President National Old Trails Road Ass'n.,
Kansas City, Missouri,
February 24, 1921.

"Congratulations on the fine new dress of *The Missouri Historical Review* and the splendid centennial number."

George N. Fuller, Ph. D.,
Secretary and Editor,
Michigan Historical Commission,
Lansing, Michigan,
February 26, 1921.

"I am in receipt of *The Missouri Historical Review* for January, 1921, and must compliment you upon it."

Col. John D. McNeely,
139th Infantry,
St. Joseph, Missouri,
March 2, 1921.

"Wishing to co-operate with the Society in gaining first rank in membership west of Pittsburg by the close of 1921, I recommend the following twenty named women to membership."

Mrs. O. S. Wilfley,
State Corresponding Secretary,
D. A. R.,
St. Louis, Missouri,
March 7, 1921.

"The work you are doing is certainly timely, and ought to have a wide appreciation in Missouri."

Dr. Denton J. Snider,
Author and Historian,
St. Louis, Missouri,
March 7, 1921.

"It must be gratifying to you to report so large an increase in membership for I feel that about 99% of it is due to your individual efforts. This being the case, I want to see you fall in line with the authorities who declare that *The Missouri Historical Review* is the best publication of its kind in the country. I am satisfied that it is not surpassed in any state."

W. P. Tracy, Author,
St. Joseph, Missouri,
March 8, 1921.

"I have used *The Missouri Historical Review* in many instances, finding great help from its use. I will continue to make such use of it in the future as opportunity offers."

Mary Keefe,
Braymer, Missouri,
January 8, 1921.

"The last copy of the *Review* (January, 1921), was a treat both to the eye and the mind. No State has ever had given such a comprehensive view of her resources and achievements as you have presented in *The Missouri Historical Review*."

Wm. Clark Breckenridge,
St. Louis, Missouri,
March 5, 1921.

SOCIETY PROGRESS

To all Missourians interested in our annals and in the work of this Society in preserving and publishing these annals satisfaction must be felt in the recent action of the Senate and House appropriation committees of the Fifty-first General Assembly of Missouri. The Society was represented at the joint hearing by Dr. Walter B. Stevens, president, and the secretary.

Hon. S. F. O'Fallon, speaker of the House, introduced Dr. Stevens before the committee and in an able and convincing speech gave his opinion, as a member of the Society and as a Missourian, of the value of its work. He showed how,

thru its recent publications, *The Missouri Historical Review* and *The Journal of Missouri's Constitutional Convention of 1875*, the Society was disseminating and popularizing our annals. He pointed out that such work was valuable to the business man, the financier, lawyer, teacher, the club woman, and the children of the State. He remarked that *The Missouri Historical Review* was one publication he knew of that could be used to enlighten the child in the school and the judge on the bench. The room was crowded with members of the Legislature, their wives, and interested visitors. Speaker O'Fallon's speech was heartily applauded.

Dr. Stevens told of the general purpose and the actual work being accomplished by the Society. He said that even aside from its historical work proper, the Society paid back to the State many times over its expenses in the accurate and enlightened publicity it was giving Missouri thru *The Missouri Historical Review.* He called attention to the fact that not only had it succeeded in obtaining the co-operation of all Missouri historians and writers, but that it had also back of it the majority of the State's leaders in business, finance, and the professions. These men, whose time is valuable, were now truly giving their services to properly exploiting Missouri's wealth of records in all fields. "The Society," said Dr. Stevens, "has become the great clearing house of information on Missouri. *The Missouri Historical Review* has entered the class of the best magazines in the nation. Scholarship, popularity, and interesting reading have there been combined without regard to race, sects, sections or politics." At the conclusion of Dr. Stevens' address, which was appreciated by the hearers, the secretary presented the Society's budget.

The joint committees under the chairmanship of Senator W. T. Robinson and Hon. F. H. Hopkins, passed favorably on the budget and granted all that was requested. Even more gratifying was the hearty manner of appreciation exhibited by the members of the appropriations committee. At the conclusion of the hearing twelve of the legislators applied for membership in the Society.

Missouri has made remarkable history and Missourians have always been proud of that history. Today, they express that pride in concrete form. They now realize that only thru a proper agency can Missouri develop and exploit her men and women greatness. Missouri has spent thousands in exploiting her material greatness; her century of assets in men and women is greater still. The State Historical Society of Missouri shall continue to work towards that great end of making known at home and abroad, Missouri's contributions to civilization, so that it shall always be said: "Missourians have made history and they truly honor their history."

THE PERSONAL FACTOR IN PROGRESS.

If there be one who worships at the shrine of impersonal efficiency, he has much to learn. Even America's leaders in business and finance have repudiated such a creed. Efficiency is essential to progress, but it must be co-operative efficiency to succeed. The United States Steel Corporation, the world's largest single business, sells stock to its employees. The result is a tendency toward co-operative efficiency. The personal factor enters and efficiency is increased. Commercial clubs rise or fall in proportion to co-operative efficiency. Take out the personal factor in politics and leaders are retired. A great man with friends succeeds; a great man without friends may fail. An intrinsic institution with personal adherents grows; without these, it is handicapped. The reason? Because, human organizations, institutions, and movements rest upon human foundations. If closely mortared, if men and women come in contact, if the personal factor is present—then, and only then, can the structure above do service to mankind and stand secure.

However valuable is the work of The State Historical Society of Missouri, however stimulating and instructive is *The Missouri Historical Review*, these will be handicapped in their service to our State without your co-operation. A letter from me to a stranger may mean little. A letter or word from you to your organization, friend, or associate carries

weight. Here again enters the personal factor. There is not a single member of this Society who within one hour cannot obtain at least from one to five members for it! Many of you in a ten minute talk before your home club or association, can obtain from ten to fifty members! Others can in thirty minutes send us the names of twenty friends who would later thank you for the favor you conferred in recommending them for membership. Read under "Comments" what Mrs. O. S. Wilfley, State Corresponding Secretary, D. A. R., of Missouri, volunteered. Mr. Herman G. Kiel, of Washington, D. C., a former citizen of Franklin County, Missouri, pays the membership dues of seven high schools in his old home district! Mr. Anton Kramolowsky, of Union, Missouri, recently sent in the application of three friends. Another interested Missourian, Mr. Walter P. Tracy, of St. Joseph, desires his city to have first rank in membership in the state, and is giving his services to bring this about. More members are actively co-operating today than ever before. When all do this, Missouri will be known for her history and for the pride she takes in that history above all other assets.

A LOYAL MISSOURIAN AND MEMBER.

When the Women's Division of the Sedalia Chamber of Commerce at a meeting last January decided to secure at least one hundred members in their city for the State Historical Society, they appointed Mrs. N. L. Nelson, their secretary, manager of the drive. Mrs. Nelson immediately began work and within twenty-four hours had secured fifty members. Since that time she has obtained thirty-two more, making a total of eighty-two credited to her efforts and the co-operation of her friends, within one month. This is the largest number ever obtained by a single member. Credit and appreciation are certainly due Mrs. Nelson and the Women's Division of the Sedalia Chamber of Commerce for such unselfish, public spirited co-operation in the cause of Missouri's history. Sedalia now has eighty-nine members in The State Historical Society. These will form the nucleus of a Pettis County Historical Society in the near future.

The State Historical Society now has 1,250 active pay members, exclusive of 750 exchange and editorial members. This is an increase of nearly 25% since January 1, 1921. We know of no historical society west of Pittsburg that equals this number. The goal set for this Society is 2,000 active pay members by the close of 1921. If ten members alone will equal the record and work of Mrs. N. L. Nelson, the 1921 goal will be passed, not counting the normal daily applications for membership which are assuming significance. Certainly membership in The State Historical Society is in itself a recommendation of public spirit and good citizenship. Certainly *The Missouri Historical Review* is cultural and educational. No man or woman can assure himself that he is keeping step with this State's progress who does not read the historical contributions that appear in this publication. If the *Review* is worthwhile for you, who are already members, why not call it to the attention of your friends? Either see a friend personally or send us the name of a friend. There is no charity in this; there is hardly even an expense worth serious consideration.

Permit this suggestion, also. Inquire of your principal or superintendent, if his school is a member and if his school library receives the *Review*. If not, urge that he take up this matter. You thereby perform a duty and service to your children. The cost is the same as to individuals—$1.00 a year. Make the same inquiry of your public library. Again, Missouri club-women who are not members, are causing themselves needless worry and trouble in the preparation of papers, in not taking the *Review*. No better or more succinct or more reliable data on Missouri subjects can be found than are set forth in the *Review*. Members of the Society realize these facts, but the thousands who are not members are not familiar with this phase; and it is impossible to reach the latter unless *you actively co-operate*.

Scores of letters received bear out these statements. This is one from a new Sedalia member, Mrs. Agnes R. L. Pratt, dated March 8, 1921:

"My membership card and two copies of *The Missouri Historical Review* received. The *Review* has superior editing in every

way. It is a great undertaking of lasting interest, instruction and value to posterity, like wine, richer with age. The illustrations are most attractive. The Model Centennial Program timely and helpful. Congratulations and thanks."

Over half of the new members affiliating with this Society write their appreciation and thanks. You will be doing a real service to your State, yourself, and your friends to call the attention of your acquaintances and associates to the work and the magazine of The State Historical Society of Missouri. Moreover, as the number of members increase, so will broaden the field of service of this Society. This will be directly witnessed in the character and value of the *Review*. We are not satisfied with our work. We are not reaching all the men and women we should. Ten years from now, members of this Society will smile at how much energy was spent in getting 1,000 or 2,000 members. By that time we hope so to have broadened our work that among Missourians both at home and abroad membership in this Society will be accepted and assumed.

A glance at the table below of those Missouri towns now having five or more active members, should prove stimulating. Aside from towns having editorial members, 224 have annual members and 41 of these each have 5 members or more. If *your* city is not here set forth or is not properly represented, compared to other cities, you will find us more than ready to co-operate in giving it proper place.

	Mar. 10, 1921.
Bolivar	10
Bowling Green	5
Braymer	5
Breckenridge	6
Butler	8
Cameron	9
Cape Girardeau	17
Carrollton	5
Chillicothe	36
Columbia	53
Fayette	7
Fulton	7

	Mar. 10, 1921.
Gallatin	11
Hamilton	8
Hannibal	19
Holden	10
Independence	10
Jefferson City	11
Joplin	5
Kansas City	63
Kirksville	22
Lee's Summit	6
Lexington	7
Liberty	6
Macon	10
Marshall	6
Maryville	12
Mound City	7
Nevada	13
Oregon	8
Otterville	6
Richmond	5
Rockport	6
Rolla	5
Sedalia	89
Springfield	10
St. Charles	5
St. Joseph	114
St. Louis	134
Union	8
Warrensburg	61

CLARK COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

Mr. Jasper Blines of Kahoka, Missouri, secretary of The Clark County Historical Society, reports that on January that organization had 24 active members who had contributed $179.00 for the support of the Clark County Historical Society. An effort will be made in the near future to enlist the active co-operation of at least 100 of the public spirited citizens of Clark County. Mr. Blines is a local historian of Northeast Missouri who has performed important work in preserving and publishing the data relating to his section of the common-

wealth. The president of the Clark County Society is Mr. S. S. Ball of Kahoka.

HOW YOU CAN ORGANIZE A LOCAL HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

(Re-print from *Fair Facts*, published by the Missouri State Fair Board.)

Local historical societies should be organized in every community of Missouri this year. There are two reasons for such organizations either of which would justify them. First, this is the centennial of Missouri statehood and a celebration should be held in every community. While it is possible to celebrate Missouri's Centennial without organizing a local historical society, it would certainly be appropriate for such a society to direct a centennial celebration. Second, the interest that is aroused this year in Missouri history, county history, city or community history and family history should be made permanent. This can not be done without permanent organization.

Our family life, our community life, our institutional life of whatever type depends upon our family history, our community history and our institutional history. To understand these phases of our environment we must understand this history. These things touch us much more frequently than our National History. We cannot obtain such history from books. But it is just such history that is gathered, preserved and made available for use by a local historical society. Among social and professional organizations the most successful type are those that are affiliated from the smallest local unit to the State organization. In this type of organization the individual pays sufficient dues to the local organization to become a member of the local, county (if there be one) and state organization. Thus the individual and the local organization are attached to a permanent going concern that is not in danger of failing.

In the field of historical endeavor we are especially fortunate in Missouri in having a State Historical Society which is not only a going concern but one which has made a remarkable

growth and now stands first in membership among State Historical Societies west of Pennsylvania. It now has a library of 11,000 bound volumes of Missouri newspapers and 145,000 books and pamphlets. It publishes *The Missouri Historical Review*, a quarterly magazine, which is sent free to each member of the society. The *Review* during the past year has contained about 800 pages of Missouri history. The library and property of the society is housed in a splendid fireproof building at Columbia, Missouri.

There are two methods of procedure that have proved successful in organizing local historical societies in Missouri. First, any one desiring to organize a local historical society in a community may call together those interested. The group can decide upon the name of the society, such officers as are necessary, the amount of annual dues plus one dollar which each member should pay, and effect an organization by electing a President, Secretary-Treasurer and any other officers which the group may think necessary. Such committees as may be necessary in doing the work contemplated by the society may then be appointed. The dues are paid to the Secretary-Treasurer who sends a list of the names of the members with their postoffice addresses together with one dollar for each member to Floyd C. Shoemaker, Columbia, Missouri. The local society thus becomes directly affiliated with the State Society. *The Missouri Historical Review* becomes its official publication and each member receives the *Review*. Any group from three or four up may form such a local society. A special department of the Review will be begun soon, to include news and notes of the various county historical societies in Missouri. In this way members of one local society can keep in touch with the activities and development of their own and similar organizations.

After a number of such local societies are formed in a county, representatives of these societies may meet at some convenient point and organize a County Historical Society. All members of all local societies represented would then become members of the County Society. The function of the County Society is to direct and co-ordinate the work of the

various local societies which is of historical interest to the county as a whole.

The second method begins with the county and proceeds to the local communities. It can be told best by describing the organization of Johnson County. A number of those interested in history in the various communities of the county were called together. The group decided to organize a Johnson County Historical Society. The annual dues were fixed at two dollars, fifty cents to remain in the treasury of the local societies which were contemplated, fifty cents to be sent to the treasurer of the county society and one dollar to pay the dues in the State Society. The president was empowered to appoint an executive committee to consist of the officers of the Society and one committeeman in each community where a local society was planned. The officers then proceeded to organize local societies in the various communities of the counties where there was sufficient interest. The county society now has more than one hundred members. The January (1921) number of the *Review* contains a full account of the work of the Johnson County Historical Society, together with a copy of the constitution of that organization.

Whichever method may be used it is important that every member of the local society become a member of the State Society and get the *Review*. This more than gives the member value received for his dues and at the same time a permanent historical sense is created in the community.

Local Historical Societies not affiliated with a State Society have seldom been permanent and then only when endowed or supported by some wealthy individual.

In the case of the State Historical Society of Missouri, the General Assembly of the State supports the Society. Certainly teachers as well as all public spirited citizens should be active in organizing local historical societies and securing appropriate local centennial celebrations this year. In the April issue of the *Review* will appear a very comprehensive and suggestive article on what County Historical Societies can and should do in collecting, preserving, and disseminating knowledge of local and state history. Every Missourian

interested in the records of his community, county and state, should read this article. It will be especially helpful to teachers in the field of historical education.

PROF. C. H. MCCLURE, Warrensburg, Mo.

ON MISSOURI EDUCATION.

This letter was received from Reverend L. J. Kenny, S. J., of St. Louis University. Letters from members of the Society are always welcome by the editor and will be gladly reproduced when they pertain to the history of Missouri and Missourians.

"The January number of the *Review* was so exceptionally fine a collection of excellent historical matter, and covered so large a field that it would not have been human to have been without some slight faults. You will believe me that I am writing in no carping spirit, therefore, when after this introduction I call attention to the fact that on page 312 an omission occurs in connection with Mr. Phillips's account of the work of St. Louis University that hurts us. He says 'St. Louis University makes provision for professional and educational work in Theology, Law, Dentistry and Commerce.' What about that school of Medicine, which is the apple of our eye?

"That school of Medicine has certainly helped to make history in this part of the world. In the late war it supplied 2% of the physicians to the American forces; and what kind of physicians? They were not only of that kind which in the last Missouri examination for license secured the highest, and the second highest, and the third highest, and the fourth and fifth and so on to the twelfth, inclusive, when competing with the best schools of this section, but they were of the kind which when examined in every state of the Union during the last ten years—as shown annually in the Journal of the American Medical Association—can produce such results as these when measured alongside the best schools in the WORLD:

Name of School.	1910.	1911.	1912.	1913.	1914.	1915.
Johns Hopkins.....	44–0	63–2	64–2	55–2	39–0	50–0
Harvard.....	43–0	53–2	31–3	34–4	36–1	55–1
St. Louis University.....	90–0	64-3	77–2	71–2	49–1	38–0

Name of School.	1916.	1917.	1918.	1919.	Total.
Johns Hopkins.....	47–2	49–3	33–1	64–0	508–12
Harvard.....	47–2	52–0	91–1	88–0	530–13
St. Louis University.....	50–0	41–1	55–0	46–0	581– 9

(The first figure is the number of men examined; the minus figure is the number that failed.)

"I wonder whether the students of any other Medical school in America showed the same spirit of generous sacrifice and went to the rescue of their community during the epidemic of the flu that the St. L. U. Medical men did.

"Hoping that you may be able to keep the *Review* up to that high level reached in the January issue, I am, for Missouri."

CORRECTION.

Dr. T. Berry Smith, Professor of Chemistry at Central College Fayette, Missouri, calls attention to some errors in dates that were set forth in the January issue of *The Missouri Historical Review* relating to the chartering of the colleges that are now members of the Missouri College Union. Following is a list of the members of the Missouri College Union together with the dates of their chartering: University of Missouri, 1839; William Jewell College, 1849; Westminster College, 1849; Washington University, 1853; Central College, 1855; Drury College, 1873; Missouri Valley College, 1889; St. Louis University, 1832 Park College, 1879; Tarkio College, 1883; Central Wesleyan College, 1864; Missouri Wesleyan College, 1897; Culver-Stockton College, 1853; Lindenwood College, 1853.

BOOK REVIEWS.

McClure, C. H.—History of Missouri, A Text Book of State History for Use in Elementary Schools. xi, 268 pp. The A. S. Barnes Company, Chicago, 1920.

This book is a departure from the older accepted forms of text-books on state history. The author states that "for some reason the results obtained in the teaching of history have not been as satisfactory from the standpoint of good citizenship as is desirable." He believes that this is due to the remoteness, if not the absence, of relationship between the historical events treated and the child's environment. State history makes this relationship closer.

The outline of the book is based on an address delivered in November, 1914, before the Missouri Society of Teachers of

History and Government at St. Joseph, by Floyd C. Shoemaker. This address "Six Periods of Missouri History," was printed in *The Missouri Historical Review* for July, 1915 (vol. IX, No. 4, pp. 221-240). The work itself is divided into four parts: I. Missouri before 1820 (26 pp.); II. Missouri a Pioneer State, 1820-1836 (pp. 27-74); III. Missouri a State in the Making, 1836-1870 (pp. 75-163); IV. Missouri a Modern State, 1870-1920 (pp. 164-262); and an index of six pages. A large part of the work is devoted to phases usually slighted, as economic, social and educational life. This is commendable. Footnotes of value and interest appear on each page. At the end of the chapters are suggestive questions to aid the teacher.

The author did not compile the book as a research contribution. It is based largely on secondary material, especially the valuable articles that have been appearing in *The Missouri Historical Review* during the last fifteen years. As a textbook, the teaching profession will find it worthy of careful investigation. It has merits. To the adult citizen, it has value as a handbook of ready reference. It seems to us that the characteristic of the book that makes it significant is its new and advanced method of treatment. This opinion may be, of course, favorable prejudiced by the author having followed our own outline of 1914. The suggestions made then have been carefully observed by the writer. We are, however, inclined to believe that this book marks a real step forward in the preparation of state history texts. It is worthy of notice that two of the latest innovations in the treatment of state history texts were made by Missourians—E. M. Violette and C. H. McClure.

Stevens, Walter B., Centennial History of Missouri. 4 vols: I, 1,021 pp.; II, 948 pp.; III, 1,038 pp.; IV, 1,038 pp. The S. J. Clarke Pub. Co., St. Louis-Chicago, 1921.

This is the most ambitious historical compilation that has appeared lately in the State. The prominence of the author in the field of Missouri history and his recognized ability as a writer insure a hearty reception of his books on the part of the public. It is not an exaggeration to state that Walter

B. Stevens is the most widely known, the most popular and the most beloved historian Missouri has produced. In his *Centennial History of Missouri*, Mr. Stevens again merits the praise and thanks of his contemporaries.

The appearance of this work is opportune. Missouri's centennial of statehood in the Union is this year. The *Centennial History of Missouri* will do much to stimulate interest in this historical event and serve as a valuable source of information to all sections planning commemoration exercises.

The interesting manner of treatment, the wealth of material presented, and the many valuable and attractive illustrations will make this compilation a source of historical data for years to come. Missourians are to be congratulated in having such a work available for their use and edification in this their one hundredth birth year of statehood in the union.

PERSONALS.

Hon. Champ Clark: Born near Lawrenceburg, Kentucky, March 7, 1850; died at Washington, D. C., March 2, 1921. He received his education in the common schools, Kentucky University, Bethany College, West Virginia and Cincinnati Law School. He was graduated from this latter institution at the head of his class. At the age of 23 he was for a year president of Marshall College in West Virginia—the youngest college president in the United States. After being admitted to the bar in 1874, Clark went to Wichita, Kansas, but a few months later accepted a position as school teacher at Louisiana, Missouri. He remained in Louisiana until 1880, since which time he had made his home at Bowling Green. He entered politics by serving a term as prosecuting attorney of Pike County. A short time later he was elected to the General Assembly, and in 1893 went to Washington to serve his first term in Congress. Mr. Clark served as a member of Congress in every session but one from that time until his death. He was Speaker of the House of Representatives in the Sixty-second, Sixty-third, Sixty-fourth and Sixty-fifth Congresses. In the Democratic National Convention at

Baltimore in 1912, Clark led on 27 ballots for the presidential nomination.

Dr. Edwin Boone Craighead: Born at Harris Prairie in Callaway county, Missouri, March 3, 1861; died at Missoula, Montana, October 22, 1920. Dr. Craighead was graduated with distinction from Central College at Fayette in 1881 and afterwards studied in Leipsic and Paris. From 1890 to 1893 he held the chair of Greek at Wafford College in South Carolina, later becoming president of the South Carolina Agricultural and Mechanical College at Clemson. In 1897 he was elected president of Central College at Fayette, Missouri, and a few years later became head of the State Normal School at Warrensburg. In 1912 he was made president of the University of Montana, which position he resigned a few years ago to become contributing editor of an industrial magazine published at Missoula, Montana.

Robert B. Crossman: Born in St. Louis county in 1842; died at St. Louis, December 20, 1920. As a youth he learned the printer's trade, and in 1878 began the publication of the *St. Louis Countian* at Kirkwood, later called the *Star-Republican*. After disposing of this publication, Mr. Crossman was connected in an editorial capacity with the Western Newspaper Union in St. Louis. In 1896 he founded the *People's Advocate* at Clayton, disposing of it after a short time. Later he was for a time publisher of the Clayton *Argus*. He retired from active work several years before his death.

Dr. Richard Henry Jesse: Born March 1, 1853, at Epping Forest, Virginia; died at Columbia, Missouri, January 22, 1921. He received his early education at Hanover College in Virginia and was later graduated with honors from the University of Virginia. He then served as a member of the faculty of Tulane University and the Louisiana State University. When these two schools were consolidated Dr. Jesse was given the chair of senior professor of Latin. This professorship he held until 1891, when he was called to the presidency of the University of Missouri. Dr. Jesse served as head of this institution until he was forced by ill health to resign in 1907.

C. H. Lucas: Born at Danville, Kentucky, May 27, 1854; died at Osceola, Missouri, October 24, 1920. He came to Missouri as a young man and engaged in journalistic work. For a time he was connected with the old Sedalia *Bazoo*. In 1880 he purchased the Osceola *Sun*, which afterwards became the *St. Clair County Democrat*. He was editor of this paper at the time of his death, having been its publisher for forty years.

W. L. Smith: Born in Webster county, Missouri, May 19, 1857; died at Marshfield, Missouri, October 24, 1920. He began work on a Marshfield newspaper as a young man and in 1877, in connection with his father, purchased the Marshfield *Chronicle* and continued as its editor and publisher until within one month of his death.

Col. Jay Linn Torrey. Born at Pittsfield, Illinois, in 1852; died in Howell County, Missouri, December 4, 1920. He was educated in law at Washington University and Columbia University and for a number of years practiced his profession at St. Louis. About 1880 he went to Wyoming and became the manager of his brother's large ranch. While a citizen of that state he was elected to the state legislature and served as Speaker of the House of Representatives. During the Spanish-American War he won national fame when he organized a regiment of cavalry troops, composed of cowboys. In 1905 Colonel Torrey located in Missouri on a ranch of 10,000 acres at Fruitville in Howell county. In 1918 he was defeated for the Republican nomination for United States Senator from Missouri.

Rear Admiral Edward D. Taussig: Born November 20, 1847, at St. Louis; died January 29, 1921, at Newport, Rhode Island. In 1863 he entered the Naval Academy and was continuously in service until his retirement November 20, 1909. He taught for a time in the Naval Academy and had been on shore duty at various navy yards. He was made a commander in 1898, a captain in 1902 and a rear admiral in 1908. He served in the Philippine and North China waters in various cruises with the Pacific fleet, taking possession of Wake Island and the Island of Guam in the Pacific Ocean for

the United States. Admiral Taussig, though retired, volunteered for active service when the United States entered the Eurpoean War and was assigned to train recruits of the Naval Officers Reserve Corps at Columbia University, New York City.

Professor Max Wilhelm Zach: Born in Lemberg, Poland, August 31, 1864; died at St. Louis, Missouri, February 3, 1921. He studied music at the Vienna Conservatory in Austria and came to America in 1886. He became a member of the Boston Symphony Orchestra and won some distinction as conductor of the organization's Sunday concerts. In 1907 he was engaged as conductor of the St. Louis Symphony Orchestra, and served in that capacity until his death. He developed the St. Louis orchestra from a nondescript body of musicians to an organization of recognized ability and national reputation.

HISTORICAL ARTICLES IN MISSOURI NEWSPAPERS

MAY-SEPTEMBER 1919.

Andrew County. Savannah, *Democrat*
May 9. Quoted history. D. A. Beattie tells how early farmers of Andrew County marketed stock and what they received. Reprinted from St. Joseph *Stock Yards Journal.*

Atchison County. Fairfax, *Forum*
May 16. Sketch of the life of Leander Seymour, Mexican War veteran.

———— Rockport, *Atchison County Journal*
July 10. An old tax book of Atchison County—items from tax book for 1844.

Audrain County. Vandalia, *Mail*
July 25. History of a pioneer settler; with description of pioneer life in Missouri.

Barton County. Lamar, *Democrat*
May 15. Sketch of the life of W. A. Jackson, Union veteran.

———— ————, *Republican-Sentinel*
June 5. Reminiscences of Mrs. Jennie Grier; with description of early day life in Missouri. Continued in succeeding issues. Also printed in Liberal *News.*

Bates County. Butler, *Republican Press*
July 4. Sketch of the life of Hon. Clark Wix, former State Senator.

———— ————, *Bates County Democrat*
May 29. First railroad in Missouri—some facts concerning.
June 26. West Butler was once a separate town.

Boone County. Ashland, *Bugle*
Sept. 18. Looking back 75 years. Notes of the Seventeenth Annual Meeting of the Salem Association of Baptists at Goshen, Boone County, in 1844.

———— Centralia, *Fireside Guard*
May 9. Guerrillas of 1863-64. Tales of the Civil War.
Aug. 1. Rode first train. Incident of first train through Centralia in 1856.

———— Columbia, *Evening Missourian*
May 6. History of Missouri's first country newspaper (Missouri Intelligencer and Boon's Lick Advertiser). Continued in issues of May 7 and 8.

June 18. Sketch of the life of James Harry Lowery, Confederate veteran. See also Columbia *Daily Tribune* for June 18.
Aug. 2. Pershing was popular among Moro natives. Incidents of Pershing's life in Philippines.
Sept. 27. Columbian recalls massacre of 1864. "Bill" Stewart, a member of Anderson band, tells of Centralia tragedy.

———— ————, *Herald-Statesman*
Sept. 18. Little Bonne Femme (Baptist Church) celebrates hundredth anniversary. An historical sketch by E. W. Stephens.
Sept. 29. Recalls massacre of 1864. Story of Centralia horror.

Buchanan County. St. Joseph, *Gazette*
May 4. Bostonian's tribute to city in 1863. A description of St. Joseph in 1863 by a visitor from Boston.
May 5. Heirs ask State to pay old claim. Story of Woritz Neidner claim against State of Missouri (St. Louis, 1861).
May 11. And it happened in St. Joseph. A Civil War romance.
May 18. Two choice scandals, leavened by time. How attorney sold decrepit mules of Confederates at "patriotic" price; a jail delivery through two women's wit.
Capt. Enos Craig, still young at 90. Sketch of a pioneer citizen who came to St. Joseph when city was known as Robidoux's Landing.
May 25. Played with Jesse James. Recollections of early St. Joseph and St. Joseph people by Jacob Seipple, Jr.
The McNeely-Loan political fight. A story of factional strife in 1864.
June 8. Lads' exploit of Civil War days. How several St. Joseph boys aided Confederacy.
June 15. Carby's mill, silent monument to builder. History of old water mill on 102 river; built in 1852.
June 22. Patee House—a ghost of the long ago. Sketch of historic St. Joseph hotel, opened in 1858.
June 29. Three presidents have visited St. Joseph. Short account of the visits of Presidents Lincoln, Grant and Hayes to St. Joseph.
July 6. St. Joseph *Gazette*, pioneer paper of county. A short historical sketch.
July 13. The meeting that helped to keep Missouri in the Union. Story of a meeting at St. Joseph where General Robert Wilson appealed to swing northwest Missouri from secession.
July 20. The ghost that walks in the full o' the moon. A tale of the Civil War.
July 27. "Third o' August"—Magic date up on Grand river. A short sketch of Gentryville and her annual picnic.
Sept. 14. Back from two years over there. A character sketch of General Pershing.

———— ————, *News-Press*
July 1. Number 40 is gay at 60. A short history of the founding of the Typographical Union at St. Joseph in 1859, by Wm. B. Churchill, sole surviving charter member; gives many facts concerning newspapers of that date.

———— ————, *Observer*
Sept. 20. The first settlement in Missouri Ozarks. Reprinted from West Plains, *Howell County Gazette.*

Callaway County. Auxvasse, *Review*

July 31. Recalls old Missouri duel. Story of Buckner-Glover duel a Palmyra in antebellum days. Reprinted from St. Louis *Republic.*

Aug. 21. Horse thief's bond built first court house. A short history of the courthouses of Callaway County. Reprinted from Fulton *Daily Sun.*

Sold cheap 100 years ago. Some prices of 1825. Reprinted from Fulton *Daily Sun.*

———— Fulton, *Gazette*

Aug. 7. Was with Capt. Callaway. Story of Major John Gibson (1817-1869) and early Indian fighting.

Sept. 18. 1860 Fulton business directory; from Missouri State Gazatteer and Business Directory for 1860.

Sept. 25. Peck's visit to Callaway County. Account of Baptist preacher's experience in Callaway County in 1818.

Cape Girardeau County. Jackson, *Missouri Cash-Book*

May 15. Last of railroad bonds paid off; with some history of bonds. See also Cape Girardeau *Weekly Tribune* for June 6.

June 19. Some interesting data by Prof. J. H. Kerr—on early days in Cape Girardeau County.

July 3. Old Bethel Records. Bethel Church activities in 1820.

July 17. Same for 1822.

Aug. 28. Same for 1830-1836.

Sept. 11. Same for 1836 and 1837.

Sept. 25. Same for 1840 and 1841.

Carroll County. Carrollton, *Democrat*

May 2. Sketch of the life of Dr. W. C. Baird, pioneer physician. See also Carrollton *Republican-Record* for May 1.

———— DeWitt, *Carroll Farmers' Herald*

June 4. Miami Station Church gets an old bill; history of Missouri River steamboat bill.

Carter County. Van Buren, *Current Local*

June 19. Facts about "Old Drum." Story of Senator Vest and the famous "dog speech."

Cass County. Drexel, *Star*

June 26. Early history of Sugar Creek township. Continued in issues of July 3, 10, 17, 24, August 14, 21, 28, September 11 and 25. By J. H. Rhea.

———— Harrisonville, *Cass County Democrat*

May 8. Sketch of the life of H. C. Johnson, Union veteran.

———— Pleasant Hill, *Times*

May 9. Pleasant Hill of the 30's. Random notes of early days.

May 30. An Osage Indian village. Description of an Indian village in Bates County in 1718. Reprinted from Lowry City *Independent.*

July 4. Sketch of the life of J. B. Cabness, Confederate veteran.

Cedar County. Jerico Springs, *Optic*

Aug. 1. Sketch of the life of T. M. Walker, former county official.

Clark County. Kahoka, *Gazette-Herald*

May 2. Chapters of Clark County history, by Jasper Blines. Continued in succeeding issues.

June 6. Why Missourians insist on being shown. Story of how St. Clair County was victimized by a railroad promoter in 1870. Reprinted from *Literary Digest.*

Clay County. Excelsior Springs, *Standard*

June 23. History of Union Church. Reprinted from Richmond *Missourian.*

Sept. 1. A Rayville greener. Some reminiscences of Civil War.

Sept. 12. A little history of Slipup. Reprinted from Lawson *Review.*

———— Liberty, *Tribune*

May 9. Early day Missouri booster. Description of frontier life and prices in 1856.

July 11. The old Hannibal bridge. Some historical notes on bridge of Missouri river at Kansas City.

Sept. 12. Early trading on Missouri river. Reprinted from Kansas City *Star.*

High prices in 1865. Reprinted from *Rocky Mountain News.*

Cole County. Jefferson City, *Missouri School Journal*

May Constitution making in Missouri, by Prof. C. H. McClure of the Central Missouri State Teachers' College.

June Missouri's centennial, by Floyd C. Shoemaker, Secretary of the State Historical Society of Missouri.

———— ————, *Masby's Missouri Message.*

May 2. Missourians you have known. Anecdotes of famous Missourians, both past and present. Continued in all succeeding issues.

Cooper County. Boonville, *Central Missouri Republican*

May 15. Kemper's 75 years to be commemorated; with historical notes. See also Bunceton *Eagle* for June 6.

July 10. Col. Cosgrove traces barristers' history. Recollections of Boonville lawyers.

W. W. Trigg recalls Boonville folklore. Stories of early residents.

Dean Williams tells of his first job here.

Fight brought him here. W. F. Howard of Warrensburg tells of coming to Boonville in 1865.

Ardmore man tells of war. Civil War incidents.

Sold wood to steamboats. Recollections of early days in Boonville by J. W. Mellor of Sedalia.

Recalls old swimming hole—and other recollections of early Boonville.

S. W. Ravenel recalls old names and faces.

Wm. H. Trigg opened first bank In 1847. General history of Boonville's financial institutions.

Edwards tells of hoyhood days in Boonville.

July 17. Recalls old wine garden days. Reminiscences of early day life in Boonville.

———— Bunceton, *Eagle*

June 27. Early history of Boonville.

Dade County. Greenfield, *Dade County Advocate*
July 3. Sketch of the life of Mason Talbutt, pioneer citizen, Union veteran and former county official. See also Greenfield *Vedette* for July 3.

Daviess County. Gallatin, *Democrat*
July 31. Rounded out 50 years. Historical notes on Gallatin *Democrat.*

Dent County. Salem, *Monitor*
Aug. 21. Sketch of the life of Perry Organ, editor of *Monitor.*

Dunklin County. Kennett, *Dunklin Democrat*
June 20. How official State flag was adopted. Reprinted from *Missouri Historical Review.*

———— ————, *Dunklin County News*
Aug. 8. Sketch of the life of Dr. D. C. Pollock, Confederate veteran.

Franklin County. New Haven, *Leader*
Sept. 11. Historical. History of New Haven Lutheran Church, by Rev. John Burmeister.

———— Union, *Republican-Tribune*
Aug. 15. Origin of Franklin County names, by Clark Brown.
Sept. 19. Franklin County at the battle of Iuka, Mississippi, September 19, 1862, by Herman G. Kiel.

Greene County. Springfield, *Leader*
May 9. Ballot used in 1864 election here is found; names of candidates.
June 6. Town of Thomasville was site of the first settlement in Ozarks; interesting reminiscences of early settlers. By R. G. Smith.
Aug. 9. Sketch of the life of James T. Neville, former circuit judge. See also Springfield *Republican* for August 9.
Aug. 10. Thrilling encounters with Col. Duncan Cooper in Civil War. Described by F. C. Ward.
Bloody fighting at Wilson Creek took place 58 years ago. A short description of battle.
Aug. 11. Wild Bill Hicok and his career of violence. The exciting life of a frontiersman of the '60's and '70's.
Aug. 13. Last of old time circuit judges of county has passed. Reminiscences of former Springfield men who were circuit judges.
Sept. 1. General Pershing was born in section house. Story of the General's boyhood in Laclede.
Sept. 7. Late Judge Travers noted for eloquence in defending client. Reminiscences of municipal judge.

———— ————, *Republican*
May 6. Sketch of the life of Col. Xenophen Hawkins, Confederate veteran, last officer of Morgan's raiders.
May 27. Hubble recalls 1870 stock show, held at Springfield.
Aug. 17. Missouri's history told to motorists on bulletin boards. U. S. Tire Company's bulletins explain historic points on State highways.
Aug. 24. Plan to improve Jordan Valley. Recalls some history and early settlers.
Aug. 31. Sale of First Christian Church recalls early history of city when Ozark region was wilderness.

Grundy County. Trenton, *Weekly Republican*

Sept. 4. Col. Rogers celebrates the close of 50 years ownership of Republican; with historical sketch of life, paper and city of Trenton.

A glance at Trenton business men of '69.

Fair premiums of 50 years ago. List of prizes and winners at 2nd Annual Fair held in Trenton September, 1869.

The year of 1869 saw much building. A list of buildings in progress in Trenton in November, 1869.

Sept. 25. How General Pershing won his cadetship.

Henry County. Montrose, *Tidings*

Sept. 18. Some ancient history. Story of Van Buren County, Missouri.

———— Windsor, *Review*

June 5. Sketch of the life of Thomas J. Lingle, pioneer newspaper man.

Howard County. Glasgow, *Missourian*

May 15. Sketch of the life of A. L. Kirby, former State and county official. Reprinted from Armstrong *Herald.*

Howell County. West Plains, *Howell County Gazette*

June 5. The first settlement in the Ozarks; historical sketch of Thomasville.

June 12. Sketch of the life of G. B. Thomas, Union veteran.

July 17. Oldest Baptist minister. Reminiscences of Rev. Dan Shipman.

Sept. 25. Sketch of the life of Col. P. P. Dobozy, Union veteran. See also West Plains *Journal* and *Quill* for September 25.

———— ————, *Journal*

Aug. 14. Sketch of the life of Benjamin Gum, Confederate veteran.

Jackson County. Independence, *Jackson Examiner*

May 23. Dreams came true. History of Kansas City-Independence electric line.

———— Kansas City, *Star*

May 11. Sketch of the life of George W. Fuller, prominent Kansas City banker.

The Union Pacific Railroad 50 years old. C. E. Fagelstrom president of the road when gold spike was driven, tells of it.

May 20. In first Civil War fight. Story of Solomon Brown, son of John Brown, and what was styled the first battle of the Civil War.

June 10. Sketch of the life of John Donnelly, pioneer city official.

June 27. Got Mormon aid for Candian Pacific Railroad. Tells of E. B. Ryan of California, who persuaded Brigham Young to aid building of railway.

July 13. When gurrillas on land captured a steamboat. An incident in Kansas that contributed to the issuing of Order No. 11.

Aug. 3. In 1849, he asked, "Do you know Kansas City?" Prophecy for future of Kansas City, made in 1858 by Wm. Gilpin.

A picnic generations old. Story of Gentryville annual picnic.

Sept. 11. His old home town awaits "Black Jack." Sketch of General Pershing and plans for his home coming.

Sept. 12. The section boss' baby. Laclede's earliest recollection of General Pershing; by Herbert Corey.

Sept. 14. A guest of honor at Pershing's home coming. Sketch of Prof. G. A. Smith, who was chairman of committee that sent Pershing to West Point. Also a photograph of Pershing as he appeared when a cadet at West Point.

Sept. 27. When Van Buren County became Cass County, Missouri. A bloody Civil War day. Account of Centralia massacre in 1864.

———————, *Times*

May 3. Recalls a pioneer feud; old land grant feud of California and tragedy of Missourians who emigrated in 1856.

May 16. No official party plan as Missouri nears birthday; with historical notes. Reprinted from St. Louis *Post-Dispatch.*

June 23. Sketch of the life of Ed. T. Orear, former city and State official.

July 4. The semi-centennial of the Hannibal bridge.

Sept. 2. The Spirit Lake massacre. Reprinted from New York *Sun.*

Sept. 29. Sketch of the life of Chief Justice Bond of the Missouri Supreme Court.

———————, Lee's Summit, *Journal*

May 8. Missouri river first navigated century ago. Story of steamboat Independence. Reprinted from Independence *Sentinel.*

June 5. Early Jackson County history. Reprinted from Independence *Sentinel.*

June 19. Independence and Santa Fe. Story of early day trade with Santa Fe. Reprinted from Independence *Sentinel.*

Jasper County. Carthage, *Democrat.*

Sept. 12. A few facts about the career of General John J. Pershing, Missourian.

———————, Joplin, *News Herald*

May 15. Visiting Trenton veteran won Congressional Medal in 1863. How John Hack of Trenton, Missouri, won decoration in Civil War.

May 18. G. A. R. visitor was shot by Bushwhacker Quantrell in Baxter Springs battle of 1862; Civil War experience of Frank Arnold of Lamar, Missouri.

May 19. Fox hanging in 1888 was gala event. Story of execution at Nevada, Missouri.

May 25. Tells of purchasing first lead ore ever hauled from Joplin district. Recollections of early days in Granby, Missouri.

June 8. When the late Judge Philips answered federal court spectator. Interesting sidelights on famous judge.

Johnson County. Holden, *Progress*

July 3. Sketch of the life of James Artemus Whitsett, Confederate veteran.

———————, Warrensburg, *Standard-Herald*

June 6. First Baptist Church of Warrensburg—An historical sketch.

June 13. Sketch of the life of Henry C. Fike, Union veteran.

Sept. 5. Sketch of the life of Benjamin A. Bradley, pioneer citizen.

———————, ———————, *Star-Journal*

Aug. 22. Sketch of the life of Dr. J. A. B. Adcock, former State official.

Lafayette County. Higginsville, *Advance*
June 6. Semi-centennial celebration; some historical notes on Central College for Women.

———— Odessa, *Democrat*
July 11. Sketch of the life of Martin W. Rider, Confederate veteran.
Sept. 5. A story of the long ago. An account of the killing of F. X. Aubrey by Col. Wrightman in the '50's.

Lawrence County. Aurora, *Advertiser*
May 29. Recalls pioneer days. Some recollections of Enoch Williams.

Lewis County. Canton, *Press*
July 4. General John J. Pershing; a short sketch of his life. Reprinted from *Central Christian Advocate.*

———— Monticello, *Lewis County Journal*
Sept. 19. The army life of Missouri's General—Pershing.

Lincoln County. Elsberry, *Democrat*
June 27. Historic house to be razed. Historical notes of landmark of Portage des Sioux.
July 4. Recalls Missouri duel. Story of Buckner-Glover encounter at Palmyra in 1846. Reprinted from St. Louis *Republic.*

Linn County. Brookfield, *Gazette*
July 5. Sketch of the life of Warren D. Crandall, Union veteran.

Livingston County. Chillicothe, *Weekly Constitution*
May 29. Sketch of the life of J. M. Price, Union veteran.

Macon County. Macon, *Republican*
May 9. Judge Nortoni was back on old ground. Sketch of Judge's early career in Macon County.
July 11. Newspaper started on bleak prairie. Sketch of Moberly *Monitor.*

Marion County. Hannibal, *Courier-Post*
May 13. Sketch of the life of W. F. Chamberlain, Union veteran, former city official and pioneer banker.
June 7. Old trails of early days found practical routes for modern highways of the west. Description of old roads, by Edgar White. Reprinted from *American Motorist.*

———— Palmyra, *Spectator*
May 7. Scraps of history. Column of miscellaneous historical items. See all succeeding issues.
May 21. An ancient financial transaction—When 3-cent coins were passed for 10 cents.
July 23. Legend of Palmyra Spring.

Mercer County. Princeton, *Telegraph*
May 28. Sketch of the life of George A. Rockey, Union veteran.

Mississippi County. East Prairie, *Eagle*
May 2. The Palmyra massacre—A short account of it.

Montgomery County. Montgomery City, *Montgomery Standard*

June 6. Sketch of the life of Tyler W. Parker, pioneer printer.

July 11. Historic house to be razed. Facts about old Hopkins residence, built in 1806.

Morgan County. Versailles, *Leader*

Sept. 5. Sketch of the life of J. S. Thurston, former county official and pioneer citizen.

New Madrid County. Portageville, *Southeast Missourian*

June 13. Sketch of the life of Thomas H. Digges, Confederate veteran.

Nodaway County. Maryville, *Weekly Democrat-Forum*

June 26. A stranger's story of Nodaway's riches 40 years ago. Reprinted from *Democrat-Forum* of June 19, 1879.

July 24. Sketch of the life of Starling Carmichael, pioneer citizen.

Ozark County. Gainesville, *Ozark County Times*

Aug. 29. The tale of an old pioneer. Reminiscences of pioneer life.

Pemiscot County. Caruthersville, *Twice-A-Week Democrat*

Sept. 2. Brief history of Pemiscot County's development.
Brief history of our (Pemiscot County's) court house.

———— ————, *Pemiscot Argus*

May 1. Old newspaper days. C. D. Tresemiter tells of early days in Southeast Missouri journalism.

June 26. Prices up after 1865. Some post-Civil War prices.

Perry County. Perryville, *New Republican Era*

Sept. 25. Sketch of the life of Joseph Weinhold, former State legislator. See also *Perry County Republican* for September 25.

Pettis County. Sedalia, *Democrat*

May 25. Sketch of the life of Joshua A. Leach, founder of the National Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Engineers. See also issue of June 27.

June 2. Kemper celebrates; with historical notes of military school on its 75th anniversary.

June 23. Sketch of the life of Ed. T. Orear, pioneer citizen, former State official.

Pike County. Bowling Green, *Times*

May 1. History of old Buffalo Fort.

May 8. The first courthouse at Bowling Green. Continued in issues of May 15, 22, June 5 and July 10.

May 29. The Clarksville Turnpike. History of road built in 1857.

June 12. History column—Story of settlement of Missouri and her admission to statehood.

June 19. Scott Springs and Antioch Church—Historical facts.

June 26. Lincoln's campaign in the east in 1860.

July 3. How an Indian War in Marion County was started and was nipped in the bud. Reprinted from St. Louis *Republic*.

July 17. Historic home to be razed. History of a Portage des Sioux landmark.

July 31. Woconda and other "Has Been" towns of Pike County.

Aug. 21. The last Indian. Reprinted from Perry *Enterprise*.

Sept. 4. History of the church—Antioch Presbyterian Church of Pike County, 100 years old.
Sept. 11. Address of T. Berry Smith. Reminiscences of early Pike County.
Sept. 18. Rev. Stephen Ruddle. The first church of Pike County and some hitherto unknown history.
Sept. 25. Sketch of Rev. Wm. Hurley, pioneer Baptist preacher.

———— Louisiana, *Press-Journal*
May 8. The Clarksville Pike. A short history of old road.
June 19. An Indian War—How it started in Marion County and was nipped in bud. Reprinted from St. Louis *Republic*.
Sept. 11. Historic Antioch. History of church.

Platte County. Dearborn, *Democrat*.
Sept. 18. An old landmark gone. Historical notes on old store building at Settles Station.

Polk County. Bolivar, *Free Press*
May 15. Sketch of the life of Thomas W. Phillips, Union veteran and former county official.

Ralls County. New London, *Ralls County Record*
May 23. Some New London history.

Randolph County. Huntsville, *Herald*
June 6. Back in the days of 1873. Business of that year.

Ray County. Richmond, *Missourian*
Aug. 21. Sketch of the life of John F. Morton, former State Senator.

St. Clair County. Osceola, *St. Clair County Republican*
Aug. 28. Old bond trouble rehashed. Some history of the railroad bonds in St. Clair County.

St. Francois County. Bonne Terre, *Star*
June 3. History of Congregational Sunday School.

St. Louis City. *Church Progress*
May 1. Historical extract relating to the diocese of St. Louis—From the *Propagation of the Faith*, 1842.

———— *Globe-Democrat*
June 22. The funniest men that ever lived—Eugene Field. Eccentricities of the child poet.
July 13. The funniest men that ever lived—Mark Twain.
Aug. 20. Sketch of the life of John F. Morton, former State Senator.
Sept. 29. Sketch of the life of Judge H. W. Bond, Chief Justice of the Missouri Supreme Court. See also *Republic* for September 29; *Post-Dispatch* for September 20; and *Star* for September 29.

———— *Post-Dispatch*
May 4. Lewis & Clark anniversary, May 14; with a few historical notes.

May 11. Commerce sweeps away most noted of old mansions in downtown St. Louis. History of Lucas family and "Lucas Place."
Missouri's 100th birthday is not far away; some history.
June 1. Grace Church (Episcopal) will observe 75th year; with short historical sketch.
The St. Louis you might have seen from the river in 1845; with photograph.
When St. Louis had only typewriter in world. Description of machine.
June 29. A former Prince of Wales and a St. Louis mayor's white kid gloves. Incident of visit of Albert Edward, then Prince of Wales, to St. Louis in 1860.
Aug. 10. A rambling interview with Harold Bell Wright.
Presidents stopped beneath his roof. A sketch of "The Mosque" and its former owner, Chauncey I. Filley.
Aug. 24. Claims to be oldest native St. Louisan. Reminiscences of Edward Stack.
Looking backward to the cost of living following the Civil War.
Passing of the old Morrison Mansion. Sketch of one-time society center of St. Louis.
Sept. 14. What is to be done with the old St. Louis courthouse; with historical incidents.

———— *Republic*

May 4. Father Brennan, three-score and thirteen, agile as youth, "has just gotten good start" in his 50 years of priesthood in St. Louis. His reminiscences of early days in the city.
June 1. St. Louis to hold centennial commencement; with short historical sketch.
June 8. Judge David P. Dyer—Recollections of early days and people in Missouri.
June 25. Historic home, 119 years old, to be wrecked. Sketch of Hopkins residence at Portage des Sioux, with considerable pioneer description.
Aug. 17. Hannibal to celebrate centenary of discovery of Mark Twain cave; with description of cave.
Aug. 31. Sketch of St. Louis central trades union, founded in 1887.
Sept. 14. Pershing, man and warrior.

———— *Star*

Aug. 11. Civil War was followed by high cost of living. Comparison of prices then with those of the present.
Aug. 29. Sketch of General Pershing's boyhood life in Laclede.
Aug. 29. Pictures of General Pershing's home and old time friends in Laclede. See also issue of August 30.

———— *America at Work*

May 15. Story of "Shang" Dolan. An incident in the early railroad history of the southwest; by Col. S. W. Fordyce.
June 12. Personal recollections of Wm. McKinley; by Col. S. W. Fordyce. Continued in issues of June 26 and July 17.
July 31. Recollections of Senator Vest; by Col. S. W. Fordyce. Continued in issue of August 14.

St. Louis County. Clayton, *Watchman-Advocate*

May 9. Sketch of the life of Wm. F. Pfister, former county official.

May 16. The facts about "Old Drum." Story of Senator Vest and the famous dog case.

Saline County. Marshall, *Democrat-News*

May 1. Sketch of the life of Thomas W. Phillips, Confederate veteran.

May 22. One of State's historic spots. Early day celebrities interred in Sappington cemetery.

Aug. 28. The county seat has had four homes. History of county seat of Saline County.

The first divorce in Saline County.

Some first things. Early day events in Saline County.

In Marshall forty years ago.

Early Santa Fe trail in Saline was not present highway; a sidelight on historic highway.

Third time charm. A short historical sketch of Missouri Valley College.

Why Marshall became county seat. Act of Legislature of February 5, 1839, locating seat of justice of Saline County at Marshall.

History of papers. Development of newspapers in Saline County.

Scott County. Benton, *Scott County Democrat*

June 19. Some history of Pea Vine railroad.

Aug. 7. Some history of Benton Methodist Church.

———— Sikeston, *Herald*

May 9. Old freight book tells of former merchandise. Shipments of merchandise to Sikeston in early days.

June 27. When the first auto came to Sikeston.

Worth County. Grant City, *Worth County Times*

Aug. 21. Sketch of the life of Elizah Miller, former State Senator.

———— ————, *Worth County Tribune*

June 25. Sketch of the life of Gabriel W. Fraker, ploneer citizen; with considerable history of Grant City.

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THE MISSOURI HISTORICAL REVIEW

Vol. XV July, 1921 No. 4

CONTENTS

A Century of Missouri Legal Literature..... 595
JOHN D. LAWSON
Missourians in China..... 611
J. B. POWELL
The Missouri and Mississippi Railroad Debt..... 617
E. M. VIOLETTE
Atchison County's Memorial at Rock Port, Mo..... 648
JOHN C. STAPEL
Influence of the Mississippi Valley on the Development of Modern France..... 651
MAURICE CASENAVE
The Followers of Duden..... 660
WILLIAM G. BEK.
Popularizing State History..... 700
FLOYD C. SHOEMAKER
Shelby's Expedition to Mexico..... 707
JOHN N. EDWARDS
Historical Notes and Comments..... 721
Historical Articles in Missouri Newspapers..... 743

FLOYD C. SHOEMAKER, Editor

The Missouri Historical Review is published quarterly. The subscription price is $1.00 a year. A complete set of the REVIEW is still obtainable—Vols. 1-15, bound, $60.00; unbound, $30.00. Prices of separate volumes given on request. All communications should be addressed to Floyd C. Shoemaker, Secretary, The State Historical Society of Missouri, Columbia, Missouri.

"Entered as second-class matter at the postoffice at Columbia, Missouri, under the Act of Congress, Oct. 3, 1917, Sec. 442."

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JOHN N. EDWARDS (deceased), one of the most widely known journalists of Missouri, was a member of Shelby's expedition to Mexico. He is regarded by some competent authorities as having been the greatest master of journalistic writing that the State has produced.

A CENTURY OF MISSOURI LEGAL LITERATURE

By JOHN D. LAWSON, LL. D.

The first book printed on the soil of Missouri, and the first printed in the English language in the great territory west of the Mississippi River is a book of laws. Its title page reads: "The Laws of the Territory of Louisiana, comprising all those which are now actually in force within the Same. Published by Authority. St. Louis (L). Printed by Joseph Charless, Printer to the Territory. 1808." This book, therefore, bears the same relation in the history of the "art preservative of all arts" that the Guttenburg or Mazarin Bible, the first book printed from movable type, does to the history of printing in Europe, and that the Bay Psalm Book, the first book printed in the English Colonies, does to the history of printing in America. Of the few copies of this book in existence, one is in the Lawson Library of Criminal Law and Crimonology. It was once owned by Senator Geyer, whose autograph it bears. Henry S. Geyer (1798-1859) was not only a United States Senator and Missouri's greatest forensic orator but was according to the historian of our Bench and Bar, "the greatest lawyer of the Missouri Bar." And he was the first to publish a law book in this state, when in 1818 his "Digest of the Laws of Missouri Territory" was given to the profession.[1]

The name that leads all the rest on the roll of Missouri legal literature is that of Seymour Dwight Thompson (1842-1904), whose reputation was not only national but international. Born in Illinois, the son of a Presbyterian minister, he entered the Civil War in an Iowa regiment at the age of eighteen and having fought at Shiloh, Vicksburg and other great battles, was mustered out of the army as a cap-

[1]His greatest speech was made on the trial of Darnes for murder in St. Louis in 1840. See *16 Am. St. Tr.* An oil portrait of him from life is in the Portrait Collection of Judges and Lawyers, of the Law School of the University of Missouri.

tain, at Memphis in 1866. Obtaining a clerkship in the office of a City court he continued his study of law (for he had carried a copy of Blackstone and Kent in his knapsack during his campaigns) and was admitted to the bar in 1869. His taste for investigation and writing soon bore fruit in the publication of two local works on law and a treatise on "Self Defense." These attracted the attention of St. Louis publishers to which city he removed in 1871 to become editor of the Central Law Journal and to carry on his legal writings. Associated with Judge Dillon, the founder of the Journal, he was appointed a master in Chancery of the Federal Court, in which office there came before him during the next five years several important cases involving large sums of money and from which he earned some handsome fees. He also engaged in the practice and I was his first partner, the firm being dissolved in 1880 on his election to the St. Louis Court of Appeals. But he never ceased to write and before he went on the bench four legal works of his came from the press, the last of them being his well-known "Law of Negligence," which was spoken of by the reviewer of the day as "a credit to the author whose reputation as a legal writer is already assured, and an honor to American literature." During the rest of his life he was a constant writer on legal topics, bulky treatises, monographs, addresses before State and National Bar Associations, and magazine articles flowed from his pen. Should his miscellaneous writings ever be collected, it will be found that Judge Thompson was one of the most tireless and indefatigable literary workers of his time.

His labors on the bench did not interrupt him, for while a judge he wrote his greatest work, "The Law of Corporations,"—its seven volumes constituting the most extensive legal treatise on a single topic ever published in the English language. At the time of his death a new edition of his "Law of Negligence," greatly enlarged and to cover six volumes, was going through the press. Around him during these years he had gathered a coterie of young lawyers whom he instructed and who were his assistants. I was one of his earliest pupils in the art of legal writing, as were Edwin G.

Merriam, for many years a prominent railroad attorney, and Eugene McQuillan, later a St. Louis judge; so were William P. Wade, who became a California judge, Frank W. Peebles, the librarian of the St. Louis Law Library Association, and William L. Murfee, Jr., sometime Dean of the Law School of the University of Colorado, the last three now deceased. All of these names are entitled to appear in a bibliography of Missouri Legal Literature.

In 1875, Judge Thompson became editor of the Southern Law Review, and from 1883 to 1904 he was editor of the American Law Review. From 1880 to 1889 he was a lecturer in the Law School of the University of Missouri and for several years in the Law School of Northwestern University. The honorary degree of Doctor of Laws was conferred on him by the University of Missouri in 1882. On his leaving the bench in 1892 he became consulting counsel with a leading St. Louis firm, and in 1898 he removed to New York City where he combined his literary work with that of a consulting counsel.

The twelve years of his judicial life were his happiest ones. His salary as appellate judge assured him a comfortable living. His royalties during these years were very large for his reputation was such that he was able to obtain from his publishers a higher royalty than that obtained by any other legal writer and his books had a very wide sale. He was editor of the American Law Review with a salary equal to that of a circuit judge and the columns of every law review or periodical in the country were open to him at all times and at his own price. He was fond of travel and when he traveled he would see everything there was to see no matter at what cost. In his vacations he was across the ocean, often before his friends knew that he had left town, and in these twelve years he wandered over every part of Europe and a part of Asia. He knew the great capitals from London to Buda-Pesth and Constantinople and the public men of the continent; but he was fond of wandering into unfrequented portions of the globe. He had traversed the Siberian railroad to its then terminus. He knew Russia and Denmark

and Norway and Sweden as well as he knew England and France. He had watched the midnight sun more than once from the North Cape and had crossed Iceland on horseback.

Unlike many of the law books of the present generation that are merely digests of judicial utterances, recorded in the official reports, all of Judge Thompson's works express in weighty and convincing language his own opinions not only as to what the law is on a particular topic but what it ought to be. He leads as often as he follows the courts. This was his favorite field, and in the preface to his best-known work he expresses a doubt whether in the writing of it he was "exercising the dignified office of a commentator or the more humble one of a carpenter-joiner of other men's ideas."

The same intellectual bent was characteristic of his judicial work. He was impatient of precedent; he would reason the case from principle. To wander through the musty books of the past to find out if some judge of the days of the Tudors had decided the question and then to follow this decision blindly seemed to him the acme of absurdity. To his mind the men of those days were, compared to us, barbarians, not further advanced in civilization than the Bulgarians, among whom he had traveled; who believed in trial by battle; who ate without forks; whose highways swarmed with robbers and whose border countries were overrun with bandits; whose indifference to human life was appalling; who practiced torture and tried and condemned old women as witches; whose judges did not allow counsel in criminal cases and whose statutes contained scores of capital felonies and atrocious penalties for even the minor crimes. That the men who lived among these conditions should do his thinking and solve for him a judicial question he would not hear of; for why should he care for the opinion of Coke, who murdered Raleigh, or that of Bacon, who bought and sold justice. Hence though he was deeply read in the old writers he had no place for their opinions if they conflicted with his ideas of justice and right in the lights of the present century.

To those of his intimate friends—and they were many—who more than once were privileged to sit around a table at

which he sat and listen to him as he talked of his travels or gave his impressions of men whom he had met, or his criticisms of the historians, the poets and the moralists, this was a treat long to be remembered. One thought at once of Dr. Samuel Johnson and the Literary Club, for he had the Johnsonian figure, medium height, burly and slow in movement and the Johnsonian deliberation in his speech. His memory was extraordinary. He seemed to retain every scrap of information he had read and almost in its very words. He would quote page after page of Gibbon, of Macaulay, of Shakspere, of Milton, of Byron and rarely make a mistake. One of his early publishers recalls that when Judge Thompson first came to St. Louis the publishing house and partners being young and the business small much of the work was done by them in the evenings after office hours. Among other things they used to direct, fold and prepare for mail, circulars of books and the issues of the Central Law Journal. They got together often, a little force of partners, clerks and friends, who used to sit around a large packing table doing this kind of work and seeking social amusement at the same time. One of their favorite entertainments was to get Judge Thompson, who was too sluggish to do the physical work they were engaged in, to sit in a chair in the middle of the room and recite to them. One evening he had regaled them with quotations from Paradise Lost; some one commented on his memory, when he said that to remember Paradise Lost was nothing because it was a poem everyone ought to know and that everyone ought to appreciate it, but that his memory was equally retentive of poems of less reputation and he offered to wager that he could then and there repeat the whole of Paradise Regained without any essential variance, though he had read it only once several years ago, but he felt sure that he retained in his memory the whole poem and would err only in a few verbal changes. No one dared to accept his wager, so they did not test the matter, but none of them had any doubt that he could have made good his boast. And a friend of his has related that after listening to Conkling's great speech in the Republican convention in Chicago in

1880, Judge Thompson repeated it from memory to an impromptu but admiring audience in the hotel the same evening with strict fidelity to the text.

John F. Dillon (1831-1912), Federal Judge of this Circuit and founder of the Central Law Journal, wrote a great work on "Municipal Corporations." The fame of this and of another on "Municipal Bonds" resulted in a call from the financial interests in New York City where he became counsel to some of the largest corporations. His successor, George W. McCrary (1835-1890), who had been a member of Congress and Secretary of War, wrote on "The Law of Elections." Two other Missouri Federal judges, Amos M. Thayer (1841-1905) and Gustavus A. Finklenburg (1837-1908), wrote respectively on "Jurisdiction of Federal Courts" and "Practice in Appellate Proceedings." The State Supreme judges have contributed little to jurisprudence outside of their opinions in the official reports. Thomas A. Sherwood (1831-1918), who sat on that bench for thirty years, wrote a commentary on "Criminal Law;" John L. Thomas on "Constructive Contempt" and "Frauds in the Mails;" W. V. N. Bay (1818-1894), after he left the bench, became the historian of the Bench and Bar of Missouri; and David Wagner (1826-1903) published several annotated editions of the Missouri Statutes. The only work which achieved a national reputation from the pen of a State Supreme Court Judge was that of Judge Philemon Bliss (1814-1889) on "Code Pleading." He was the first Dean of the Law School of the University of Missouri. Alexander Martin (1833-1902), the second Dean of the Law School, wrote a learned work on "Common Law Pleading," and Dr. William G. Hammond (1829-1894), Dean of the Law School of Washington University, was undoubtedly the most scholarly of the many editors, English and American, of "Blackstone's Commentaries." Another legal treatise, showing rare learning and scholarship is "The Foundations of Legal Liability" of Thomas A. Street, formerly a Professor in the Law School of the University of Missouri, but now one of the justices of the Supreme Court of the Philippines.

Missouri claims as an adopted son, the editor of the

most extensive and complete compilation of the common and statutory law of the English-speaking peoples. William Mack (LL. B. Univ. of Mo. 1887, LL. D. 1914), after practicing law in this state for some time, went to California as an assistant editor of the "American Decisions." In the nineties, he removed to New York and became editor-in-chief of the "American Cyclopedia of Law and Procedure," popularly quoted as Cyc. and is today editor-in-chief of that monumental work, *Corpus Juris*.

Charles F. Beach, who removed to France to practice law there, wrote on "Monopolies and Trusts," and Joel Prentiss Bishop (1814-1901), the well-known Boston author, published his work on "Contracts" in St. Louis. The writings of Frederick H. Bacon on "Insurance Law" are well known to and well thought of by the lawyers of all the states. Charles D. Drake (1811-1892), after whom one of our State Constitutions is popularly named, who was a United States Senator and afterwards Chief Justice of the Court of Claims, was the author of an authoritative work on "Attachment," and the "Void Judicial Sales" of Abraham S. Freeman, the editor of American Decisions, was published in St. Louis, as was that on "Expert Testimony" by Henry Wade Rogers, Dean of the Yale Law School and now a Federal Judge. William B. Hale (LL. B., Univ. of Mo. 1890) has written on "Bailments," "Torts" and "Damages," and William M. Murfree, Sr., the father of George Egbert Craddock, the novelist, wrote several treatises on law topics. Henry E. Mills, a St. Louis lawyer, wrote on "Eminent Domain," as has Alexander H. Robbins, editor of the Central Law Journal, on "American Advocacy" and "Conflict of Laws." Christopher G. Tiedeman (1851-1918) was a voluminous writer on law, and one of his works, "A Treatise on Real Property," achieved a wide reputation and had an enormous sale. Most of his books were written while a Professor in the Law School of the University of Missouri. In 1891 he removed to New York where he died. James A. Webb, a St. Louis practitioner, wrote on several legal subjects, and the works of J. Gabriel Woerner (1826-1900), Probate Judge of St. Louis for many years, be-

came authority on the subjects of "Administration" and "Guardianship" in all the Courts. Edward J. White (LL. B., Univ. of Mo. 1891) has written valuable treatises on "Railroad Law" and "Mining Law," and as a sort of relief from these dry topics as explored the "Law in Shakespeare" and "Legal Antiquities." He is now general counsel of one of the great railroads of the west. Frederick N. Judson (1845-1919), for many years one of the leaders of the St. Louis Bar and a prominent figure in State and National affairs, wrote largely on "Taxation," especially from a Constitutional standpoint.

These comprise the authors and the books on law and jurisprudence in general, and whose names and writings are known throughout the land. The list of writers on local subjects is much longer. At its head we must place Everett W. Pattison (1839-1919). A native of Maine, after the Civil War where he had been a captain in a Massachusetts regiment, he began the practice of law in St. Louis and continued it until his death. But he soon began his compilation of "Missouri Decisions" and his "Digests" became the *vade mecum* of Missouri lawyers for more than thirty years. He likewise wrote several works on the local law. Henry S. Kelley (1832-1911) did similar work on "Criminal Law," "Practice," "Probate Law" and "Justices' Courts." So has Eugene McQuillan on "Missouri Pleading and Practice," and "Municipal Corporations." The bibliography at the end of this article will show the large number of writers and books on Missouri law.

Indeed, from the establishment of the firm of Soule, Thomas and Wentworth (now the F. H. Thomas Law Book Company) in St. Louis in the early seventies, that city has been famous as a law book publishing centre. Today the only law periodicals of general circulation in this country are edited and published there—the American Law Review, founded at Boston in 1867 and removed to St. Louis in 1883, and the Central Law Journal, founded there in 1873. These two magazines have seen in the half century of their exist-

ence more than a score of others in all the large cities from Boston to San Francisco born and die.

At the Louisiana Purchase Exposition the University of Missouri Law School's exhibit, for which it received a medal, was of the books on Law and Jurisprudence written by teachers in and graduates of the school. The number was over one hundred, not exceeded, in volume at least, by the oldest law schools in the land. One of the most extensive and complete law libraries in the country is that of the St. Louis Law Library Association, founded in 1838 by leading members of the St. Louis bar whose names are preserved in the dedication of the first edition of Judge Thompson's "Negligence," but whose real creator was Arba N. Crane (1834-1904). A native of Vermont and graduate of Harvard he came to St. Louis in 1856 and soon became a partner of Roswell M. Field, the father of Eugene Field, the poet. It was this firm that brought suit for the freedom of Dred Scott, a litigation that became part of our Nation's history. For nearly forty years as director and president, Mr. Crane devoted most of his hours to the building of this storehouse of legal information and research. Another large law library is that of the University of Missouri, which within the past twelve years has been enriched by the endowment by William K. Bixby, Esq., of St. Louis of the Lawson Library of Criminal Law and Criminology. Here is being collected all published works on these subjects, and its existence has made possible the publication now in its thirteenth volume of "American State Trials," which will do for American history what "Howell's State Trials" and the *Causes Celebres* have done for England and France.

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MISSOURIANS IN CHINA

By J. B. Powell.

A Missouri Society in China, composed of 122 former residents of the State of Missouri, was organized in Shanghai on January 24, 1920. The officers elected were as follows:

President.....Dr. J. T. Proctor (Monroe City and Kansas City)
Vice-President..N. E. Lurton (St. Louis)
Secretary.....Don D. Patterson (Macon and Kansas City)
Treasurer.....H. H. Tinch (Bethany)
Committee....J. B. Powell (Columbia and Hannibal)
Arthur Bassett (Paris)
F. J. White (Kansas City)

The constitution which was adopted contains the following items regarding the purposes of the Missouri Society in China:

1. To bring Missourians in China into closer touch with each other.
2. To encourage more Missourians to come to China for business and professional work.
3. To encourage Chinese students to attend Missouri colleges and universities for their higher education.
4. To impress upon the people of the State of Missouri the importance of extending American trade and influence in China.
5. To work in co-operation with Missourians in other foreign countries to accomplish the objects outlined above.
6. To organize and concentrate public opinion at home to the end that the American Government may develop a fixed and continuous policy toward China and Far Eastern affairs.
7. To promote publicity in the metropolitan and country press of Missouri in order that there may be a fuller understanding on the part of the newspaper editors as to the importance of the developments on the Pacific Ocean that have a vital bearing on the future of America and the peace of the world.
8. To give full publicity at home regarding the constructive work and enterprises of Missourians in China.

There are approximately 8,000 Americans who are now making their homes in China, and it is needless to state that the Missourians are receiving many compliments on their enterprise in being the first state to organize an association. Both the California and Kansas delegations are now working on similar organizations.

Elsewhere in connection with this article appears a list of all the members of the Missouri Society. From this list it will be seen that Missourians are engaged in practically every line of enterprise in the great Chinese Republic. Missionary work claims the largest number with teaching a close second. Of the various branches of missionary enterprise, the Shanghai College, built and almost entirely financed by Missourians, stands out as one of the great constructive enterprises in China, not only of Missourians, but of Americans in general.

Shanghai College is a missionary school for Chinese. It is located at Shanghai and is the first group of foreign-style buildings that greet the visitor to China. The buildings and campus are located on the banks of the Whangpoo River, a few miles from the great Yangtsze River that flows through the heart of the Chinese nation. The school was founded in 1906 and the corner-stone of the main building bears the name of Mr. E. W. Stephens of Columbia, who was here at the dedication. The faculty contains fourteen American teachers and twelve Chinese teachers. Its students to the number of approximately 500 come from fourteen of China's eighteen provinces. There are nineteen college and residential buildings and the complete plans call for provisions for 800 Chinese students. Some idea of the tremendous growth of the institution may be gained from the fact that ten years ago it had less than forty students. Courses are provided for the teaching, ministry, journalism, business, medical, chemical and other lines. Twelve of its graduates are now in America pursuing higher educations and fitting themselves for the modern problems of new China. The tremendous development of the Shanghai College is a pretty good index as to what is taking place all over China. China changed

F. J. WHITE, OF KANSAS CITY, PRESIDENT OF SHANGHAI COLLEGE.

from an absolute monarchy to a republic about ten years ago and new China is largely being modeled on America. Money invested in Shanghai College and the hundreds of other similar institutions scattered over China, practically all of which are staffed by Americans, will do more in the promotion of the future peace of the world and especially of the Pacific than all of the navies, armies and leagues of nations.

There is one other phase of the work of Missourians in China that is of general interest and that is in journalism. Mr. Thomas F. Millard, a native of Rolla and a graduate of the University of Missouri, easily ranks as the father of American journalism in China. He was founder of the *China Press*, the American daily newspaper in China, and although not now connected with the publication, the paper is doing much to keep the American influence alive in the Orient. In 1917 he added to the American press, a weekly political, commercial and financial journal in the form of *Millard's Review*. This journal, while printed in the English language has gained the most extensive circulation of any journal of its character in the entire Orient.

Mr. J. B. Powell is now editor and manager of the *Review*. Don D. Patterson is business manager, and Miss Margaret Powell is local editor. In addition to his active journalistic work, Mr. Millard is also the author of more than a half dozen standard books dealing with China and the Japanese problem. He came to China at the time of the Russo-Japanese war as correspondent for the *New York Herald* and the *Daily News* of London. In the recent investigation of the Shantung Question by the Foreign Relations Committee of Congress, Mr. Millard was an expert witness and his testimony is said to have been more effective in opening the eyes of the American people as to the real conditions in the Orient and especially as to the menace of modern militaristic Japan, than the testimony of any other person. He was in Paris at the Peace Conference and acted as the unofficial adviser to the Chinese Delegation.

Since the American Government is now stationing a large section of the fleet in the Pacific, it is of interest to know

that Captain Thomas A. Kearney, commander of the section of the fleet stationed on the China coast, is a native of Springfield, Mo. Major Arthur Bassett of Paris, who came to China originally as United States District Attorney of the United States Court for China, is now legal adviser to the British-American Tobacco Company. He volunteered for service in the war and was stationed at Tientsin as judge-advocate with the American Expeditionary Forces and was retired with the rank of Major.

It is, of course, impossible, in the space available to give full details regarding the work of all the Missourians in China. There is a dental firm in Shanghai composed of W. Rector Smith of Macon, and W. J. Isenman of St. Louis, that for years has been the leading firm of dental surgeons in China. There are dozens of Missourians such as Mr. Peyton Stephens of Columbia, who for years have worked as missionaries among the Chinese at interior points, whose experiences would fill a book. We can sum it all up by saying that these former Missourians, although living on the opposite side of the world from the home state, are still loyal to Missouri and to America and each and every one is doing his or her part in promoting American interests and making the world a little safer for democracy.

MISSOURIANS IN CHINA

Name	Home Address	China Address	Business
Roger D. Arnold	Kansas City	Taiyuanfu	Y. M. C. A.
Mrs. J. P. Babcock	Veronia	Soochow	Standard Oil Co.
Mrs. J. H. Baldwin	St. Louis	Shanghai	Wife, Dr.
Arthur Bassett	Paris, Monroe Co.	Shanghai	B. A. T. Co.
Miss Jeannette Beall	Kansas City	Peking	Missionary doctor.
Mrs. A. H. Birkel	St. Joseph	Nanking	Missionary.
Miss Mary Blackford	St. Louis	Huchow, Che	Missionary.
Wilmot D. Boone		Tsinan	Y. M. C. A.
Neil Burgess Boone	Columbia	Tsinan	Missionary.
T. E. Breece	Windsor	Peking	Teacher.
J. Warner Brown	Slater, Saline Co.	Canton	Missionary.
Mrs. J. Warner Brown	Kansas City	Canton	Missionary.
J. R. Browne	Clinton	Shanghai	Standard Oil Co.
Winfred Bryan Cole	Belgrade	Hinghwa	Missionary.
Miss Bess Combs	St. Joseph	Sungkiang	Missionary.
Frank H. Connely	Shelbina	Pingtu	Missionary.
Mrs. Jessie M. Crane	Appleton City	Shanghai	Wife, Mr.
John Wallis Creighton	Creighton	Canton	Teacher.

J. B. POWELL, EDITOR MILLARD'S REVIEW, SHANGHAI.

MAJOR ARTHUR BASSETT, OF PARIS. LEGAL ADVISER TO THE BRITISH-AMERICAN TOBACCO CO.

MISSOURIANS IN CHINA—Continued.

Name	Home Address	China Address	Business
Carl Crow	Columbia	Shanghai	Advertising.
F. H. Crumpacker	Kansas City	Ping-ting-hsien	Missionary.
Miss Ethel L. Davis	Peculiar	Changshe	Teaching.
W. Ward Davis	Peculiar	Siangtan, Hu	Missionary.
Mrs. W. W. Davis	Kansas City	Siangtan, Hu	Wife, Mr.
J. W. Dawes	Peculiar	Taian, Sung	Missionary.
Mr. and Mrs. J. W. Dyson	Fayette	Soochow	Teaching.
Mrs. C. M. Eames	Warrensburg	Tsining	Teaching.
Miss Lois Ann Ely	Kirksville	Nanking	Teaching.
C. N. Hartwell	Univ. of Missouri	Hwanghsien	Teaching.
H. W. Haskell	West Plains	Wuhu	Missionary.
L. F. Heimberger	St. Louis	Weihsien	Missionary doctor
Albert Heim	Cameron	Peking	Teaching.
Mrs. A. H. Heim	Rocheport	Peking	
W. J. Isenman	St. Louis	Shanghai	Deutist.
Ernest Victor Jones	Bronaugh	Soochow	Teaching.
Mrs. E. V. Jones	Eldorado Springa	Soochow	
Miss Florence Jones	Springfield	Pingtu	Nurse.
Stanley W. Kintigh	Kansas City	Canton	Teaching.
John W. Lowe	Gallatin	Cheefoo	Missionary.
David W. Lucas	Goodwater, Iron County	Ningpo	Standard Oil Co.
N. E. Lurton	St. Louis	Shanghai	U. S. Marahal.
Paul S. Marriott	Liberty	Chinkiang	Son of C.C.Marriott.
Mrs. C. C. Marriott	Rosendale	Chinkiang	Missionary.
C. C. Marriott	Versailles	Chinkiang	Missionary.
T. F. Millard	Rolla	Shanghai	Journalist.
H. W. McCutchan	Monticello	Suchien, Ku	Teaching.
Miss Mada I. McCutchan	Monticello	Sutchien, Ku	Teaching.
Frank R. McDonald	St. Joseph	Peking	Medical doctor.
Miss Blanche C. McDonald	Farmington	Peking	Religious Education.
Miss Alma R. McLain	Jackson	Shanghai	Missionary Teacher.
A. W. McMillen	Columbia	Canton	Teaching.
Miss Sadie A. Neabit	Lowry City	Kashing, Che	Hospital business.
Miss Mabel Ruth Nowlin	Kansas City	Changli	Missionary.
A. P. Parker	Moberly	Shanghai	Missionary.
Mr. & Mrs. Don Patterson	Macon	Shanghai	Newspaper.
Julian Petit	St. Louis	Shanghai	Medical doctor.
W. B. Pettua	Univ. of Missouri	Peking	Y. M. C. A.
Mr. & Mrs. J. B. Powell	Columbia	Shanghai	Newspaper.
Miss Margaret Powell	Columbia	Shanghai	Newspaper.
S. R. Price	Gallatin	Shanghai	Financier and lawyer.
John T. Proctor	Kansas City	Shanghai	Missionary admn.
Mrs. J. T. Proctor	Kansas City	Shanghai	
Miss Martha E. Pyle	Kansas City	Shanghai	Teaching.
Miss E. Ramsbottom	Gallatin	Peking	Teaching.
Mrs. H. G. Robinson	Kansas City	Tientsin	Wife, Mr.
Mrs. H. J. Rounds	Liberty	Changsha	Wife, Mr.
Wm. H. Sears	Prairie Hill	Pingtu	Missionary.
George J. Sears	Prairie Hill	Tsingtso	Cornahe, Eckford Co.
C. C. Shedd	Joplin	Hankow	Y. M. C. A.
Miss Gertrude L. Sloan	Caledonia	Soochow	Missionary.

MISSOURIANS IN CHINA—Continued.

Name	Home Address	China Address	Business.
Wesley M. Smith	Marshall	Changchow, Ku	Missionary.
W. Rector Smith	Macon	Shanghai	Dental Surgeon.
B. W. Smith	Kansas City	Kaifeng	Y. M. C. A.
Selden P. Spencer, Jr	St. Louis	Shek Lung	Teaching.
Miss Nina M. Stallings	Mexico	Soochow	Teaching.
Miss Clara E. Steyer	Mountain Grove	Huchow, Che	Teaching.
Howard P. Stephens	Columbia	Cheefoo	Shipping.
M. Q. Stevenson	Parkville	Peking	Missionary.
Mrs. M. Q. Stevenson	Parkville	Peking	Missionary.
H. H. Tinch	Bethany	Shanghai	Standard Oil Co.
Mrs. E. E. Walline	Ashland	Canton	Missionary.
Ralph M. White	Kingston	Soochow	Teaching.
Francis J. White	Kansas City	Shanghai	Teaching.
Mrs. Sterling, W. Whitener	Rockville	Nanking	Missionary.
Miss Hester Yates	Williamsburg	Shanghai	Missionary.

U. S. ARMY OR MARINE CORPS.

Cyril L. Beard	St. Louis	Tientsin	Private U. S. Inf.
Albert Benick	St. Joseph	Tientsin	Private U. S. Inf.
Carl H. Brooks	Sturgeon	Tientsin	Private U. S. Inf.
Claude L. Brock	St. Louis	Tientsin	Private U. S. Inf.
Howell W. Dean	Fordland	Tientsin	Private U. S. Inf.
Palmer A. Ferguson	Fredericktown	Tientsin	1st Sergeant.
George D. Henley	St. Charles	Peking	U. S. M. C.
Thomas E. Herrell	Advance	Tientsin	Private U. S. Inf.
Thomas A. Kearney	Springfield	U.S.S.Wilmington	Captain.
W. J. De Lancy	St. Louis	Tientsin	Soldier, U. S. Inf.
Charles W. Laswell	Hannibal	Peking	Marine Detachment.
Donald J. Lowe	St. Louis	Tientsin	Private, U. S. Inf.
J. Luebbers	St. Louis	Tientsin	Soldier, U. S. Inf.
Charles W. Nye	Norborne	Tientsin	Soldier, U. S. Inf.
Elmer O. Schaublin	Ava, Douglas Co	Tientsin	Soldier, U. S. Inf.
Ruben G. Smith	Caruthersville	Teintsin	Soldier, U. S. Inf.
Charles O. La Tourette	Hume, Bates Co.	Peking	Marine Detachment.
Royal B. Valentine	Unionville	Peking	Marine Detachment.
Guy L. Blake		Tientsin	Private, U. S. Inf.
Clarence A. Dodwell		Tientsin	Private, U. S. Inf.
Joseph H. Fisher		Tientsin	Private, U. S. Inf.
Walter K. Lenard		Tientsin	Private, U. S. Inf.
John Quinn		Tientsin	Private, U. S. Inf.
John T. Scott		Tientsin	Private, U. S. Inf.
Edward Wilcox		Tientsin	Private, U. S. Inf.
Tim E. Wilkins		Tientsin	Private, U. S. Inf.

THE MISSOURI AND MISSISSIPPI RAILROAD DEBT.

By E. M. Violette.

SECOND ARTICLE

EARLY JUDICIAL DECISIONS

Now that we have completed our survey of the county and township subscriptions to the capital stock of the Missouri and Mississippi Railroad Company, we are ready to turn to the efforts of the bondholders to get their bonds redeemed by the authorities that had issued them.

The first efforts of the bondholders were directed towards forcing the county courts to levy a special tax in addition to the tax of 1/20 of 1% (that is, five cents on the $100) which had been provided for in the charter of the company. The county courts of the five counties that made subscriptions levied the 1/20 of 1% regularly every year following their subscriptions down to the time when final arrangements were made for settling the matter. Moreover, some of the county courts levied more than 1/20 of 1% for several years after the subscriptions were made. In Knox County, for instance, the levy in 1868 was 3/10 of 1% (30 cents on the $100); in 1869, the same; in 1870, 1/3 of 1%; in 1872, ½ of 1%; in 1873, ¼ of 1%; in 1875, ¾ of 1%.[111] In Howard County the levy from 1870 to 1875 was annually 1% or more,[112] and in Macon County it was 1/5 of 1% in 1871.[113] But this extra levy in Macon County was quite insufficient to meet the interest on the bonds, and as the Macon County court refused to impose one that would be adequate, Robert Aull and Isaac J. Pollard, two of the Macon County bondholders, brought suit in the Macon County circuit court to compel

[111] From the bill of exceptions in the *Knox County vs. Harshman case*, U. S. Supreme Court, October Term, 1889, pp. 22-27.

[112] *Howard County Records*, XV, 311; XVI, 120; and XVIII, 106.

[113] *Macon County Records*, E, 515, 637.

the county court to do so.[114] The Macon County circuit court refused to grant the writ of mandamus and the bondholders appealed to the Supreme Court of Missouri. This court affirmed the decision of the Macon County circuit court at the March term, 1874, on the ground that the county courts have power to levy taxes only as are granted by statute, and as the statute under which the Missouri and Mississippi Railroad Company had been chartered and the Macon County court had subscribed to its capital stock, had provided for a special tax of only 1/20 of 1%, the county court of Macon County had no right to levy an additional special tax.[115]

Failing to get relief by way of a special tax, the bondholders now undertook to force the counties to pay out of their general funds whatever might still be due them after the application of the funds raised thru the levy of the special tax of 1/20 of 1%. William A. Johnston, one of the Clark County bondholders, therefore brought suit on his bonds in June, 1874, and on obtaining judgment for $8,606.64, he applied for a writ of mandamus in the United States Circuit Court to force the Clark County court to pay the balance of the judgment remaining unpaid out of the general fund of the county. The United States Circuit Court, however, refused to grant the writ on the ground that the bondholders were entitled to recover from no other fund than that which was raised by the special levy of 1/20 of 1%.[116] The case was then taken to the Supreme Court of the United States.

The Supreme Court reversed the Circuit Court in October, 1877 term and decided that the bonds of a county are debts of the county as fully as any other of its liabilities, and that for any balance remaining due on account of the principal or interest after the application thereto of the proceeds of a special tax, the holders of the bonds are entitled to pay-

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[114] *56 Mo. Reports*, 120-131. Inasmuch as this suit was brought against A. L. Shortridge et al., justices of the Macon County court, it is generally known as the Shortridge case.

[115] *56 Mo. Reports, 120-131; Clark County Gazette, April 6, 1876; Keokuk Gate City*, reprinted in *Edina Sentinel, April 13, 1876.*

[116] *96 U. S. Reports, 211-223.*

ment out of the general fund of the county. The special tax of 1/20 of 1% provided for in the charter of the company was considered by the court as only an additional security for the payment of the debt rather than as the only means.[117]

To this opinion Chief Justice Waite dissented. He said: "I am unable to concur in this judgment. I think that the act under which the bonds were issued limited the power of taxation for their payment, and that the bondholders are chargeable with the notice of this limitation. The debt authorized was payable from a particular fund. If the fund is insufficient, the legislature alone has the power to grant the relief."[118]

By these two cases three principles of law were established in this controversy: first, that the county court could not levy an extra tax to make up whatever deficiency there might be in the special fund that had been provided for by the levy of 1/20 of 1%; second, that the bonds of the county were the debts of the county as fully as any other of its obligations; and third, that the special levy of 1/20 of 1% was only an additional security for the payment of the bonds and not the sole source of funds for their payment.

In this connection it should be noted that the Supreme Court of Missouri disagreed with the United States Supreme Court on the second and third of these principles. It expressed its disagreement in what is known as the "Watkins" case. A bondholder by the name of William W. Watkins, on the basis of a judgment rendered to him in the Macon County circuit court for $3,645, sought on January 25, 1878, to have the county court of Macon County issue to him a warrant on the general fund of the county for that amount. The court refused and he filed a petition in the Macon County circuit court for a writ of mandamus against the county court to compel it to issue to him a warrant on the common fund.[119] The Macon County circuit court refused to grant Watkins the writ of mandamus. Watkins then appealed to the Su-

[117] *96 U. S. Reports, 211-218.*
[118] *96 U. S. Reports, 218.*
[119] *Macon County Records*, G, 15-16.

preme Court of Missouri. At the October term, 1878, that court sustained the Macon County circuit court and decided that the common fund of the county could not be used to pay off the Missouri and Mississippi Railroad Company bonds. It held that the tax of 1/20 of 1% authorized by the charter of that company was the only tax by law to be collected to pay the bonds issued under that charter, and that, therefore, the common fund of the county collected for the purpose of defraying the current expenses of the county government was not applicable to their payment. It further held that any one who took these bonds issued under a statute which limited the rate of taxation that might be imposed to 1/20 of 1%, was chargeable with the knowledge of that limitation, and that he must take the consequences if the means of paying the bonds were not adequate. In taking this view the court stated that it recognized that it was going contrary to the decision of the United States Supreme Court as given in the Johnston case, but it was careful just the same to express its complete disapproval of that decision.[120]

At this point it is well to call attention to the fact that a great change had taken place in the condition of things between the time when Aull and Pollard instituted their suit in 1871 to force Macon County to levy an extra tax and the time when Johnston began his suit in 1874 to compel Clark County to redeem his bonds out of the general funds of the county. In that interval the railroad company had abandoned its project and had removed the iron that had been laid down out of Macon. The people now realized that they were going to be asked to pay for something that they had failed to get and would never get. They therefore began an agitation in favor of repudiating their bonds. The contention of the bondholders that they were innocent purchasers and should not be held for the shortcomings of the railroad company fell on deaf ears. In fact, the bondholders were suspected of being behind the failure of the railroad company to complete the road, and the people settled down to a convic-

[120] *68 Mo. Reports, 29-52.*

tion that the bonds should not be paid, and in some of the counties they determined that they would never be paid.

It is rather significant that in the long-drawn-out controversy over the payment of the bonds, no action was ever taken by the counties against the railroad company and that no one in connection with the company was ever held up in derision in these counties. It will be recalled that several men of local prominence in these counties were among the leading promoters of the railroad company. But apparently not one of them ever lost his standing in these counties as a result of the failure of the company to build a railroad. Some of them indeed gained in popularity. John W. Henry, for instance, who was a director of the company and a resident of Macon, became a judge of the Macon County circuit court and in 1876 a judge of the Supreme Court of Missouri with the support of his county and all the other counties thru which the Missouri and Mississippi railroad was projected.

On the other hand, the bondholders were excoriated and held in highest contempt by the people of these counties, and to this day the names of certain bondholders, especially those who most persistently pressed their claims, are anathema in more than one county.

The decision of the Johnston case had the effect of inducing some of the counties to yield in their opposition and think of coming to some sort of a settlement with the bondholders on the best terms possible.[121] Chariton County was the first to make arrangements with the bondholders for a settlement, doing so in 1879. Chariton Township in Howard County followed suit in 1880 and Clark County in 1881. Knox and Macon counties, however, held out for a long time, the first effecting a settlement in 1894 and the second not until 1911. We shall deal with these various settlements in the order just named.

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[121]The Johnston case was also responsible in large part for the enactment of a law in 1879 providing for the division of the general funds of the counties into five special funds. Attention to this matter will be given at another place in this article.

SETTLEMENT OF THE DEBT.

CHARITON COUNTY.

Chariton County, as has already been said, was the first county to make a settlement. At one time it looked as though she might offer some opposition to the payment of her bonds. On July 20, 1877, the county court ordered the county treasurer to discontinue paying both the interest and the principal on the outstanding bonds upon the ground that there was great uncertainty as to their validity.[122]

But if the county court really contemplated resistance when it took this action, it soon changed its mind, for we find that on June 2, 1879, it issued an order providing that all outstanding bonds against the county should be taken in and canceled and "new bonds" should be issued in their stead[123] in comformity to and in accordance with an act of the General Assembly of Missouri entitled "an act to authorize counties, cities and towns to compromise their debts, approved April 12, 1877."[124] The presiding judge of the court was appointed as agent of the county to ascertain the ownership of all the bonds issued to the Chillicothe and Brunswick and the Missouri and Mississippi railroad companies[125] and to ascertain the best terms on which the bonds might be compromised.

It appears from the records of Chariton County that from time to time various bondholders appeared in court and presented their bonds and agreed with the court as to the terms of the compromise. For example, on August 9, 1879, Robert L. Todd presented three bonds for $1,000 each, bearing 8% interest and dated June 1, 1868. He compromised them for

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[122]*Chariton County Records, D, 19.*

[123]*Chariton County Records, D, 322.*

[124]This statute authorized the counties of the state for themselves as well as for the townships therein, and the cities and incorporated towns of the state to make contracts with any person or corporation for the compromise, purchase or redemption of all bonds that had been issued by them. (*Laws of Missouri, 1877, 197-198.*) Chariton County had made her subscription to the Missouri and Mississippi Railroad Company thru a vote of the people and there was, therefore, no question as to the validity of her bonds.

[125]The Chillicothe and Brunswick railroad is now a part of the Wabash system extending from Brunswick to Omaha.

$3,087.60, receiving $3,000 in new bonds and $87.60 in a county warrant.[126] On another occasion a bondholder presented two $1,000 bonds which with interest aggregated $2,610.40, and he agreed to take $2,500 in new bonds in lieu of them.[127] At the same time another bondholder compromised his claim amounting to $1,305.20 for $1,044.16.[128] Still later, bonds which with interest amounted to $7,831.20 were compromised for $6,300.[129] These compromises were made on the basis that ranged from about 80 cents to 95 cents on the dollar. On the other hand, a bond which with accumulated interest amounted to $1,470.59, was paid in full on June 6, 1882.[130] How many of the original Missouri and Mississippi bonds were paid in full after the compromise plan had been started, one cannot say, but it is evident that at least two of them at $1,000 each were paid in full, judging from a financial statement of the bonded indebtedness of the county court on May 6, 1884. According to that statement the amount of the bonded indebtedness of the county at that time was as follows:[131]

142	Chariton County 6% compromise bonds, $1,000 each	$142,000.00
130	" " 6% " " $100 each	13,000.00
20	" " 8% B. & C. R. R. " $100 each	2,000.00
	Interest on the same to March 15, 1881	941.14
2	Chariton County 8% M. & M. R. R. bonds, $1,000 each	2,000.00
	Interest on the same to March 15, 1881	941.14
	Total	$160,882.28

From this statement it would appear that all the railroad indebtedness of Chariton County, for both the Chillicothe and Brunswick and the Missouri and Mississippi railroad companies, had been taken up in exchange for new bonds except $2,000 of the old Chillicothe and Brunswick bonds and $2,000 of the old Missouri and Mississippi bonds. These old bonds were evidently paid in full later on.

The settlement that Chariton County effected with her

[126] *Chariton County Records*, D, 36.
[127] *Ibid*, D, 363-364.
[128] *Ibid.*, D, 363-364.
[129] *Ibid.*, D, 366-367.
[130] *Ibid.*, E, 176.
[131] *Chariton County Records*, E, 389.

bondholders is noteworthy for the high rate of the compromise. Two reasons may be assigned for this fact. In the first place, the county's subscription had been made by vote of the people and not by the county court. There was, therefore, no question as to the validity of her bonds. In the second place, the county got a railroad in return for her bonds. It is true that the county did not get what she had bargained for, but she got a piece of a road from Glasgow to Salisbury[132] and hence her bonds were not clear loss. No doubt these two facts had much to do with bringing about a fairly early settlement of Chariton County's debt at a high rate of compromise.

In a few years Chariton County finished paying off all of her compromise railroad bonds and soon thereafter the matter was generally forgotten. To the writer's great surprise he found on a recent visit to Keytesville, the county seat of Chariton County, that many of the old-time residents recalled the Missouri and Mississippi railroad debt only very indistinctly, and he actually came across some prominent citizens who had lived in the county since the early eighties who said they had never heard of the matter at all. The situation there in this respect stands out in striking contrast to that in some of the other counties.

Chariton County, therefore, met her railroad debts with no serious loss to herself and avoided the ills that followed in the wake of prolonged resistance.

CHARITON TOWNSHIP IN HOWARD COUNTY.

Chariton Township in Howard County settled her debt within a year after Chariton had settled hers. Apparently the township began liquidating her debt very shortly after it had been incurred, for on April 5, 1870, the county court levied not 1/20 of 1% but a special tax of one per cent on the real estate in Chariton Township for the purpose of paying the bonds issued to the Missouri and Mississippi Railroad Company.[133] In 1871 the levy was raised beyond the one

[132]This piece of a road is now a part of the Wabash system.
[133]*Howard County Records*, XV, 311.

per cent so as to yield $18,000 with which to pay the interest on the $100,000 bonds,[134] and on June 7, 1875, the county treasurer was ordered to pay the interest falling due in July of that year on the Chariton Township railroad bonds.[135]

In 1876, however, that county court ordered the tax levy of 1% for the Chariton Township railroad bonds suspended until further orders,[136] and in 1880 the Howard County circuit court granted a perpetual injunction against the Howard County court levying a tax on real and personal property of Chariton Township in behalf of the Missouri and Mississippi bonds.[137] The injunction was not, however, to apply to a judgment for $5,288.80 that had been awarded by the United States Circuit Court at the April term.

Not long after this all plans for resisting the payment of the bonds were given up. On July 19, 1880, the county court of Howard County ordered a special election in Chariton Township on the question of issuing compromise and funding bonds to be exchanged for the original bonds "at the price and sum of 66 2/3% of the principal and interest of the said bonds not reduced to judgment, and the full sum of the coupons, interests and costs reduced to judgment." The election was held on August 28, 1880, and resulted overwhelmingly in favor of the proposition, the vote being 265 for to 37 against. On September 20 the county court ordered the issuing of the compromise and funding bonds to run 20 years at six per cent interest and to cover 95 of the original 100 bonds of $1,000 each.[138]

Probably Chariton Township looked upon the matter very much as Chariton County did; she had gotten a piece of a road in return for her money and it would not pay to fight the payment of the bonds. In the course of time, therefore, Chariton Township liquidated her indebtedness without any more than temporary inconvenience to herself.

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[134] *Ibid.*, XVI, 120.
[135] *Ibid.*, XVIII, 106.
[136] *Ibid.*, XVIII, 236.
[137] *Ibid.*, XIX, 465.
[138] *Howard County Records*, XX, 63-66.

CLARK COUNTY.

Clark County was the next to settle her indebtedness. It will be recalled that Clark County subscribed $200,000 to the capital stock of the Missouri and Mississippi Railroad Company, contrary to a vote of the people who rejected a proposition to subscribe $125,000 in addition to the original subscription of $75,000 that had been authorized by vote of the people. It will also be recalled that a very strong protest went up from the people against the county court issuing the bonds after it had made the subscription.

Inasmuch as this protest failed and the county court proceeded to sign and deliver the bonds to the railroad company, a movement was soon inaugurated to resist the payment of the interest and principal of the bonds. On November 15, 1871, a mass meeting of taxpayers was held at Waterloo, the county seat, to consider the means of avoiding the payment of the Missouri and Mississippi Railroad Company bond taxes.[139] At this meeting one speaker proposed that an association be formed for the mutual protection of the taxpayers and that a fund be raised to fight the tax. The meeting, however, broke up without anything being done. An enterprising lawyer was reported as circulating a paper in which he agreed to resist the payment of the railroad taxes or to recover what had been collected for a certain per cent of the amount involved if he were successful. He was said to have obtained a large number of subscribers to his paper, but it is not known whatever became of his scheme.[140]

Shortly after that a movement was started to get the legislature to pass a special act reorganizing the county court of Clark County. A petition to the legislature was circulated among the voters of the county asking for the change and it was liberally signed.[141] Later two representative citizens of the county were delegated by a mass meeting held at Kahoka to go to Jefferson City and work for the passage of

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[139] *Clark County Gazette, Nov. 23, 1871.*
[140] *Clark County Gazette, Nov. 23, 1871.*
[141] *Ibid., Dec. 7 and Dec. 14, 1871.*

the bill.[142] It is not clear whether some local issues had more to do with getting this movement under way than the Missouri and Mississippi railroad issue. The special bill changing the organization of Clark County failed of passage, but a bill was passed giving counties the right to adopt a township organization if they saw fit,[143] and in June, 1872, the people of Clark County adopted the township organization by a vote of 1,402 to 183.[144]

Meanwhile plans for resisting the payment of the Missouri and Mississippi railroad bonds were developing. A mass meeting was held in Kahoka on February 19, 1872, to consider what should be done with the $16,000 that had been collected to pay the interest on the bonds. The meeting resolved that the chair should appoint a committee of three to employ counsel and take up a subscription to defray the expenses of demonstrating the illegality of the tax and defeat the entire subscription. The meeting further requested the county collector to prevent any of the money raised to pay interest on the bonds from being paid over to the bondholders.[144a]

The county court now took a hand in the matter and on July 6, 1872, ordered that, inasmuch as the Missouri and Mississippi Railroad Company had failed to carry out the terms of the contract made with the county, the contract was therefore void. It was further ordered that A. S. Tinsman, who had been serving as the agent of the county in its dealings with the company, should return to the county the bonds which he had.[145] To make the matter absolutely certain the county court on November 8, 1872, declared a second time that the contract for issuing Clark County bonds to the Missouri and Mississippi Railroad Company and accepting stock therein, was null and void, and a special agent

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[142] *Ibid., Jan. 11, 1872.*

[143] *Laws of Missouri, 1871-1872, 180-211.*

[144] *Clark County Gazette, June 20, 1872.*

[144a] *Ibid., Feb. 22, 1872.*

[145] *Clark County Records, H. 470-471; Clark County Gazette, July 11, 1872.* It is not known whether any of the bonds were in Tinsman's possession yet.

was appointed to demand and recover the bonds from the parties to whom they had been sold.[146]

The county court then took another step when it ordered the county collector to turn over to the county treasurer all the Missouri and Mississippi railroad taxes that had been collected and the county treasurer was instructed to refund the same to the parties who had paid them.[147] A special attorney was retained to assist the prosecuting attorney to recover the bonds that had been issued.[148]

Meanwhile the bondholders began to bring suits to compel the county to meet her obligations. The most important of these suits was the one brought by William A. Johnston, an account of which has already been given. It will be recalled that the Supreme Court of the United States held that these railroad bonds of the county were debts of the county as fully as any other of her liabilities, and that for any balance on account of the principal or interest after the application of the proceeds of a special tax, the bondholders were entitled to payment out of the general fund of the county.[149]

With this decision of the highest court of the realm squarely against them, the people of Clark County were soon induced to discontinue their opposition to the payment of the bonds. When, therefore, L. A. Coquard of St. Louis, submitted to the county court a proposition in which he agreed to compromise and fund $150,000 of the bonds together with the accrued interest and accept 30 cents on the dollar for the same in renewal bonds of the county bearing six per cent interest, and in which he further agreed to use his best endeavor to procure the settlement of the remaining $50,000 of the original issue of $200,000, there were many people in the county who favored accepting the proposition at once. A petition signed by 50 resident taxpayers was submitted to the county court asking that the proposition should be submitted to a vote of the people at the general election on November 2, 1880, and the court put itself on record as favoring

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[146] *Clark County Records, H, 538; Clark County Gazette, Dec. 21, 1872.*
[147] *Clark County Gazette, March 13, 1873.*
[148] *Clark County Records, I, 17.*
[149] *96 U. S. Reports, 211.*

the acceptance of the proposition.[149a] No record, however, has been found as to whether an election was held.

Later, when another petition signed by 50 taxpayers of the county petitioned the county court to submit the proposition of Coquard to the people for a vote at a special election, the county court agreed to do so, and set the election for March 24, 1881.[150] Before the election took place Coquard agreed to compromise not merely $150,000 worth of bonds, but the entire debt of $200,000 and the accrued interest.[151] The election resulted in favor of the compromise, the vote being 994 for and 665 against.[152]

Acting upon this authorization the county court of Clark County on November 19, 1881, eight months after the election, ordered the issuance of 224 bonds of $500 each amounting thus to $112,000 whereby the original debt of $200,000 and accrued interest was canceled.[153] Why the court waited eight months after the election is not known.

It should be noted that up to the time of issuing the new bonds, none of the old ones had been paid off. Evidently a part of the interest had been paid, but at the time when the county court agreed to accept Coquard's proposition the unpaid interest amounted to $122,720.[154]

By accepting the compromise proposition of Coquard, Clark County got off very easily. The sum that she agreed to pay in lieu of the original debt and accrued interest was actually $10,000 less than the accrued interest itself. No other county fared so well in effecting a compromise on its Missouri and Mississippi railroad indebtedness as did Clark County.

KNOX COUNTY.

Knox County took a very different attitude to the payment of the bonds from that taken by Chariton and Clark counties and Chariton Township in Howard County. The

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[149a] *Clark County Records, K, 112-114.*
[150] *Ibid., K, 202-204.*
[151] *Ibid., K, 202-204.*
[152] *Ibid., K, 255.*
[153] *Ibid., K, 422.*
[154] *Clark County Records, K, 112-114.*

people there were prepared to resist with all their might from the time it became evident that the road would not be built.

The first indication that they would resist is seen in the action of the county court in 1874 with reference to the tax levy for the payment of the bonds. For six years prior to that time the court had levied a tax which, as we have already seen, ran from five to fifteen times greater than it was obligated to make under the charter of the company. But after 1874 the levy was only 5 cents on the $100, or 1/20 of 1%, the amount provided for in the charter of the railroad. In view of the higher levies in previous years, this one in 1874 marks the beginning of opposition in Knox County to the payment of the bonds.

Opposition did not become active, however, until 1877. In August of that year George W. Harshman of Ohio, one of the Knox County bondholders, brought suit in the United States Circuit Court to secure the payment of his bonds.[155] On receiving judgment he obtained a writ of mandamus on the county court of Knox County ordering it to issue to him warrants on the general fund of the county in order that the deficiency in the special Missouri and Mississippi railroad fund might be covered.[156] This writ was served on the judges of the county court in February, 1879.[157] The county court apparently did not comply with the writ at once; instead it publicly announced that on March 15 it would consider the question of issuing the warrants to Harshman and invited the citizens and taxpapers of the county to be present at the time.[158] It is not known whether this meeting was held, but if it was, it evidently influenced the court to issue the warrant, for on March 18 Harshman presented one to the county treasurer for $3,315.05 and another for $6,812.24. He was refused payment, however, because there was no money in the treasury.[159]

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[155] *St. Louis Journal*, reprinted in *Edina Sentinel, August 30, 1879.*

[156] See Skinker for record.

[157] *Edina Sentinel, February 27, 1879.*

[158] *Ibid., March 6, 1879.*

[159] The point as to whether Harshman was entitled to warrants on the general fund of the county was not finally settled until November 12, 1883, when the United States Supreme Court sustained the decision of the U. S.

The matter was now squarely up to the people and they promptly responded with decided emphasis that they would do all that they could to resist the payment of these warrants and all others like them. Mass meeting after mass meeting was held thruout the county. The first one was held on February 22, 1879, in Jeddo Township shortly after the deputy United States marshal had appeared in Edina to serve the writ on the county judges ordering them to issue the general warrants to Harshman. Resolutions were passed providing first, that the county treasurer should be enjoined from applying any part of the common revenue fund to pay any warrant that the court might be compelled by mandamus proceedings to issue in payment of the Missouri and Mississippi railroad bonds; second, that good counsel be employed; third, that no part of the Missouri and Mississippi railroad bonds should be paid except thru the fund that might be raised by the levy of 1/20 of 1%.[160] Another mass meeting was held on February 27 in Fabius Township in which it was declared that it was the duty of the Knox County court to resist the collection of the indebtedness by every expedient known, and that the county court would have the support of those in the meeting.[161] On the next day a county mass meeting was held in Edina. After "ringing speeches" from several parties, the meeting adopted a set of resolutions protesting against the payment of any part of the "fraudulent debt," pledging to resort to all honorable and legal means to resist it, expressing confidence in the county court, deprecating the conduct of those citizens who advocate the payment of the bonds, thanking the newspapers for their assistance, and urging the citizens to organize taxpayers clubs at the forthcoming school election.[162] At least two other mass meetings were held in the county in which resolutions against the payment of the bonds were passed.[163]

Circuit Court. (See *109 U. S. Reports, 229-230.*) The Johnston case from Clark county was cited by the Supreme Court as a precedent in this case.

[160] *Edina Sentinel, Feb. 27, 1879.*

[161] *Ibid., March 6, 1879.*

[162] *Ibid., March 6, 1879.*

[163] *Edina Sentinel, April 10 and 15, 1879.*

The matter went far enough to bring about in June, 1879, the organization of a county taxpayers' association to resist the payment of the bonds, but this association never seemed to have had very much success. According to the newspapers, the meetings were very poorly attended.[164]. In fact, by the close of the sumer of 1879 it appears that sentiment in favor of compromise was beginning to develop. The last meeting of the association of which we have any record, was called for the purpose of considering a compromise proposition.[165]

The opposition of Knox County was carried into the legislature and was largely responsible for the passage of an act in March, 1879, authorizing county courts to apportion all of the general revenues collected for county purposes into five different funds: first, for the care of paupers and insane persons; second, for the building of bridges and repairing roads; third, for the salaries of county officials; fourth, for the fees of jurors, judges and clerks of election, and witnesses for the grand jury; fifth, other current expenses. The fifth fund was to be called the contingent fund.[166]. By dividing up the general revenues of the counties into these five funds, devoted to specific purposes, it was intended to prevent the bondholders from getting anything under the decision of the Johnston case.[167]. The act was promoted by Senator L. E. Cottey of Knox County and was long known as the "Cottey Act." It is still in force.[168]

As far as is known, the first definite proposition for a compromise of the Knox County debt came in July, 1883, from L. A. Coquard of St. Louis.[169] It will be recalled that Coquard had been instrumental in getting Clark County to compromise her debt in 1881 at the rate of 30 cents on the

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[164]*Ibid., June 12, July 24 and August 14, 1879.*

[165]*Ibid., August 14, 1879.*

[166]*Laws of Missouri, 1879, 191-193.*

[167]The Supreme Court of the United States, however, decided in the case of Seibert vs. Lewis (*122 U. S. Reports*) that such a division of the general revenues of the counties was ineffective as far as the claims of the bondholders were concerned.

[168]*Revised States of Missouri, 1919, section 12866.*

[169]*Edina Sentinel, July 26, 1883.*

dollar. Two years later he undertook to bring about a compromise on Knox County's debt, and he spent some time in the county talking the matter over with the people. As a result a petition was circulated and signed by 50 or more resident citizens of the county asking the county court to submit to the qualified voters at a special election a proposition to compromise and fund the Missouri and Mississippi railroad bonded indebtedness. The proposition was really a double one. It proposed to settle, first, the judgments that had been rendered against the county and the amounts involved in the pending suits at the rate of 66 2/3 cents on the dollar and second, the amount of the bonded indebtedness that had not been reduced to judgments at the rate of 60 cents on the dollar.[170]

The proposition stirred up considerable discussion. The *Edina Sentinel* favored the proposition on the ground that it would save the county $13,000 a year in taxes.[171] There was outspoken opposition, however, to the proposition, one contributor to the *Sentinal* saying that 15 cents on the dollar was enough to pay to the bondholders, and that that would be about 1/20 of 1% of the assessed valuation of the county.[172]

Evidently the county court never submitted the proposition to the people, as neither the newspapers nor the county records contain any mention of an election being held on the matter.[173]

In 1885 another effort was made to get the people of Knox County interested in compromising their railroad debt. A meeting of the taxpayers was held in Edina on April 17, 1885, at which speeches were made by General John B. Henderson, Judge Waldo P. Johnson, L. A. Coquard and T. K. Skinker, as representatives of the bondholders, and by Messrs. L. F. Cottey, Balthorpe, Bowen and others representing the

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[170] *Ibid., July 26, 1879.*

[171] *Edina Sentinel, Aug. 2, 1883.*

[172] *Ibid., Aug. 2, 1883.*

[173] It would have been highly advantageous to the county to have settled at the figures as set forth in Coquard's proposition. The debt at the time, including interest, amounted to $228,394. Of the original debt of $184,600, $17,500 had been paid on the principal. But the unpaid interest ran up the debt to over $225,000. (*Edina Sentinel, July 31, 1879.*)

taxpayers of the county. The meeting resolved to ask the county court then in session to appoint three representatives from each township in the county and request them to come to a mass meeting of the county on June 1 and bring as many of their friends with them as possible to consider the proposal to compromise.[174]. The county court complied with this request and made the appointments in the thirteen townships of the county.

In keeping with this arrangement, the taxpayers met on June 1, and were addressed by Henderson and Skinker in behalf of the bondholders and by O. D. Jones, E. V. Wilson and others in behalf of the taxpayers. It was the sense of this meeting that the bondholders ought to be satisfied with a compromise at 30 cents on the dollar for all the bonds, and a committee of two men from each township was appointed to further the compromise movement.[175]

It was not until 1891, however, that the county court submitted to the people a compromise proposition.[176]

But before taking up that matter it will be well for us to look into the litigation that had been going on between the bondholders and the county between 1879 and 1891.

It will be recalled that Harshman had obtained two warrants on the general fund of the county and had been refused payment when he presented them on March 18, 1879, on the ground that there was no money in the county treasury. He

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[174]*Edina Sentinel, April 26, 1885.*

[175]*Ibid., June 4, 1885.*

[176]In the course of the negotiations just outlined, the county court of Knox county appointed County Treasurer McGonigle to present certain terms to the representatives of certain bondholders in St. Louis. McGonigle approached Mr. Skinker, who represented Harshman, first. Skinker suggested they call upon Coquard, who was not only a representative of bondholders but a bondholder himself. Very shortly Coquard let McGonigle know that he would not consider any proposition that did not include some bonds that he held that were outlawed. This brought on a very heated argument, and but for the intervention of Skinker the two men would have come to blows. On leaving Coquard's office, McGonigle said to Skinker, "I would rather give you one hundred cents on the dollar than give him fifty." This was the first hint that Mr. Skinker had had that there was even the slightest inclination on the part of the Knox County officials to consider a settlement at 100 cents. Slight as this hint was, it raised the hopes of Harshman and his attorneys wonderfully, and had something to do with the final results. (From a conversation with Mr. Skinker, Fenruary 10, 1921.)

waited for over four years hoping that money would accumulate in the treasury and then be turned over to him. He found out, however, that the situation was no better in 1883 than it had been in 1879. The treasury was still empty.

The explanation for this situation was to be found in the fact that all the taxpayers of the county had been paying their taxes to the county collector in county warrants, and that the county court had approved this method of procedure by accepting and approving the annual settlements of the county collector and treasurer.[177]

Claiming that the action of the county court in approving the acts of the collector and the treasurer had released the taxpayers from the payment of their taxes so that payment could not be demanded of them again, Harshman decided to seek redress by bringing suit against the collector of Knox County and his bondsmen for the full amount of his warrants. He therefore filed a petition in the United States Circuit Court on June 13, 1883, against Winterbottom, the county collector of Knox County, and his bondsmen. In his petition Harshman alleged that Winterbottom had from March 18, 1879, to March 1, 1881, received warrants from persons who were not legal holders of these warrants in payment of their taxes, and that he had collected all of the county taxes in such warrants and had given to the taxpayers full acquittances without the payment of any money.[178] Such proceedings were claimed by Harshman to be in violation of the statute of Missouri authorizing the county collector to receive county warrants in payment of taxes, on the ground that according to that statute the collector could receive warrants only from legal holders of the same in payment of their own individual taxes, and that the legal holders were those to whom the warrants had been issued as payees or those to whom the same had been transferred by one or more assignments in full, and that all warrants must be payable to the person named therein and not to the bearer, and that any county warrant payable to bearer was null and void.[179]

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[177] *123 U. S. Reports, 216-218.*

[178] The allegations of Harshman in his petition are well borne out.

[179] *123 U. S. Reports, 216.*

To this petition the defendants demurred, and the court sustained the demurrer. Harshman took an appeal to the United States Supreme Court, but the demurrer was sustained by that body on October 31, 1887. In sustaining the demurrer the Supreme Court held, first, that there had been no contract relation between Harshman and the county collector on which he had a right to bring the suit; and second, that it appeared that the county court had settled with the county collector and had ratified his acts and had discharged him from any liability which had existed by reason of them.[180]

According to this decision the county collector was made immune from any liability to the bondholder and he might continue to receive county warrants in payment of county taxes, however irregularly and unlawfully, and thus keep any money from accumulating in the county treasury. The railroad bondholders, therefore, found themselves in the position of having valid county warrants in their possession but without any effective way of enforcing their payment by the county.

Meanwhile other bondholders were obtaining warrants on the general fund of the county to satisfy the judgments that had been rendered to them. In March, 1884, Wells and French had compelled the county court thru mandamus proceedings to issue them a warrant on the general fund of Knox County for $31,243,[181] but they had no better success than Harshman in getting it paid.

In 1891 another effort was made by one of the bondholders by the name of Davis to bring more money into the general fund of the county with which to meet the judgments of the bondholders. He proceeded by way of bringing suit against the Knox County court to compel it to levy a tax of 1% instead of 1/2 of 1% for general county purposes. He based his claim to demand a levy of 1% upon a law passed by the legislature of Missouri in 1879. That law provided for the levy of ½ of 1% for general county purposes.[182] He

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[180] *Ibid.*

[181] *Edina Sentinel, March 29, 1884.*

[182] *Laws of Missouri, 1879, p. 193.*

claimed that this law was merely supplementary to the one already in existence which authorized a levy of ½ of 1% for general purposes. If this were the case, then county courts should be levying 1% instead of ½ of 1% for general county purposes. He therefore sought to compel the Knox County court to conform to his interpretation of the law.

The United States Circuit Court, however, on June 29, 1891, held that the law of 1879 authorizing a levy of ½ of 1% was merely a substitute for previous laws authorizing such a tax and not a new tax. It therefore refused to compel the county court of Knox County to lay an additional tax of ½ of 1% for general revenue purposes.[183]

The position was also taken by Davis in this suit that since certain expenses for roads and bridges were then payable out of the general fund but had not been when the bonds were issued, he was being defrauded of his just rights, and that therefore these expenses should be met in some other way than thru the general fund. The court, however, held that the bondholders must be presumed to have taken his bonds with the knowledge of the fact that the expenses of the county would vary from year to year and that new expenses might be created.[184]

Apparently a great victory had been gained by the county in these Harshman and Davis cases, but in actual reality it was not a victory at all. The obligations of the county still stood as valid. That effective methods of enforcing the fulfillment of these obligations would finally be found, could not be doubted by any one who thought squarely about the matter. For that reason it was deemed a good time to bring the question of the county compromising with the bondholders. It was also thought that the bondholders would doubtless be inclined to offer good terms because of the hindrances that had been put in the way of them getting their warrants paid off.

Moreover, the plan of paying taxes by county warrants had given opportunities for fraud and had brought about a

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[183] *51 Federal Reporter, 880-883.*

[184] *Ibid.*

depreciation in the value of these warrants, and it had been necessary for the county officers, the banks and the legal holders of warrants in the county to come to an agreement in writing to the effect that they would neither sell nor buy any county warrants at less than par. To assist in keeping the warrants at par, arrangements were made to maintain an agent in the county collector's office whose business would be to place all warrants for taxes, giving to each holder of the warrants dollar for dollar for his warrants as the taxes were paid.[185] But even with this agent in the collector's office, it was not certain that warrants could be kept at par.

At this point some attention must be given to the big Harshman judgment which was rendered in 1886 and which became the storm center of Knox County litigation. Harshman obtained three judgments in all against Knox County. The first two were for about $10,000 and have already been discussed. The third was for $77,374.[186] All three of these judgments, as well as many others by other parties, went by default on the part of the county. The reason for letting the judgments go that way was that the county court contended that all of the Knox County bonds had been issued under the authority of the charter of the railroad company and that the tax which could be levied to pay the judgments on these bonds was limited to 1/20 of 1%. It will be recalled that the bonds for the first subscription were issued very shortly after a proposition had been submitted to the people of the county and had been carried by an overwhelming majority of those voting. These bonds were what are known in this controversy as the "voted bonds." But the county court set up the claim that the bonds for the first subscription were not issued under the authority of the vote of the people, but on the authority of the county court as provided for in the charter of the railroad company. They declared that the election that had been held on March 12, 1867, was illegal because, first, there had been no notice given of the amended

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[185] *Edina Sentinel, Dec. 11, 1884.*

[186] From the bill of exceptions in *Knox County vs. Harshman, U. S. Supreme Court, October Term, 1889, pp. 37-40.*

order; second, the proposition had been carried by a two-thirds vote of all the voters in the county, and third, the stock had not been voted in any particular company. In support of this contention the court pointed out that each bond issued by the county contained a clause to the effect that it was "issued under and pursuant to an order of the county court of Knox County, for subscription to the stock of the Missouri and Mississippi Railroad Company as authorized by an act of the General Assembly of the State of Missouri entitled 'An Act to incorporate the Missouri and Mississippi Railroad Company' approved February 20, 1865." Under these conditions the county court felt that it was immaterial to them how many and what amount of judgments might be handed down against the county. All of the bonds of the county had been issued under the charter of the company and the taxpayers could be called upon to pay no more than 1/20 of 1%, and this levy would never yield enough to pay the interest on the bonds, to say nothing of the principal. And as for the Johnston decision which made the judgments on the bonds chargeable to the general fund of the county, the people would see to it that no money went into the treasury. So why worry about suits?

Harshman's suit was for a large number of the bonds issued for the first subscription. His counsel, Mr. Skinker, ignored the claim of the county court that these bonds had been issued under the charter of the company and in his petition he averred with great precision that the subscription was authorized by a vote of the people of Knox County at a special election held in pursuance to an order of the county court of the county on the 12th day of March, 1867, under section 17 of chapter 63 of the general statutes of Missouri, which was the general law governing subscriptions to railroad companies. He further said that at the election two-thirds of the qualified voters of the county voted in favor of and assented to the making of the subscription, and that the bonds sued on were to pay the subscription that had been made thru a vote of the people. This suit was brought in the United States Circuit Court. Notwithstanding the posi-

tion thus taken by Harshman's attorney in this suit, the county court made no reply and allowed the judgment to go by default. As has been said, they felt sure that the bonds had been issued under the charter of the railroad company and hence the people of the county were not subject to a levy of more than 1/20 of 1%.

At the following term Harshman presented to the Federal Court a petition against the Knox County court renewing the averments of the original petition, and praying the court to order the county judges to levy a tax sufficient to pay this judgment. The county judges resisted this application vigorously, claiming that the bonds were issued under the charter and not under the general law, that their power to levy a tax was limited to 1/20 of 1%, and that they had already done that and therefore could not be called upon to do more. Harshman, on the other hand, insisted that the question under what law the bonds were issued had been settled by the default judgment. This he claimed amounted to a solemn admission of record that the averments of the petition were true, and therefore the bonds must be taken to be "voted bonds." The United States Circuit Court ruled otherwise and rendered a decision in favor of the county.[187]

From this decision Harshman appealed to the Supreme Court of the United States and secured a reversal of the judgment of the Circuit Court.[188] This meant that Knox County having failed to deny the averment of the petition in the suit on the bonds, and having suffered judgment to go against her on that averment, the county judges could not deny that the bonds in question were "voted bonds" when it came to a question of enforcing the judgment.

With this decision it appeared that the last step had been taken and that Harshman would soon be realizing payments upon his judgment. But Knox County was not yet at the end of her row. At the next term of the United States Circuit Court at St. Louis, she brought a suit to set aside this default judgment and to enjoin its collection, alleging

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[187] *5 McCrary's U. S. Reports, 76.*

[188] *122 U. S. Reports, 306. Edina Sentinel, June 30, 1887.*

that there had been no service of the summons on the county clerk as required by law. The official return of the United States marshal, however, showed that the summons had been served on the county clerk in his office at Edina, and the return was signed in due form by a deputy marshal who resided in Edina. Harshman's attorney, Mr. Skinker, promptly filed a demurrer, but realizing what an opportunity was here offered him, withdrew his demurrer, filed an answer and then proceeded to take depositions in Knox County of officials, ex-officials, newspaper men, bankers, merchants and other prominent citizens. These depositions showed in a strong light the methods that had been resorted to in order to "beat the bondholders" and the disastrous effects of these methods upon the county and its citizens. An abstract of these depositions was printed and scattered broadcast over the county, and it is said to have had much to do with preparing the minds of the people of the county for the final outcome. When the case came to trial it was speedily disposed of in favor of Harshman. From this decision the county appealed and so the case was kept in court three years longer. Finally the Supreme Court affirmed the judgment in 1890.[189]

By this time there was nothing left for the county to do but to beg for terms, and it prayed the United States Circuit Court to divide the levy into four annual installments. The court did divide it into two annual installments and the county court levied in 1890 a tax to pay one-half of the judgment. This amounted to about $60,000 and was promptly collected and paid over to the plaintiff. In 1891 the county authorities represented to Harshman's attorney that the collection of so great a sum had been a great strain on the people of the county and asked that they be allowed to levy for that year only enough to pay one-half of the remainder of the judgment. The attorney readily agreed to this, and in that and the following year the taxes were levied and collected sufficient to pay the whole balance of the judgment. On August 10, 1894, satisfaction of the entire judgment aggre-

[189]From a conversation with Mr. Skinker, Feb. 10, 1921.

gating with interest about $135,000, was entered in the Federal Court.

Six weeks later the people of Knox County voted to settle the remainder of the railroad debt of the county at 65 cents on the dollar. To understand how they came to do that it is necessary that we bring under review what had been going on in the county between 1890 and 1894.

As a result of the unfavorable outcome of the Harshman case for the county, considerable sentiment began to take form in the early nineties in Knox County in favor of a compromise with the bondholders. Taking advantage of this situation, L. A. Coquard of St. Louis wrote to the county court of Knox County in March, 1890, submitting a proposition to compromise at ninety cents on the dollar all of the judgments rendered against the county except those that had been given to Harshman and the Ninth National Bank.[190] These two judgments were to be paid in full with interest and costs.[191] Nothing, however, came of the proposition.

A year later the county court asked the voters of Knox County to meet in their usual voting places on March 14, 1891, and elect two committeemen from each township to meet with the county court at Edina on the 16th for a conference with the representatives of the bondholders.[192] In response to this call nearly every township in the county sent representatives. General Henderson, representing the bondholders, was present at the meeting and spoke. Judge White of the county court stated that the total amount of the indebtedness, including principal and interest, was $351,000, excluding from thirty to forty thousand dollars' worth of bonds that had been barred by limitation. He also stated that from the special levy of 1890, $58,000 had been collected which, when applied on the indebtedness, would leave only $293,000 yet unpaid. Of this amount $166,000 represented bonds that had been voted by the people and $127,000

[190]The Ninth National Bank judgment was for some "voted bonds" that are said to have been bought up by John B. Henderson and disposed of by him to the Ninth National Bank.

[191]*Edina Sentinel, March 6, 1890.*

[192]*Ibid., March 5, 1891.*

represented bonds that had not been voted. It was Judge White's opinion that the voted bonds would have to be paid in full and that in all probability the unvoted bonds would also have to be paid in full. The meeting voted in favor of offering the bondholders 80 cents on the dollar on the voted bonds and 60 cents on the unvoted bonds.[193]

On July 6, 1891, a petition signed by 224 taxpayers of the county was submitted to the county court asking that a special election be called to determine the will of the people regarding the bonded indebtedness. In the petition it was alleged that certain responsible parties had proposed in writing to the county court to compromise and fund the railroad debt of the county as follows: at the rate of 100 cents for the balance due on the large Harshman judgment which had been rendered in 1886 and which was then being collected by mandamus against the county; and of 90 cents for the three other judgments rendered on voted bonds; and of 70 cents for the judgments on the unvoted bonds. In payment whereof the bondholders agreed to accept new funding bonds of the county to be issued on or before November 1, 1891, running for 20 years and bearing 4½% interest.[194]

The county court complied with the request in this petition and ordered an election to be held on August 8, 1891.[195] Considerable discussion in the newspapers ensued upon this action of the court.[196] O. D. Jones was very prominent among those who opposed the proposition to compromise. The *Edina Sentinel*, however, threw all of its influence in favor of the compromise.

The election resulted in an overwhelming defeat of the proposition, the vote standing 314 for and 1,047 against.[197] "The result of the election was a surprise to everyone," said the *Edina Sentinel*. "Every one expected the proposition would be defeated, but no one thought it would go under so

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[193] *Ibid., March 19, 1891.*

[194] *Knox County Records, IX, 62-65.*

[195] *Ibid., IX, 66-69.*

[196] *Edina Sentinel, July 16, July 23, and August 6, 1891.*

[197] *Knox County Records, IX, 87-88. Edina Sentinel, August 13, 1891.* For the vote by precincts, see footnote 210.

heavily. Perhaps the people wanted the bondholders to realize that they must submit better terms if they wanted a settlement. Probably the greatest objection was that the proposition included the Harshman judgment. The people wanted to pay it off at once and did not want it refunded."[198]

Another attempt was made to get a compromise proposition adopted by the people of Knox County two years later On being petitioned by 198 citizens to submit a proposition to compromise the debt by issuing new funding bonds running for 20 years at 5% interest at the rate of 100 cents on the voted bonds and at the rate of 66 2/3 cents on the unvoted bonds,[199] the county court ordered the election to be held on May 20, 1893.[200]

Again prolonged discussion ensued. One of the arguments in favor of the compromise was that it would reduce the whole indebtedness from $248,439.78 to $194,269.94, thus saving the county over $54,000.[201]. Another argument which is illuminating was that the compromising of the debt would enable the county to transact its business out in the open. "For several years," said Judge White of the county court, "no county collector or treasurer has made a settlement with the county court according to law. If they had done so, money would have gone into the treasury and the bondholders would have gotten it. County officials had been elected with instructions from the people to evade the law. Officials trained in this kind of school have not proved to be wise or saints. School funds have been misappropriated and county warrants have been over-issued. A county clerk committed suicide and a collector fled from his native land."[202] Some of the strong opponents of the proposition to compromise in 1891 now came out in favor of this proposition, among whom was the redoubtable O. D. Jones.[203]

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[198] *Edina Sentinel, August 13, 1891.*
[199] *Knox County Records, IX, 300-303.*
[200] *Ibid., IX, 303-306.*
[201] *Edina Sentinel, April 13, 1893.*
[202] *Ibid., April 20, 1893.*
[203] *Ibid., April 20, 1893.*

But in spite of what was done, the proposition failed to carry almost as badly as the first one. The vote stood 402 for and 1,004 against.[204]

The failure of the second proposition was due, it was later said, to two things: first, it provided for twenty-year bonds instead of short-term bonds; second, it included the Ninth National Bank judgment on voted bonds which the people thought ought to be paid at once and not be refunded.[205]

This defeat did not, however, deter those in favor of getting the bonded indebtedness compromised from making another effort within a short time. Hence on August 6, 1894, a petition signed by 411 taxpayers of the county was submitted to the county court asking that another election should be held. The petition set forth that the claims predicated on the unvoted bonds would amount to $175,830.23 on September 15, 1894, and that they could be compromised on the basis of 65 cents on the dollar. It also stated that the original Harshman judgment which had been rendered on voted bonds, had been renewed on December 7, 1893, and that the remainder due on it on September 15 would be $20,872.16. This would have to be paid at par. It was therefore asked that a proposition to issue new bonds to be dated September 15, 1894, and payable in five years at the rate of five per cent interest, be submitted to the people at a special election on September 20, 1894.[206] It was distinctly understood that none of the new funding bonds would be issued or delivered to any creditor or his agent until all the outstanding unvoted judgments and the voted judgments of Harshman were duly receipted by the owners and delivered in escrow for cancellation, and that there should not be issued over $115,830 of new bonds for the $175,830 of the judgments on the unvoted bonds, and not over $21,200 of new bonds on the Harshman judgment of voted bonds.[207]

The county court ordered the election to be held on Sep-

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[204] *Knox County Records, IX, 331. Edina Sentinel, May 25, 1893.* For the vote by precincts see footnote 210.

[205] *Edina Sentinel, August 18, 1894.*

[206] *Knox County Records, IX, 465-470. Edina Sentinel, August 18, 1894.*

[207] *Knox County Records, IX, 465-470. Edina Sentinel, August 18, 1894.*

tember 20, 1894, as requested, and the judges entered at once into a vigorous campaign in favor of the proposition. They pointed out that it provided for five-year bonds instead of 20-year bonds, and that the whole indebtedness might be paid off after one year. They also said that the State Board of Equalization had announced that thereafter all property in the State should be assessed at its actual value. If that were done Knox County would suffer heavily as it could not reduce its tax rate while its bonded indebtedness still existed. They also said that a suit was pending to put a stop to county collectors receiving county warrants for taxes, and they thought that it would be won, and if so taxes would have to be paid thereafter in cash. They pointed out that county warrants were running at a ruinous discount and had been most of the time since the county treasury had been locked up by the bondholders in 1879, and that owing to this heavy discount the county has been short of funds and had as a result a floating debt of county warrants amounting to several thousand dollars. The county had to pay two prices for all of its supplies because of the heavy discount on its warrants. Moreover, county officers were being paid in these depreciated warrants and were thus being underpaid.[208]

As a means of obtaining the confidence of the people, General Henderson, who was the representative of the bond holders, made the following public statement: "In case the compromise carries, I will undertake free of charge to defend the county against any suit that may be brought against the county on the Missouri and Mississippi Railroad bonds, and I will pay off any and all judgments that may be reduced in such suit."[209]

The people were finally won over to the idea of a compromise, and the election was carried by an overwhelming majority, the vote being 1,535 for and only 275 against.[210]

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[208] *Edina Sentinel, August 18, and Sept. 6, 1894.*

[209] *Edina Sentinel, September 6, 1894.*

[210] *Knox County Records, IX, 482-483.* The vote by precincts in this election and the two previous ones is given in the following tabulation:

The new funding bonds were promptly issued[211] and the levies made by the county court from time to time to pay them off. The principal and interest on these bonds were met promptly, and in 1899 the last bond was canceled.

	1891		*1893*		*1894*	
Precincts	*For*	*Against*	*For*	*Against*	*For*	*Against*
Fabius	3	177	11	157	91	57
Jeddo	9	43	6	53	30	34
Myrtle	45	49	25	88	129	6
Colony	7	87	21	49	89	7
Bourbon (Hedge City)	23	22	30	12	50	4
Bourbon (Plevna)	1	90	8	94	32	47
Bee Ridge	18	26	21	38	75	3
Liberty	14	43	13	79	70	8
Benton	19	36	22	38	85	2
Salt River (E.)	12	89	32	36	132	9
Salt River (W.)	10	44	38	4	75	2
Lyon (W.)	40	78	16	5	117	24
Lyon (E.)	3	50	6	48	56	11
Shelton (E.)	27	30	15	24	48	19
Shelton (W.)	11	19	0	39	56	3
Greensburg (W.)	4	21	16	5	26	3
Greensburg (E.)	31	47	32	81	91	29
Center	37	96	76	103	283	17
Totals	314	1047	402	1004	1535	275

The final liquidation of the debt was celebrated by a bond burning in the public square of Edina on September 26, 1899. The people gathered in from all over the county to witness the event and to rejoice over the passing into history of this most unfortunate affair. Special mention was made of the celebration in the county court records as follows: "At high noon today the county court, the county clerk and the sheriff accompanied by ex-judges Welsh, Griggs, Perry and Smith and ex-clerk Lockett, escorted by the Edina band, repaired to the southwest corner of the public square, where in the presence of 2,000 spectators, the last of the Knox County M. and M. Railroad Funding Bonds were burned.[212]

[211] *Knox County Records, IX, 485-486.*
[212] *Knox County Records, X, 607.*

Thus ended the long chapter in the history of the Missouri and Mississippi railroad bonds in Knox County.

(To be concluded in the next number of the *Review.*)

ATCHISON COUNTY'S MEMORIAL AT ROCK PORT, MISSOURI

By John C. Stapel.

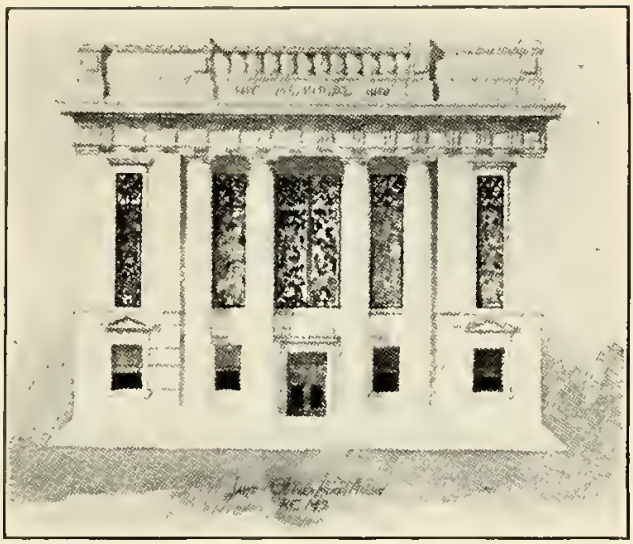
Here is a tale worth telling, a message worth reading. A Missouri town of eleven hundred souls raised $25,000 in less than two hours to honor their heroes of war. The living proved worthy of the dead. Is there a rival for such rank in America? But the citizens of Rock Port and Atchison county were not content. They wanted eminence in conscience and country. So $50,000 was raised! New York City would have civil war in raising an equal per capita for such a purpose, and if it actually raised the money, a library on the subject would be compiled comparing Knickerbocker culture to classic Athenian civilization. Justly so. Equally equitable is the pride of Rock Port and Atchison county, Missouri, in heralding to the world their most meritorious accomplishment, public spirit, and unrivaled generosity. If the old Platte Purchase continues advancing along these lines, its unrivaled dispute for corn will soon be excelled by its fame for culture.—The Editor.

To the citizens of Rock Port, Atchison County, Missouri, belongs the distinction of being the first in the State to take advantage of the State's offer to give $1,000 toward the erection of a memorial to any county which would raise another thousand.

In less than twenty minutes after word reached Rock Port early in 1919 that the above measure had passed the Legislature, a telegram to State officials in Jefferson City notified them that Atchison County had raised her $1,000 toward a memorial for the boys of the late war and was awaiting the $1,000 from the State.

The plan of the original group who thot of this was to erect a building which would be useful as a community centre as well as a memorial and thot $25,000.00 would make a nice building.

A meeting was held in Rock Port and $26,000 subscribed in less than two hours. The committee went to the court, since the thousand dollar donation from the state provided



ATCHISON COUNTY'S MEMORIAL AT ROCK PORT, MISSOURI.

that it must be a county memorial, and the county court said that Atchison county was too wealthy to be satisfied with a memorial costing no more than was planned. So up went the price of the building again and a county-wide campaign was planned with the result that $50,000 was subscribed by Atchison County folks for a memorial to their boys.

Of course, as the distance from Rock Port, the county seat where the building was to be located, grew, the donations became smaller and smaller, because Rock Port would get the benefit of the building even tho it was a county affair.

Then came the selection of plans for the memorial. Many plans were presented, but the committee finally agreed on the plan of Jas. O. Hogg of Kansas City.

This plan was for a building which practically covers the lot of 80x120 feet, leaving enough ground space for a suitable setting off with shrubbery and lawn. The building is of the Classic or Doric order of architecture with four massive columns supporting the front.

It contains a large lobby on the first floor with a ladies' reception and rest room on one side and the secretary's office and lounging room on the other. In the basement is a gymnasium 60x75 feet with ceiling high enough for basketball or any other indoor sport, shower baths, locker rooms and a kitchen.

The second story contains a memorial room with two large art-glass windows and this room will hold the records of Atchison County boys as well as relics. To the left of the memorial room is a game room and to the right is a library. Across the hall leading out of the memorial room is the auditorium, 55x68 feet with a gallery. The seating capacity is about 750.

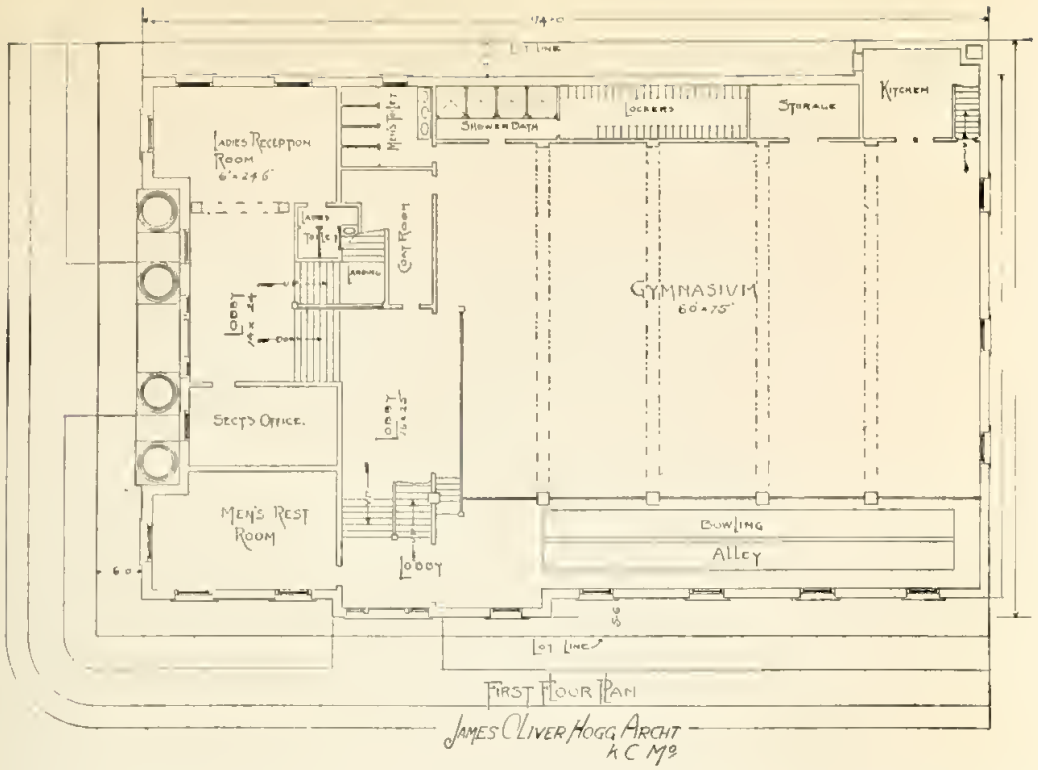
The pledges for the building fund were for 5 years with interest, one-fifth payable annually and the banks of this town agreed to take the pledges and advance the money for the construction, which they have been doing.

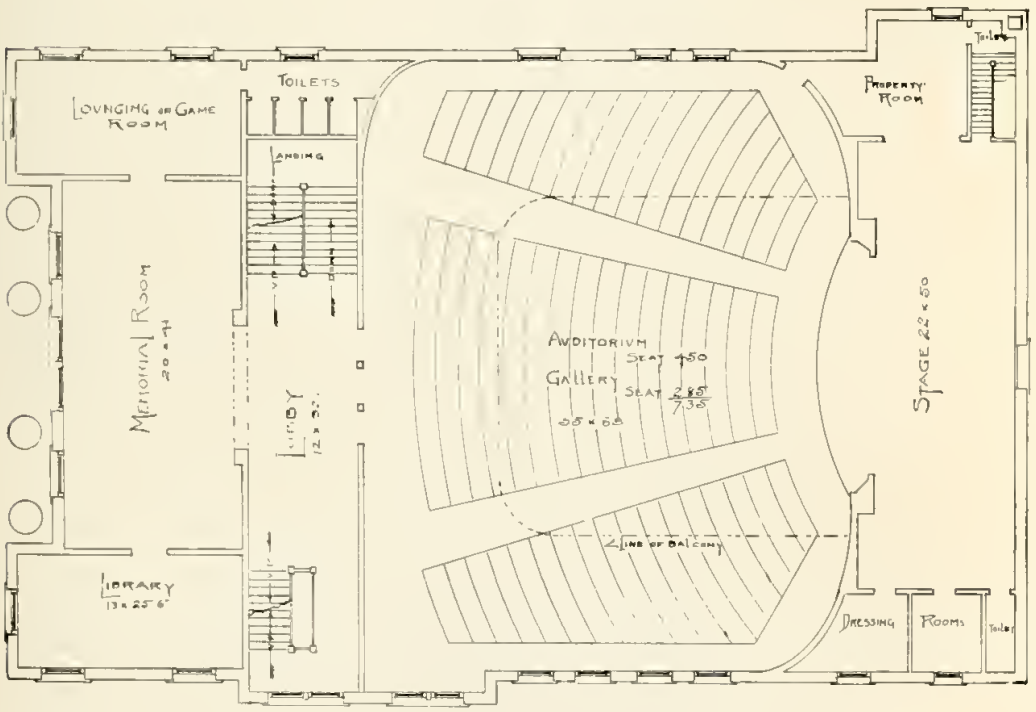
If the building is completed and furnished in time for dedication this fall, it is planned to have Governor Hyde and his staff, together with governors of the adjoining states,

present. If not completed in time for this the formal dedication will be postponed until good weather next spring.

A town the size of Rock Port with only 1,136 folks enumerated by Uncle Sam's census taker, deserves much recognition not only from its State officials but from the boys at Washington, and we expect to invite President Harding, and because ours is the largest and most useful Memorial erected by popular subscription in America (so far as we have been able to learn) we have the effrontery to expect either Mr. Harding or his personal representative when the time comes for formal dedication.

Incidentally we might add that Atchison County is Missouri's banner county on war drives. She never failed to go way over the top on any drive for donations, bonds or whatnot during the war and rarely failed to double its quota. And it would hardly be just to this most progressive county to not mention its county seat where this wonderful memorial is being erected. Rock Port has spent over half-a-million dollars in public improvements in the last three years. It has 5½ miles of paving, a municipal band, a 21-acre city park, complete sanitary sewer system and a wonderful municipally-owned water system, a long white way, two new bank homes totaling around $100,000.00, splendid churches and good schools, together with 1,136 of the best folks in the world. There is no such a thing as a stranger in that town, and tho not on the line of a railroad and hard to get to, away up in Missouri's farthest northwest, anyone wanting something pleasant to remember would be well repaid to visit Rock Port in Atchison County.





ATCHISON COUNTY'S MEMORIAL, FLOOR PLANS.

INFLUENCE OF THE MISSISSIPPI VALLEY ON THE DEVELOPMENT OF MODERN FRANCE.*

By Maurice Casenave.

I am particularly honored to represent the French Government here today. Unfortunately, His Excellency, Mr. Jusserand, has been detained in Washington by important duties. He ought to be here to address you. Because of his profound knowledge of the history of both countries, Mr. Jusserand is better qualified than I to address your Historical Society, in this city of Columbia, where your State University, one of the oldest, and most important of the Middle West, was founded in 1840. The Ambassador could have congratulated you in better terms than mine for the really modern tendencies of your University where the importance of the Press was fully understood, where a school of Journalism was opened for the first time in the United States, where the "Journalist's creed" has become a symbol.

I am not an American historian and I must even confess that I am very ignorant of American history except when it comes into contact with the French. But here, in this Mississippi valley, the contact of the two histories is probably more intimate than in any other part of the world. The first white men who crossed your plains, who penetrated your forests, who canoed your rivers and your lakes were French. French also were the first men to establish permanent settlements here. Some of the names of these French settlers still survive with their descendants; many are retained in the geographic nomenclature of your country; all of them are preserved in the hearts of the American citizens who inherited the domain of the French pioneers. You all know and respect the memory of La Salle who, starting from the French

*An address delivered by His Excellency, M. Maurice Casenave, at the annual meeting of The State Historical Society of Missouri, held in Columbia on January 8, 1918.

settlements in Canada, descended the Mississippi for the first time in 1682; the memory of LeMoyns d'Iberville who was granted the charter of Louisiana in 1700 by Louis XIV; the memory of LeMoyne de Bienville, his brother, who founded New Orleans in 1718; and of Laclede who founded St. Louis in 1764.

It may be, however, that you do not realize what an interesting influence the history of the pioneers and of the French settlements in the Mississippi valley have had on the development of France when they were under French domination and even later. This is a point of history to which I should like to call the attention of your Historical Society.

At the beginning of the 18th century, the first explorers reported to the Court of France on the wonderful riches of the mines and of the soil of the Mississippi valley, and recounted the extraordinary opportunities offered to trade there. They depicted the country as a new Eldorado. These golden prospects were taken at their face value and used as a basis for a vast financial scheme by an enthusiastic Scotchman, John Law, whose magnetism had won the confidence of the Duke of Orleans, regent of France after the death of Louis XIV. The late King had left France in financial straits that seemed inextricable. In 1716, John Law was authorized to establish a Bank for the purpose of managing the trade and the currency of the Kingdom as well as to collect taxes and issue notes. The Bank was a success; it helped the situation to such an extent that Law was allowed to proceed with his project involving what he called his "system."

By a decree of August, 1717—issued two months before New Orleans was founded—a "Compagnie des Indes Orientales" with a capital of 100 million pounds payable partly in coins and partly in notes of the Bank, was endowed with privileges amounting to sovereignty over your valley. A few months later, two other Companies, previously formed for trading with East India and China, were incorporated with it. The amalgamation took the name of "La Compagnie des Indes;" its capital was increased by 25 million pounds subscribed as soon as they were offered. This company was

supposed to be powerful enough to monopolize all the commerce of France. Its shares rose 50% as soon as they were issued.

John Law then proposed to the Regent to turn over the whole French national debt, which exceeded 1,500 million pounds, to the Company. The debt was paid back through notes, handed to the creditors by installment. As each installment fell due, shares of the Company were issued for the amount payable in the said notes, on which the Government paid only 3% interest. This was extremely advantageous for the French Treasury, that at the time used to pay 8% interest on the public debt. As the shares of the Company were practically the only possible investment, the national debt was effectively transferred to the Company. Thus, the Creditors had to look only to the 3% interest paid by the government and to the commercial gain of the Company for their annual returns. Such was the fascination exercised by the magic prospects of the Mississippi valley and by the enchanting prestige of the promoter that the shares of the Company, which were of a nominal price of 300 pounds, were issued with 5,000 pounds premium, were resold immediately at 8,000, and raised within a week to 20,000 pounds.

The system was at the height of its boom in December, 1719. A fever, a craze, a fury of speculation took possession of the whole nation. Twelve billions of pounds were invested in shares—a sum enormous for that time. For a moment, trade received an unnatural impulse. Then the panic came. Of course, neither the revenues of the State nor the wealth of the Mississippi valley could ever pay interest on such a huge amount. Law lost his influence in the French Court and his hold on the public was suddenly transformed into hatred. He was obliged to flee from France. The notes were again converted in 1720 into a Government debt, of the same size as it had been before it was taken over by the Company.

This is the story of the failure of Law's system. No failure was ever more complete or affected more people in the history of France. The "fog of Mississippi" and "the mud

of Louisiana" were for a long time considered synonymous with unsound business and risky speculation.

Of course, John Law was reckless and unfortunate; but, personally he was not dishonest and died poor. The people whom he ruined hated him, naturally, but posterity has been more just, as many points in his scheme proved that he really was a financial genius far ahead of his time. A century after his death, one of the soundest financiers of France, Mr. Thiers, wrote of him: "This Scotchman created a new power, credit, indispensable to any Government since administration has become so vast, so complex and so costly."

In conclusion, you can see that as early as the 18th century the wealth ascribed to your country introduced the factor of credit in French finances which was unknown until then. This is a fact of the utmost importance.

Of course, after the failure of Law's system, colonial enterprise lost a great deal of its popularity and the transfer of Louisiana to Spain, forty years later, in 1762, was hardly resented by the general public in France.

During the period of Spanish domination in the Mississippi valley, great changes occurred in your hemisphere. The British Colonies on the Atlantic Coast threw off the yoke of England and formed a Republic which grew rapidly. Six hundred thousand citizens of this Republic settled west of the Alleghanies and reached the Eastern Bank of the Mississippi. The new settlers needed means of communication to the sea and this could only be secured through the Mississippi. To provide for this necessity, arrangements were made between the United States Government and Spain to secure free navigation for American ships going down the river. These arrangements proved to be inadequate; constant difficulties arose and your great President, Thomas Jefferson, realized that the situation of the United States, as far as free access to the sea was concerned, could never be safe as long as a foreign nation was master of both banks of the Mississippi.

These were the conditions in 1801, when Bonaparte, first Consul of France, acquired Louisiana from Spain. President Jefferson at once instructed the American Minister Plenipoten-

tiary in Paris, Robert R. Livingston, to make an offer to the French first Consul to purchase what was then called Western Florida, in which the city of New Orleans was to be included, from France at the price of 10 million dollars. President Jefferson also sent the great statesman, James Monroe, then Secretary of State, to join forces with Livingston. The advantage in this plan lay in the fact that it would secure at least a partial control of the mouth of the River for the United States at comparatively little cost.

To the great surprise of the American Plenipotentiaries and President Jefferson himself, Bonaparte not only accepted, but declared that, in case the Government of the United States in addition to the said 10 million dollars, would undertake to take care of the French claims in the valley of the Mississippi, amounting to five million dollars, he was ready to cede the entire French possession to the United States. For a moment Jefferson hesitated, believing that he was not empowered to accept this proposal, but finally agreed.

Diplomats and historians have heard so seldom of a negotiator who made an offer to the opposite party that was more advantageous than the original demand that the rapid decision of Bonaparte in the case of Louisiana has been an object of much speculation, although it seems easy to explain.

The price, evidently, is out of question. In 1803, when the transaction took place, France had enjoyed two years of the best administration of her entire history. Her finances had been completely re-established. However, although he had just made peace with England, Bonaparte foresaw that peace could not last long and that, in any coming war, Louisiana was bound to be occupied by England.

On the other hand, he understood the value to the United States of the valley of the Mississippi. He foresaw their future development. He was firmly convinced that it was of the greatest interest to France to help that development. Moreover, Bonaparte always entertained a feeling of close sympathy for the United States; George Washington had his greatest admiration. When the father of your country died, he gave orders to the French Army to go into mourning as for

its own general in chief. When the disaster of Waterloo had destroyed his last hope in France and he surrendered to England of his own free will, he asked to be sent to your own country as to the only land where he could enjoy freedom. Napoleon never forgot that he was the offspring of Revolution. He foresaw democracy spreading in Europe. On his death bed, in St. Helena, after saying that "he was Revolution itself," he prophecied that "after one hundred years Europe should be all republican." His genius was so impregnated with democratic principles that the wonderful legislative, administrative and financial structure which he built for France during the Consulate and even the Empire, are still the basis of the legislative, administrative and financial institutions of our Republic.

Under these circumstances, how could Bonaparte fail to see that, by maintaining a French Colony in the heart of the United States, he would be maintaining a permanent and inevitable cause of friction between the two peoples, and, that by casting away this cause of friction and helping the people of the United States to develop normally, he would be creating a spirit of perpetual friendship between two peoples who were bound by ancient ties and who had democracy as the root of their institutions?

The clearness of the vision of Bonaparte has been proved since Louisiana became a part of the United States. For more than a century, the American and French people never had a disagreement which proved fatal to their harmonious relations. Recently we saw the French and the American armies struggling together and winning the great war that freed the world. How could that wonderful event have taken place if France had pursued a narrow and grasping policy instead of one of great foresight and had hampered and impeded the legitimate development of her Sister Republic? Among the great political achievements of Bonaparte, none had a more fateful and fortunate consequence than the cession of Louisiana.

The Revolutionary and Napoleonic wars had kept France so busy and the adventurous spirit which animated her peo-

ple had found so many outlets to expend itself in Europe, that, for fifteen years after the fall of the first Empire, no colonial enterprise was attempted by France. In 1830, however, France, as the most powerful nation in the Mediterranean sea, realized that she had to put an end to the abominable piracy which the Arab Deys of Algiers, of Tunis and of Tripoli and the Chief of Morocco exercised in the Levant. Their piracy was so obnoxious that the Government of the United States had had to send several punitive expeditions to North Africa to free American citizens who had been reduced to slavery.

In spite of their barbarity, these Arab Chiefs were the powerful heads of nations that participated in the Mohammedan civilization. Their army was ill disciplined, but brave, large, comparatively well armed and remarkably well-mounted. France had to wage a real war upon them and their tribes before she was able to pacify the people and make of North Africa one of the most civilized and prosperous countries in the world. Still these activities by no means constituted a colonial war, in the true sense of the word.

France undertook expeditions of a really colonial nature only after the Franco-Prussian war of 1870-71. Then, the loss of two of her richest provinces, Alsace and Lorraine, injured her both politically and economically. The ablest, the most intelligent and the most patriotic of her statesmen considered that the best way to help the Fatherland recuperate from its losses, to maintain the moral standard of the people and to educate the officers of the army was to point out to the people of France the great duty that was theirs to perform in opening to civilization the vast hinterland of the maritime colonies which France possessed, along the coast of Western Africa, of Madagascar and of Asia. Some of these she had held for centuries.

They succeeded wonderfully in educating the youth of France along these lines. They called up memories of the great Frenchmen of the past, of Champlain, LaSalle, Marquette, Joliet, Iberville who opened up your continent, of Dupleix who created a French Empire in India, of Mont-

calm and Vandreuil who made France beloved in Canada. The youth of France responded in the same spirit. The names of the pioneers of America became an inspiration to Savorgnan de Brazza, who discovered Equatorial Africa, to Doudart de Lagree and Francis Garnier who explored French Tong King. They became an inspiration also to so many others who later created for France a colonial Empire that is larger in territory than the United States, Alaska, Porto Rico, the Hawaiian Islands and the Philippines combined. This colonial domain is far from being fully developed but that is full of possibilities and already has a population of fifty million, whose number increases yearly.

France is proud to have accomplished a work of civilization within the boundaries of this huge Colonial Empire. The benefits of her work extended to neighboring countries. Listening to the voice of a generous Prelate, Cardinal Lavigerie, worthy successor of the Great Augustine on the episcopal seat of Hippona, the French Government has put a definite end to slavery and slave trading, which desolated the interior of central and western Africa until the establishment of French domination. The "Black-Flags," an association of disbanded Chinese soldiers and highwaymen used to terrorize all southeastern Asia, from the frontiers of Siam to the southern provinces of China. They have been suppressed since France occupied Annam and Tong King; the country is now pacified and the growing native pupulation is enjoying wealth and prosperity. Madagascar, an island as large as your State of Texas, was organized in such a way that the inhabitants of different races who had formerly been in perpetual feuds are now reconciled and working together.

Under the French flag, natives are allowed to pursue their own customs and laws, as long as they respect peace and decency thereby. They enjoy order and security and they showed their gratitude to France during the recent war. France had her reward. During this period of hardship, they denounced the German propaganda that was rampant and remained faithful to France. They sent more than three hundred thousand men, soldiers who fought in the trenches

workmen who worked in the rear, and tillers who helped to cultivate the fields.

Our colonial soldiers were all volunteers. They came together again under the French chiefs whose first combats in arms took place in those very colonies from which their men now came. They came to fight under Gallieni, who organized Madagascar, Couraud, who pacified French Western Soudan, Mangin of Tong King fame, and Joffre, who thirty years before winning the battle of the Marne was the first to enter Timbucto, the den of the slave trade.

I think now that you will agree with me that the French pioneers of the 19th century were not a weakened offspring of their forefathers who were the the pioneers in the Mississippi valley and that the men who pacified Indo-China, Madagascar and Western Africa are worthy of the founders of New Orleans and St. Louis.

THE FOLLOWERS OF DUDEN

By William G. Bek.

FIFTH ARTICLE.

Frederick's Valley on the Tavern Creek,
Franklin County, Missouri,
April 24, 1835.

"My dear Dellmann and my dear sister Christine:—

"—We live 32 miles from St. Louis, opposite the little town Missouritown, which lies on the north side of the Missouri. From my place to Manchester it is 12 or 13 miles. There are still many fine farms to be bought in my neighborhood. Some of my wealthy countrymen would find many attractive chances for speculation. Nine miles from here on the Merrimac River rich lead mines have recently been discovered. Even now some three or four hundred persons are employed there. The unexpected cold weather, the terrible itch, and now the wood ticks, and in the summer the mosquitoes cause many Germans to dislike America. But all these things are as nothing to one who in his fatherland was accustomed to be annoyed, vexed and tormented in other ways. The ringing of the bells of neighboring villages and towns is not heard here as in our old home, but the ringing of the bells of grazing herds in the valleys and on the hillsides furnishes ample substitution for this pleasure. I have not yet been on the north side of the Missouri. I have met von Spankeren and others who live over there on various occasions in St. Louis. Later in the spring Dr. Kinkaid will take me across the river in a canoe, that is to say, in a hollowed-out log. From the landing I have a distance of nine miles to Deus' place and 13 miles to Duden's farm. Two neighbors of ours, Richardson and Zumwalt, formerly lived near Duden's place. From what they say the latter place must be quite mediocre. Richardson told me that he made the door for Duden's house, and Zumwalt said that Duden sometimes visited him for days.

MR. AND MRS. FREDRICK STEINES.

Both of them recall Duden with much affection. This spring I was a witness to the practice of burning the leaves and grass in the forests. As I have said before, this is done annually. The purpose of the burning is to drive away the game that is injurious to the farm, and to destroy the tick and other vermin, and above all to further the growth of grass and herbs for the live stock. For miles around us the ground is burned bare of leaves and grass and twigs. The sight was majestic in the evening, but the injury done to the forest is enormous. One night several of us had an interesting experience. We had ridden along the Missouri over the old Spanish road to Bertha's parents, and there had seen but little fire. On the way back we decided to make a short cut, and in doing so we got lost in the burning woods. We were very much perplexed. Finally we gave our horses the reins and to our great delight and surprise the intelligent animals soon brought us out of the danger zone and took us to Dr. Terril's place.

April 26.

"To-day Dr. Kincaid told me that Prince Paul of Wuertemberg stopped with him a few years ago when the latter made his trip thru this country. The Prince was on his return trip from a hunting expedition with the Indians farther west. He brought back some interesting and rare specimens of animal life and several specimen of natural curiosities. Last summer I saw a crowd of Indians in St. Louis. In spite of the heat all of them were wrapped in woolen blankets. The heads of most of them were shorn. Their ornaments consisted of beads and feathers. Many of the women were really beautiful. At present it is very hard to get good help. The common laborer wants to eat and drink well, draw good wages, but do little work. But I cannot become reconciled to the idea of owning slaves. In the first place most of them are not worth much, being deceptive, lazy and thieving. Moreover, I cannot see how a freedom-loving German can subscribe to the principles of slavery, and it certainly must require a great deal of Americanization in order to start a negro factory, if I may express myself that way, as Eversmann, for example, has done. I do not wish to leave the im-

pression that all Americans are in sympathy with slavery. There are very many wealthy farmers, who because of moral as well as economic reasons do not have slaves. It is an interesting fact, based upon observation, that on the farms where no slavery exists the land is in the best condition, the owner is wealthier, the housewives and girls are the most diligent.

"When I arrived here last summer, many farmers were wildly enthusiastic about emigration to Texas. Several carried out their plan. The arguments advanced for Texas were that it is much warmer there and especially that the state government of Texas offers to the new settler unusual advantages, I think 4,000 acres of land for each family. Of late, however, but little talk about Texas has been heard. Some of the emigrants have come back and have given a very unfavorable account of the country. They say that much of the land in Texas is low and swampy, on which account it is very unhealthy there, moreover the heat is too intense, and besides the farmer is not left in undisturbed possession of his property, especially his live stock, which the Indians are always trying to steal. In the defence of his herds the rancher often risks his life. They also say that if the farmers do succeed in raising produce to sell, they lack markets to sell the same."

April 30.

"In my letter of March 3 I told you about the American itch. Not all the Germans with whom I have spoken have suffered from it. Doctor Kincaid is of the opinion, in which I concur, that it may have been the European itch in an aggravated form. It is rumored that, after all, there were some members of our ship's company who were afflicted with the itch. This rumor seems to find confirmation in the fact, that every one of the immigrants who arrived on our ship, suffered from this ailment.

"At the time I last wrote about this matter no remedy seemed to be known by the physicians here to check the trouble. Finally I remembered that a German physician had recommended to me the use of sulphuret of potash for

this trouble when one of my children had a slight touch of it. Upon inquiry I found that sulphuret of potash cannot be had in America, but brother Hermann made it for us, and it relieved us greatly.

"I often wonder what sort of a picture you have in mind when you think of an American farm. Doubtless it is a duplicate of a substantial German farm. For such a picture you must substitute the one I shall now give you. Of course, this has reference to our frontier conditions. Instead of a house you must think of a hut, behind it a still smaller hut for a smokehouse, farther back a still smaller hut for other purposes. All this is surrounded by a zigzag rail fence. Sometimes a spring flows right thru the yard. The paths are unpaved. There is no trace of domesticated fruit trees, no garden shrubs, grape vines, or tame flowers. Instead of a garden, such as you know, simply a plowed, fenced-in, little plot of ground, which in the early spring can scarcely be found on account of the weeds. There are no barns with threshing floors in them. Some times the grain stays out in the field all winter long in stacks. The grain is not beaten out but trampled out by animals. The grain is laid on the ground in the field, on a place cleared of stubble and weeds, and then horses or cattle are driven over it till the kernels are tramped out of the ears. By winnowing the grain is then cleaned. On account of the cold threshing is rarely possible in the winter months. Can you imagine such laziness and indifference in a country where it would be such an easy matter to build log barns where such operations could take place in any season.

"One reason for this backwardness and indifference is the fact that the American farmer does not regard his farm as something that he, as well as his descendants after him are to improve and enjoy, but as something to be but slightly improved, in order to be able to sell it at a small profit in the near future. There is scarcely a farm that is not for sale, for the American farmer has no love for home, such as the German has.

"I am building a smoke-house, a kitchen, a milk house

over one of the excellent springs near our house, a stable for the horses and one for the cows. My American neighbors say that I am building a town. Well yes, a town such as Missouritown is—a town of six houses.

"At the time of my departure I had to promise countless persons to write to them. I cannot fulfill these promises. In the first place it takes too much time and in the second place it costs too much to send letters. From here to New York it costs 25c to send a letter. I must therefore ask you to let them read the letters I have sent you.

"I wish you would save the seeds of cherries, plums, apricots and pears for me this summer. It is difficult to get such seeds here. You may have the opportunity to send them to me by some one who wishes to settle in our neighborhood. If such a one is found, I want him to heed my warning and not stay in St. Louis, but come directly up the Missouri on steamboat and land at Dr. Kinkaid's, at the mouth of the Tavern Creek, opposite Missouritown.

Auf Wiedersehn! Your brother,

FREDERICK STEINES."

Frederick's Valley on Tavern Creek,
Franklin Co., Mo., May 6, 1835.

"My dear Mr. Koell:—

"I can easily imagine that in the circle of my old friends the question has often been asked by one or the other: 'I wonder how friend Steines is getting along?' My answer is: 'Now everything goes well with me.' What lies behind me, I must, of course forget or try to forget. Especially must I try to forget how dearly I have paid for my present comforts. In my new environment I live as undisturbed and peaceful as it is possible to live anywhere in the world. In my old home I had nothing but trouble. The King has altogether too many officials who vex the people. He would put them to much better use if he sent them here to clear the forests, or if he wished to keep them there he ought to teach them the tanning trade, so they could tan their own hide. In this country we have a squire and a constable, who perform almost

all the duties which at home are done by an army of officials. Our officers are chosen from the people, by the people, and cost us almost nothing. Here our articles of luxury are taxed. At home the principle obtained, that one ought not to be taxed for such articles, because he had given many people an opportunity to earn something in their manufacture. On the other hand your poor scissors grinders are taxed. Of military duties we know nothing here.—

"I contemplate building a mill on Tavern Creek, for this reason I must request you to send me the money I left in your custody. The spare money which I had on hand I loaned at ten percent. I rely on you, my friend, to do me this favor, in order that I may be able to carry out my plans.

FREDERICK STEINES."

My address is:

Fox Creek Post Office,
Franklin County, Mo.
Via Havre and New York, U. S. A.

Frederick's Valley, Franklin Co., Mo.

"Dear Dellmann and sister Christine:—

"In an earlier letter I said that I would write again when I had seen the spring. What Duden said about the appearance of nature in the spring, I can fully confirm. We have a great variety of native trees, bushes and shrubs, whose foliage and bloom delight the eye and the sense of smell. Among the herbs we find many substitutes for tea. Many wild plants are even used as substitutes for vegetables.

"What a wealth of song birds we have, tho the nightingale and the lark are wanting. I mention especially the red bird, whose beautiful plumage and mocking song is a delight to all of us. The many-voiced choir which we hear makes it easy for us to forget the few favorite singers.

"I can say from experience that work on the farm is hard. You must disregard Duden's statement in regard to the ease in which an American farmer lives. Looking on and participating in a piece of work are two entirely different things. Duden's lack of actual experience and his romantic

tendency are the reasons why he has made so many mistakes in regard to outdoor life. The farmers who own slaves of course let them do the work, but their farms almost always have a neglected appearance. Such comfort as people of this kind enjoy had better and truthfully be called laziness and slovenliness. Their farms are rarely well equipped and very many are encumbered by debts. During the early part of my residence here I was astonished at the great number of Americans who wished to borrow money from me and who told me the story of their hard luck. In most instances such poverty is due to indifference and neglect. My neigbbor, Henry Steele, a Virginian, is a fine example of a farmer who gets along without slaves. But he, his wife and their many children are not ashamed to work. His farm is in excellent condition, his fences are in a perfect state of repair, his live stock is first class, and he always has money on hand to make investments. On the other hand I have neighbors, who sit the whole day around the hearth, spitting into the fire, or whittling a piece of wood, rarely saying a word, or they go visiting or receive visitors, or they go hunting, while their fences are so defective that live stock can get into their fields and destroy their crops. They are a lazy lot. I have just spoken of the practice of whittling. This might be called a national custom of the North American. Sometimes it is carried so far that even tables and chairs are mutilated.

"There is only one thing in which the German ought to emulate the example of the American, and that is, in the handling of the ax, otherwise in nothing. Especially ought he not to emulate his example in the matter of borrowing. The American farmer is always borrowing either money, or tools, or provisions etc., so that instead of the new arrival being able to find succor from his neigbbors, they come to him for aid. It is therefore well that every German immigrant who comes in their midst should act as if he were very poor. Then he will be left more or less unmolested; moreover, his new neigbbors will not be so much inclined to cheat him in a business deal.

"The American is not frugal. When he butchers hogs

he is sure to eat all the best parts as soon as possible, laying by nothing, and later is compelled to live on bacon and bread. Sugar and honey are consumed as soon as they are acquired. The following may very well be his motto: 'If I have nothing, I need not carry anything, and can go so much more lightly.' They seem to see no casual relation between waste and want. And just think of this,—they eat raw potatoes just as we eat apples. Not only potatoes but also beets, turnips, turnip-tops, cabbage leaves, hickory bark, in short many vegetables and other things they eat raw. One of my neighbors recently complained that his children had eaten almost all his potatoes in the field. Last autumn Mr. and Mrs. Bruegger-hof visited a neighboring farmer. When the dinner hour arrived, their hostess brought in a plate of turnips and some knives and invited her guests to dine. In the summer, when nature provides an abundance of good things, these people live well, but for the winter they lay by nothing at all. Hence their monotonous bacon-bread diet.

"In the matter of clothing the men are very indifferent, but not so the women. The children run about with nothing on but a shirt. They are usually so dirty that one might think he had come upon a family of mulattoes.

"Hardly any of these people have any book learning, and in matters of religion they are extremely ignorant. Only recently the seventeen year old son of a neighboring farmer asked: Mr. Steines, I do not know whether Christmas comes in January or not; does it?' And a week ago today the daughter of another farmer visited us, and she did not know that it was Penticost, nor did she know what Penticost is. Their amusements such as dancing and music are very wretched efforts. To a German taught in music their efforts are an abomination. Their attempts at playing the violin and flute are usually so ear-rending that children can be intimidated to do most anything thereby, so wretched that they produce nausea in the healthy adult. It is an encouraging sign that in some of the cities efforts are being made to improve this condition. In St. Louis, however, there is at present absolute lack of every thing musical. Several prominent

men with whom I have spoken, have expressed the wish that they might have some sort of a musical organization in that city, in order that they might enjoy, at least occasionally, the pleasures of a ball or a concert. I was offered $1.00 per hour for instruction on the piano. Pianos are very expensive here. Wind instruments and violins, too, are dear."

July 6.

"Since the middle of May the cholera is again raging in St. Louis. Entire families have been carried away by it.

"Of course you will be interested in knowing something of the remedies applied in the treatment of the cholera. In this respect the German and some of the American physicians differ greatly in their theories. Most of the German physicians here apply heat in the treatment of the disease and they have the distinction of delivering their patients most quickly to the grave, usually within twenty-four hours. Several of the American physicians apply the opposite treatment, and from personal observation I can testify to their success. Many of their patients recovered entirely, while the lives of others was at least prolonged for days. The simple treatment is the following: First they produce bleeding, either strong or moderate, depending upon the nature of the patient, then they administer lukewarm salt-water until violent vomiting is produced, after which a small dose of calomel is given. The patient is not kept warm. If the temperature is high, he is even exposed to a draught, lying on a mattress, with only a shirt for covering. Then the patient gets as much ice to eat as he wants. (Water cools too suddenly, therefore, if ice is wanting, the water ought to be given with a sponge.) Two strong men must be at hand, and as soon as the convulsions come they must dip their hands into turpentine and rub the affected parts vigorously until all the distortions have been removed and the parts have again assumed their natural position. A mustard plaster is also placed on the patient's abdomen. When the patient is on the road to recovery he is given nothing but ice to eat, and when the hunger finally becomes unbearable he gets very

small quantities of barley or oats broth. This diet must be observed for several days after the convulsions have ceased.

"In the above I have seriously and rather roughly attacked the knowledge and skill of German physicians. In all justice I must state that in many ways they render excellent service, and on the whole are far above their American colleagues. As you know the medical profession is on a very low plane in America. All sorts of quacks call themselves doctors here and occasionally commit great wrongs, destroying the life and the health of the people.

"In the neighboring state of Illinois various kinds of fever abound. Also in the state of Missouri there are very many unhealthful regions. Even the rolling country on the north side of the Missouri, where Duden lived, is at the present time not healthful. Chills are very common there. Last March I visited Duden's country for the first time. A great many German families live there, and I often stopped on my journey to greet them, but unfortunately I found many of them suffering with the chills. My friend Deus was at that time just recovering from a serious attack of this ailment.

"The cause of the chills is undoubtedly to be found in the drinking water. In the settlements north of the Missouri it is usually of a turbid color, which would indicate that it is mixed with foreign substances which are injurious to the health. On the south side of the Missouri, where we live, it it quite different. Our springs come from a rocky soil, flow over gravel, and so the water is clear as crystal. Indeed our neighborhood is famed far and wide for its healthfulness.

"In the above I have told you that I visited Duden's farm. If I had not previously heard all sorts of stories about it, I should doubtless have been very much astonished at the sight of it. I certainly did not find what I expected to find. Lake Creek, so picturesquely described by Duden, is a swampy, lazily flowing brook, and all of Duden's property very mediocre. In fact his farm is of no value to a farmer. His log-house is situated on an attractive hill, just as he described it in his 18th letter. But without entering into details, I must say, that romantic rather than economic rea-

sons must have induced him to select that site. The very lack of a sense for the practical, manifested in the selection of the site for his house, explains why it was possible for him to make so many mistakes in his description of the life and the activity of the American farmer when he wrote his 'Report.'

"It was on the twelfth of May when I crossed the Missouri to visit my friend Deus. On the north side of the river, directly opposite my place, there is an extensive piece of bottom land. This bottom begins five or six miles down the stream and extends to four or five miles beyond Missouritown. On foot I went to the farm of our good friend von Spankeren, who formerly lived at Beckerhof near Wald. His new home is close to the river, where the bottom land comes to an end and the hills again approach the stream. Here he presently intends to open a tannery, the necessary preparations having already been made. By the way, his brother went to Mexico a long time ago. I did not find Mr. von Spankeren at home, so I ascended a nearby hill where I found rolling country with beautiful forests and occasional old as well as newly laid out farms. After wandering for two or three miles thru this region, I unexpectedly met Mr. von Spankeren who was just returning from a visit with Deus. How glad we were to see each other again. A half hour's talk convinced me anew of his cordiality, his nobility of character, and his genuine sympathy with the joys and sorrow of others. All of these fine qualities are, as it were, crowned by a deep religiousness, which makes the good man still more charming without in the least giving him the air of a goody-goody person. Von Spankeren's place is half way between Deus' farm and mine.

"In the evening I reached Deus' home, where I was heartily welcomed, and where I found the whole family in the best of health. I remained here for four days, visiting and inspecting the surrounding country. The region there has very much in common with that of Homburg, Mettmann and Hubbelrath in the Duchy of Berg. On the older farms the land is not especially good and I am of the opinion that

after twenty or thirty years it will require fertilizer to produce good crops. Deus' farm is one of the best that I have seen. Much of it is situated in the river bottom and has a deep layer of humus soil which will yield the finest crops without fertilizer for at least fifty years. One hundred acres of his estate he bought from a neighbor and, I think, paid four dollars an acre for it.

"I was, of course, delighted to find friend Deus so prosperous, but I should not advise any one to buy land in his neighborhood, because the influx of Germans thither has increased the price of land to such an extent that commonly ten dollars per acre is asked. Surely no German will be so narrow minded to think that he can be happy only in that region in which Duden once lived. That was not what Duden meant. No indeed! Everywhere in Missouri there is still good land to be had at $1.25 an acre. I am not so sure either as to whether the land in Duden's settlement is so much to be preferred to other land, nor am I convinced that the Germans there live wholly in love and friendship without envy and jealousy. Even looking at it from a purely materialistic point of view, I am of the opinion that the farms there are already too close together. This very condition hinders in the pasturing of stock, and brings all sorts of other unpleasantness in its wake. Moreover, the intermittent fever is too prevalent in that region, on which account many Germans are anxious to sell out to buy cheaper and to better advantage somewhere else.

"Deus went with me to see Duden's place. The distance between the two farms is four miles. One mile on this side of Duden's farm we came to the farm of a Mr. Bock from Mecklenburg. The latter has staked out lots on an uneven tract of land along the road in the hope of founding a town there. This town, which is as yet a tiny place, Mr. Bock has named Dutzow after his estate in Mecklenburg. A few tradesmen have settled there, also a schoolmaster by the name of Roesener from Gewelsberg at Schwelm. The latter has started a store there.

July 8.

"The American farmer has learned to co-operate with his neighbors in many of his more difficult tasks. Thus the 'raising' of houses, the clearing away of trees that have fallen on the fields—logrolling, and the harvesting of maize is done co-operatively. In the clearing of the land also one farmer helps the other. After such a day of joint labor there usually follows a frolic in the evening and feasting and dancing at night.

"Not long ago the necessity of living in peace and harmony with every one was vividly impressed upon me. One of my neighbors, an American, instituted a log-rolling. To this only a few Germans and no Americans came. By some unpraiseworthy action this man had brought upon himself the displeasure of his neighbors, who now, by their action manifested the contempt in which he was held by them.

"In any kind of emergency the whole neighborhood is ready to help out. So in case of a death the neighbors come in to dig the grave and render every other service. I, too, have served as grave-digger since coming here. On account of the weather the interment usually takes place within twenty-four hours after the death, and without any ceremony. Almost every farmer designates a place on his farm as a family burial ground.

"So far the summer has been very cool. Indeed we had a light frost recently, which, however, did no appreciable harm. Last summer it was quite different, and I believe that the heat had much to do with the great amount of sickness that obtained among us. At that time many Germans died in America. The cemeteries of New Orleans and of St. Louis testify to this fact, tho the ravages of disease were also bad in many other cities. In St. Louis I met two young men from Wuertemberg. They had lost nine members of their family almost immediately after their arrival on American soil, and being depressed by this calamity, they were ready to return to Germany at once. I say again, Germans flee from the American cities. After you have become acclimated and have become accustomed to the American way of living you may

with reasonable safety go to the cities. A newcomer usually finds an all too early grave there. Living conditions in the cities will improve in time, when sanitary commissions are appointed who will enforce cleanliness.

"Here in the country we have to be contented with those supplies which nature provides. It is difficult for us to buy anything, and as a rule the farmer lacks money for the buying. But really, we do not need much money. If it were diffierent, we should fare badly, since it is very difficult to earn money outside the cities.

"Ordinary farming requires many hands and they demand much money. As a farmer I have therefore sustained an enormous loss in the death of my dear children. I shall devote myself chiefly to stockraising, for which business I have already made a small beginning. I own two horses and a colt, four cows, two heifers, four calves and three oxen, hogs, and flocks of chickens, geese, turkeys and ducks. After I have harvested my crop, I shall buy more stock and also some mares and cows. The raising of horses is perhaps the most profitable and easiest side line of farming in this new country. Fowls have very many enemies lurking in the woods. In the autumn I shall buy some sheep, for sheep-raising is also a very lucrative business, if only the wolves did not claim the tenth part of each flock. Such losses are, however, not taken too seriously here where nature is so lavish, and especially since taxes and duties are so very insignificant. Most of the farmers also keep bees, which enterprise pays well. Besides these tame swarms there are countless swarms of wild bees in the forest, where their hives are found in hollow trees. Such hives sometimes are extremely heavy, which is not surprising when one considers the countless flowers from which the bees can derive their honey. In March I found a nest of seventeen turkey eggs in the woods. I took them home and put them under a tame turkey, but the hatch did not do well.

"The main farm crop is corn. When it does well, all anxiety is removed. It is not only a splendid food for all kinds of stock and fowls but also most nourishing for human

beings. It can be eaten as a vegetable with butter when it is yet in a green stage. Excellent bread and even cakes are made from its meal. It is also used in different ways for soup. Corn is to the American what the potato is to the German. The wheat raised in this country is very fine. I believe I have never seen such excellent flour in Germany as is made here. In the eastern states I observed that rye thrives well in America, and that it does well in Missouri has been proven by my father-in-law, Mr. Herminghaus, who raised a splendid field of this grain. Strange to say, I have not seen any rye bread in America. Barley is raised in small quantities only, tho it does well and is much sought for by the beer-brewers. Judging from the great amount of hops one sees growing wild, I should judge that hop culture would be a profitable business. Oats do well, as do also potatoes and peas. We are already eating new potatoes. My mother has demonstrated that beans of all varieties grow here as well as anywhere in the world. White and red cabbage thrive, and the finer varieties, such as chapain, cauliflower and others, I have never seen grow finer than they grow here. The cultivation of rape-seed for the manufacture of oil ought also to be successful. There is also grown a kind of corn which has the seed in the tassels but no ears. It is called broom-corn, because the tassels make the finest kind of brooms. Tobacco, flax and hemp thrive splendidly. Oh my! What wonderful prospects are opened to the American farmer in this region where climate and soil offer every advantage. Industry and intelligence are sure to be crowned with success.

July 19.

"It is a good thing that farming does not require the same amount of labor that it does in Germany. If this were so we should fare badly since a good hired man earns as much as $80.00 and even $100.00 a year. The plows here are made different than they are at home. They are not reversable, and one plows around a quadrangle until one finishes in the middle of the piece. Tho the soil produces many weeds they are not hard to destroy. The German couchgrass, which causes so much annoyance at home, is wholly unknown here.

The stubble fields remain untouched until we are ready for the next seeding. We never plow our land more than once to get it ready for the new crop. The corn is a fine crop, I must confess that it requires much more work than I imagined it would. The planting, cultivating, thinning, weeding, etc. requires much careful attention. When it is ripe the leaves are pulled off the stalks, dried and bound into bundles and taken into the barn, or in case there is no barn, they are put in shocks in the field. Then the tops of the stalks above the ear are cut off and treated just as the leaves. Both make excellent fodder for horses and cows. When the ears are thoroly dry they are pulled off and put in an airy bin. Before the corn can be ground it has to be shelled off the cob. (Maize is nothing more than common Turkish corn.) The stalks that remain on the field must either be burned or hauled away. Wheat is often sown between the rows of cornstalks and plowed in shallow.

"In Germany it is generally stated that the American potato is unpalatable. I can assure you that that is a myth.

"Now we have also seen some poisonous snakes. Mina, our servant girl, killed a rattler which had gotten into the kitchen. In the field we have killed some that had from six to ten rattles. We have also seen some copperheads. The bite of a poisonous snake is, of course, a serious matter, and yet this danger is regarded lightly by the natives who laugh at one who shows concern on that account. I have seen many a farmer who had the scars of snake bites on his body. There are a number of homely remedies which are known to everybody in the woods. The juice of certain herbs is known to act effectively against the poison. Sometimes the snake itself is killed, its body is quickly opened, and while still warm is placed on the wound. Sometimes a chicken is killed and placed on the wound. At the very earliest moment the wound is cut open in order that the greater flow of blood may wash out the poison. Then salt is rubbed into the wound. Only a few days ago I saw Zumwalt's boy saved in this manner. The leg in which he was bitten swelled up enormously, to be sure, but now he is well again.

"A few nights ago my barn-yard was visited by wolves. I came close enough to shoot at them, but owing to the darkness I did not hit any of them. One of my neighbors recently killed five young wolves while they were fighting over a young pig.

"One of the most disagreeable things we have to contend with is the tick which attaches itself to animal as well as human bodies. This plague is so general that one does not feel in the least embarassed, even in company, to begin a hunt for them as soon as one notices their bite. In Germany one would call it impolite, but it is necessary, and I wonder if the backbiting, that I know to exist in Germany is any more polite.

"The hare is not found here at all. We have only the small white-tailed rabbit. Great flocks of partridges come to our barnyards. They are not much larger than our European quail. Pheasants are common, but not so the splendid prairie chicken. Frequently I see great droves of turkeys in the fields or woods, sometimes as many as forty or fifty in a drove. At the approach of a human being they take to flight. We are greatly in need of well trained hunting dogs which we might so easily have brought along from Germany.

July 21.

"On the ninth of this month we enjoyed an unexpected visit by our dear traveling companions Arez and Scheulen. They now live on the Osage and spoke in highest terms of that country. Still they expressed the wish that they would like to buy land here in order to have some German neighbors and to be closer to St. Louis. Before coming here they had visited Deus on the north side of the river, and they reported that there was much sickness in that region. A few deaths had occurred among the German settlers there. Our visitors met a Mr. Kribben in Washington, (Mo.). He is from Koeln on the Rhine. This Mr. Kribben told them that his traveling companion Roesberger, who died in St. Louis soon after his arrival, had some letters for me among his belongings. Since brother Hermann is going to St. Louis to-morrow, I hope I shall get my letters. Our friends also told us about

some Germans in the Osage country: Sandfort, Klarenbach, Kloenne, Ubert, Lambach, Heuer, Muehlinghaus and Schmitz. Sandfort, Klarenbach, Ubert and Muehlinghaus have bought handsome estates up there. Jaeger Heuer worked with Muehlinghaus for a while, but he became tired of batching and went back to St. Louis to work as a clerk in a store. Muehlinghaus will presently marry an American woman. Ubert and Lambach were in business together in Jefferson City, but they have now dissolved partnership. Ubert is now superintendent of a lumber yard in St. Louis, and Lambach is doing carpenter work in a town farther up the river. Kloenne has bought his second farm. It is not as good as the first one was and cost him more money. His wife insists on living on the left bank of the Osage in order to be able to visit more easily in Jefferson City and to receive company from there. Schmitz, a brother-in-law of Schuelen, has his own furniture business in Jefferson City and is doing well. Klarenbach has much work as watchmaker and lives happily.

"My earnest advice to every prospective emigrant from Germany is this: Learn a trade, even if it is only making baskets or wooden shoes. A trade, after all, rests on a golden foundation. It always brings cash into the household and assures one's existence. Many of the German gentry are faring badly in America, and I hear, there is great danger that some of their farms may soon be sold on account of debts. This is bad, very bad for all of us. 'Pray and work' must be the motto here as everywhere else. Nothing good can come of mere pleasure walking, feasting and the like. Of course there are also many wealthy Germans in our midst—they work. One reason why there are so many poor farmers, not only among the Germans, but generally, lies in the fact that they had nothing to begin with. Unless a farmer can be properly equipped and stocked from the beginning he will amount to nothing, unless he is advanced by lucky accidents and chance.

"The rapid development of the State of Missouri is attested to by the rapidly increasing, lively steamboat traffic on the Missouri river. Almost daily steamboats are seen on

the river. These are favorable signs for the inhabitants of the state.

"I must not forget to state that steamboating on the Mississippi and the Missouri is interrupted each winter for several weeks, and sometimes even for months, by the ice or the flow of ice. Those who plan to come here by way of New Orleans should note this very carefully, in order to arrive here in November, at the latest. A long stay in New Orleans is very expensive.

"It is remarkable to what an enormous size some trees grow in the Missouri lowlands. Dr. Kincaid told me that on one occasion he was surprised by a storm when he rode into a hollow sycamore tree for shelter. Such giants grow only in the lowlands, of course. In the lowlands are found the forests of which the Germans dream.

"In the absence of granaries some farmers make use of sections of hollow sycamore trees to store grain and other things. It is surprising how the frontiersman knows how to help himself. It is astonishing in how many ways he has substituted the wood of the hickory, papaw and the white oak for iron. The bark of the hickory and all of the papaw supply him with the strongest kind of cords for the most various uses. Almost every farmer, even the poorest, owns a horse, but not all have bridles and saddles. What a strange sight it would be in Germany to see a horseman come along with a bridle, the greater part of which was made of hickory bark, and a saddle with wooden stirrups. The strangeness of the horseman's attire would be no less surprising. In the winter our fellow citizens wear gray or white overcoats of coarse texture, occasionally decorated by insertions of black. Some of the hats they wear point to all points of the compass and are sewed together with white thread. Oh my goodness, costumes to make you split your sides with laughter at the sight of them. In Germany one would cry out—robbers, murderers, vagabonds! Well, so it goes. Those who care nothing for appearances, go as I have just described. But we all know that the clothes do not make the man.

"On the other side of the Missouri lives a certain Mr. von

Martels. One of his sons has gone back to Germany and has there written and published a book concerning this country and about local conditions. I have not seen this book yet, but I am told that it is written very bombastically and boastfully. People who have seen it say that it is simply shameful to deceive people in such a fashion. Old Mr. Martels is exerting every means to come into possession of the few copies of this book that have strayed into this region. He fears the ridicule which would come upon his family. If this book should come into your possession, I advise you to regard the account of the author with suspicion till I can inform you.

"Von Martel's sons, who are still here, toil very diligently and are ashamed of no kind of work. Many other immigrants of the better class also work hard. So for instance, Count Benting near Marthasville is a farmer and a miller. He himself takes the sacks of grain off the horses when people come to the mill, and carries the flour out when the grinding is done. My neighbor Kehr, who in Kassel occupied a high station, is a busy farmer. That is the right way, for here we are all equal. Work does not hurt anybody; on the contrary, he who is ashamed of work is despised and makes no progress. Brother Hermann and I have learned to plow with either oxen or horses and take a hand at all sorts of work. Only last week I broke a piece of new ground. It was hard work, of course. We toil, that is true, but we get something for it. As a teacher I had to toil also and in addition had much vexation, but in the end I have to leave more than a fourth of my salary uncollected, and to get the rest I had trouble enough. You Germans have excellent laws and regulations, but the co-ordination between departments is damnably bad. I am often very glad that I took with me all the documents which I received in official and military matters. Truly they are the best antidote for possible homesickness.

"But to continue my story about some of the Germans, some of them were celebrities in Germany. Five or six miles from here in the Bon Homme bottom, in St. Louis county, there lives the one-time court councillor Weber from Koblenz. He is now farmer and store-keeper. Many Germans live in

his neighborhood. Busch from Reusrath has bought land near St. Charles. So has also his eldest son. Two of his other sons were recently seen working as common laborers on a steamboat in St. Louis. I do not know whether the brothers have disagreed or whether they are just trying to earn a little cash.

"On the whole the Germans here lead a contented and sociable life and do not care a whit about loss of fatherland for, *ubi bene, ibi patria.* Without doubt people in Germany think more of us than we think of them. If you good people want to come and live off the fat of the land then come. Whatever the good Lord has put on the great dining table is free for all, for there are no prerogatives of birth here.

July 30.

"Yesterday brother Hermann returned from St. Louis and brought me your letter, over which we were doubly delighted since it was the first direct news we had from home since our departure. That stupid Dr. Craft allowed the letter to lie in his office for two months instead of sending it on to us.

"The fact that you, dear Dellmann, have caused our letters to circulate and, as you say, will give publicity to our later letters also, is a solemn reminder to us to stick to our original resolution to write nothing but the absolute truth concerning conditions that obtain here. One should not neglect for a single moment to embrace the opportunity of saving the good name of a man of honor, and therefore I state here, that Mr. Duden is highly respected and honored here by all intelligent and thoughtful persons. After all, his views differ from those of others only in nonessential matters. In the essentials we were but little or not at all disappointed.

"We shall soon send more letters. If we should delay sometimes, please remember that we have very much to do on our farms. We are Germans and want to remain Germans, and one must be able to see by our farms that Germans live here."

Frederick's Valley on the Tavern Creek,
February 12, 1836.

"My dear Amberger*:—

"Your letter written on the 13th of August of last year arrived yesterday. From the cover I notice that it arrived in New York on the 13th of January.

"The news which you sent me in regard to the proposed railroad,† etc. in the Duthcy of Berg came to my attention in the German newspaper which appears once each week in St. Louis. I also read an American paper. I am pretty well informed concerning the main movements and tendencies in Europe. Perhaps I know more about them than you yourself do. How many thousand demagogs must you now support in the fortresses? Your wretched princes! However much they struggle, the ax is nevertheless sharpened for them. May the time speedily come, when old antiquated prerogatives shall cease, and every man's undeniable claim to his natural rights at last receive due recognition. One recognized very well in Germany what the times irrevocably demand and what changes must take place, changes which a rising civilization will no longer be denied. But there are still too many aristocrats. They cannot put aside imagined privileges and prerogatives and you will hardly be able to make the antiquated nobility understand that there is only one real nobility which every man is able to acquire, and is entitled to acquire. Oh how glad I am that I live in a Republic, which long ere this divested itself of this sort of European rubbish, where all are equal before the law, and where the rights and claims of the one injured are taken cognizance of, no matter as to whether these rights have been injured by those of high or low station. Your king‡ is a good man,

*This Mr. Amberger was bookseller in Solingen, Germany. His announcement is found on the cover of the copy of Duden's "Report" from which I made the translation which appears in the "Review."

†In 1833 Friedrich List planned a system of railroads for Germany. The first line was built in 1835 between Nuernberg and Fuerth, the second in 1837 between Dresden and Leipzig. The influence upon the country can scarcely be imagined.

‡The king referred to was Frederick William III, who reigned from 1797 to 1840. All told, the battles of Leipzig and Waterloo and the establishment of the Customs Union were the most important events in the reign of this king.

but he is a sleepyhead and lacks the necessary energy to hold his crippled nobility and officials in the necessary check. Of what value are the king's orders to the cabinet, as long as the crutch of the Old Frederick is wanting to force the issue thru. I would rather die than again live in Prussia. My honor and my rights have been too grievously injured there. I sought to defend both my honor and my rights, even before the crown itself, but from that source I received an ambiguous reply, which did not reach me in a direct but in a round-about way. I have long ere this accustomed myself to calling it a Prussian reply.

"Several volumes in my library, as for instance, some of the works of Goethe, some volumes of the Konversations-Lexikon, the second part of Knapp's History and others, in addition to many musical compositions, were left behind. I wish you would send them to me when the opportunity presents itself, by emigrants, because other means of shipping them would be too expensive. I miss my books very much. The musical compositions I do not miss so much because I have no piano. A piano such as I sold in Loehdorf for fifty Prussian Thaler would cost $120.00 here. How often I have wished that I had brought a piano with me from Germany.

"Among other things I read in your good letter: 'I am advised that you would like to come back to Germany. If this is so, you need only to tell me, and I will gladly help you.' For your kind offer I thank you. But what evil reports must have been put into circulation about me to induce you to make me this offer? Did I need your assistance to come here? Did I lack in brains to pave the way thru Holland, not only for myself but also for 120 traveling companions, this way which the secret political schemes of the Prussians, abetted by Holland, tried to block for us? Truly if Germany appealed to me as much as my dear Taven valley does, I should long ere this have returned to the circle of my many dear friends and relatives. The means for the journey would not have been lacking. And if they were lacking, I could earn more in St. Louis during half a year than would be necessary for my return journey. No, dear Amberger, if you do

not come here, you will hardly see me again on this earth. From the physical standpoint we are much better taken care of here than in the old country. I trust that this statement will calm all my old friends. At first we had to live off our savings and were not able to lay by much, but now we are beginning to do so and we are anticipating the future with much contentment.

"I bought 85 acres of land from the government, of which fifteen acres are cleared and well fenced, and 80 acres from my neighbor Stump. Of this tract forty acres are cleared and under the plow. Mr. Stump sold the farm very reasonably, namely for $300.00 From the very first I had my eye on this farm but the owner wanted $500.00 for it. Now he had made up his mind to go farther west with his Virginia relatives and accepted less for his land. The land which I now own I would not sell for $1,000.00. Besides this land I have $900.00 in cash which is loaned at 10% interest. In addition to this I have my live stock, etc. Why should I want to go back to Europe? This winter we are selling eggs at two bits a dozen (a bit is the eighth part of a dollar), chickens at one bit a piece, butter at two bits a pound, fat geese at six bits each, turkeys at $1.25 a piece. Three pounds of wool are worth a dollar, without it having been cleaned.

"I would not have told you about my affairs in such detailed manner, if I were not certain, that it is necessary to thus pacify you and several others of my good friends.

"If von Martel's book should come into your hands, you must not believe what he has said therein, as I am told he has grossly exaggerated and misrepresented conditions here. If one of the impoverished nobility of Germany should conceive the idea of enticing many poor people to this country by a misrepresentation of facts, in order to be able to reestablish here the decaying and sunken nobility of the Fatherland, and to bring about a rule which would savor of aristocracy, he would find himself very much in error, and his venture very poorly timed.

"A few miles from here, on the north side of the Missouri, there lives Baron von Martels. He comes from Osna-

bruck. One of his sons is quarrelsome, and occasionally he is challenged to a duel, but before the contest comes he always lets his feathers droop and makes his escape. On the Fourth of July, our day of Independence, there was a little ball at the home of Squire Iberius in the little town of Washington (Mo.). Young Martels was present as was also a German tailor, l'Eppe by name, who came from Alsace. He is a very capable man and served as an officer under Napoleon. Iberius introduced l'Eppe to von Martels as a former officer, and for a while the two conversed in a friendly manner. Later von Martels learned that l'Eppe was a tailor by profession. When the latter again approached von Martels in conversation, the baron repulsed him gruffly with the words: 'Sir, how dare you speak to a German baron!' Very much offended l'Eppe replied calmly: 'Sir, I have served faithfully under Emperor Napoleon and was found worthy to be made an officer in his army. Here is not the place to avenge the insult you have heaped upon me, but as a former officer I challenge you to a duel with sabers.' The hour for the duel was set, but when the time came the young Baron von Martels was not on hand. On the second Christmas day of last year there was also a ball in the nearby Missouritown. Dr. Kincaid, as nobly born as anyone, met young von Martels there. Presently the word 'baron' came into play. Von Martels insulted Dr. Kincaid during the conversation, whereupon the latter challenged him to fight it out in a duel. Von Martels made his escape. On the following day the two met at another home, and Dr. K., still very much angered, unceremoniously picked up a stick of stove wood from the hearth and gave the young baron a sound beating.

"One of the Elberfeld newspapers of last August or September contained an excerpt of a letter from Mr. von Martels. The communication is very Martelian in tone. Duden's presidency* is a chimera and a favorite dream of a few Ger-

*I have not seen the Elberfeld paper to which reference is made here. Steines' letters give no further clue as to what is meant. My guess is that the author expanded upon the suggestion of Duden's that a large number of Germans ought to settle in the same community to form a little German state, so to speak. I take it that Duden was suggested as head of such a state.

man upstarts who have wind instead of money in their purse and whose heads are full of aristocratic nonsense, who would like to establish an aristocratic rule in this land where only hard work can support the toiler.*

"Franz Becker from Bourscheid entered forty acres here on Tavern Creek last October and will come here from the Dubuque mines to carry on his trade.

"Please request friend Koell once more to send me my money as soon as possible. A bit of cash comes in most conveniently in this new country where often a very good bit of business can be done with it. I wish now that I had not loaned out so much of my money when I came here.

"I have given up the plan of building a mill, of which I wrote in August. I have advanced some money to another German to undertake this enterprise. The proposed site is too far from my place, and the monotony of a miller's life is not according to my taste.

"We are in great need of silversmiths in this part of the country. The only men who can do that sort of work are the watchmakers. They do not like to do it, and if they undertake it they charge exorbitantly. Such a silversmith could keep a general store at the same time. In an American store one can buy articles from a dozen different lines of business. Blacksmiths, wagonmakers, carpenters, furniture makers may safely come here. There is work enough and more than they can do, and the work is well paid for. In St. Louis alone three churches and more than six hundred houses are being built.— If our dear Duden should come back here, he would be astonished at the great change that is taking place.

Your friend,

FR. STEINES.

During his later years Mr. Steines wrote a brief description of the city of St. Louis as it appeared to him upon his arrival in the summer of 1834. His remark about the un-

*The last clause of the above paragraph is very hard to translate. In the original it runs thus: "Wo der Flegel (der Dreschflegel) den Flegel ernachrensoll."

usually rapid growth of St. Louis, stated in the letter above, induced me to insert the description here.

"St. Louis was at this time a very insignificant place with poor and extremely dirty streets. Main street was paved four blocks below and seven or eight blocks above the old market place. Along Market street from the river to Seventh street there were many vacant lots and several log houses. Second street was still more undeveloped and Third street was hilly and dirty. At the corner of Third and Olive streets there was a cone-like hill on which a log house stood, the logs of which stood upright instead of being horizontal. The courthouse on Fourth street stood almost alone, and on Fifth street but little building had taken place. At the intersection of Market and Seventh streets was Chouteau's pond, which was then just being filled up in order to extend Market street. The whole town presented a sad and unattractive appearance. In and along the streets dead horses, sows and swine were occasionally seen, and they sometimes remained there for days, thus polluting the air. Under such filthy conditions it is no wonder that the cholera broke out and caused so many deaths. On Market street, just beyond Chouteau's pond, was a slaughter house, the offal of which caused a frightful stench. The same condition existed on Second street below the bridge. On Second street only a few houses had been erected, most of them were one story structures, which were inhabited by French families. Some of these houses were surrounded by attractive gardens, while others had pools of dirty water near them, on which the children amused themselves with boats and canoes. Such was the city of St. Louis in 1834."

St. Louis, March 12, 1837.

"Dear Dellmann and sister Christine:—

"As you see, I am writing from St. Louis. We are living here now, and I am the teacher of the German public school. I know you are surprised, so I will tell you how it happened.

"Life in the country has many, many charms, but also

many hardships are connected with it. To one accustomed to rural conditions and farm work this life presents few inconveniences, but for me the extreme lack of opportunity to enjoy intellectual life was most distasteful. Not being able to hire help, it was necessary for us to work day in and day out, Sundays included. Missouri's climate is very changeable. To one accustomed to outdoor life this does not make so much difference, but for me, accustomed to indoor, sedentary life, it threatened to undermine my health. Moreover, since I have lost my children, I have often thought I should like to have an occupation more suited to my training. Last year a number of Germans took the preliminary steps to found a German public school in St. Louis. The project was carried thru and I was chosen teacher. We have been here since the beginning of February. Up to date I have 31 pupils and I believe that during the coming month I can increase this number to fifty. Your brother,

FREDERICK STEINES."

St. Louis, December 23, 1837.

"My dear Becker:

"From Bornefeld we learned several weeks ago that you and friend Kochs had happily gotten back to our old home in Germany.

"Of course, you want to know the news from America. The most important thing in the Union is the present financial crisis, the struggle between the Whigs and the Democrats. We are intensely interested in the results of the present Congressional session, as also in the stand President Van Buren will take. In many places the Whigs have been victorious in the senatorial election and ratification meetings with festivities and fireworks have been held. Here, too, the Whigs celebrated the Whig victories in New York and other places by illuminating the city and by firing a salute of 101 guns in honor of the occasion. It is doubtful whether the Democrats can be defeated in Missouri. Their party is the stronger, and so it is very probable that Mr. Benton will return to the Senate again.

"Business still fails to regain its former prosperous condition. The accursed bank aristocrats are to blame for that. These thieves have gained such power that in spite of the decrees issued on March 4, 1836, they still persist in issuing their bank notes and put them into circulation. This dirty, aristocratic bunch tries to bring about all sorts of failures in order to confuse the mind of the people and to make them discontented with the present administration. In many places they have indeed been successful. St. Louis has suffered less during the past year from the pressure of the times than most other cities, especially those in the east.

"Much land has been entered in Missouri in the course of the year. Close to your place a man from Pittsburgh bought the hills along the Missouri, in all amounting to 400 acres. Dr. Kincaid has bought the forty close to William Kochs, on which Stump had his sugar camp.

"On October 18 there was held a German convention at Pittsburgh which was very important for the Germans in America. Delegates were sent from the various parts of the Union. The Germans of Missouri and Illinois sent our editor Mr. Wilhelm Weber.* The cause of the Germans was vigorously discussed at this meeting. German education in this country, the relation of the Germans to the Americans, an investigation concerning itself with the treatment of poor immigrants, the prevention of the influx of European criminals, these items constituted the main topics of discussion. The buildings of the famous Count Leon** at Phillippsburg near Pittsburg were bought by the Germans at this convention for the purpose of founding a seminary for teachers, and the

*Wilhelm Weber was the editor of "Anzeiger des Westens." The first issue of this paper appeared in October 31, 1835. Weber became its editor February 22, 1836. He had studied law and economics at Jena and at Leipzig. Before he became editor he was librarian of a small library in St. Louis, which was the beginning of the present Mercantile Library. For Weber's biography see Koerner's "Das deutsche Element," p. 317 ff.

**Count de Leon, whose real name was Bernard Mueller, was a religious enthusiast and an impostor. In 1831 he joined George Rapp's famous communistic enterprise, known as The Harmony Society. De Leon brought discord into the society and was forced to leave it in 1832, taking with him a large number of the members of the society. They established another communistic society at Phillippsburg, Pa., which society dissolved the following year. Cf. Bole's "The Harmony Society," pages 124 to 126.

fondest hopes are entertained that soon German schools will spring into being in all parts of the Union. Vigorous protests were put on record against the underhanded activity of the Whigs or Native Americans who are endeavoring to pass a law, according to which all immigrants are to be excluded from public office, and that they shall not become naturalized citizens till after a residence of twenty-one years.—Under the term 'criminal,' as used above, the convention did not mean persons who were persecuted by their government because they did not agree with certain acts of the government, but persons who had been actually convicted of criminal acts. The convention took steps to take poor immigrants away from the seaports as soon as possible, and to take them to the west, where laborers are so much in demand.

"We had many delightful diversions this summer. The theater was open the entire summer. There were also concerts in which Mrs. Bailey shone as soloist, and piano concerts by our country-woman Miss Minna Overstolz. She was formerly a pupil of the great composer Hummel, who recently died in Vienna. At present we have with us the famous company from Prague. This company is made up of nine musicians who delight us with wonderful instrumental concerts, but who also, unwittingly cause many a longing for the old fatherland.

"For a whole week the Mississippi has been full of floating ice. They say up north it is very cold at this time and the river is frozen solid there. Here we have had a few cold days, but now we are enjoying the most delightful weather. The whole autumn was exceedingly beautiful. I often said in jest, that Duden's winter had at last come.

"It is now almost three o'clock and time to go to church. Later more.

"Christmas morning.—I must tell you a joke, such as can occur only on the frontier. At present several chiefs of the Sac and Fox Indians are in town. They are said to be here on business arising from their quarrel with the Sioux. Yesterday, immediately after the first song had been sung, two of them came into the church. The pastor was just be-

ginning his discourse. The Indians were curiously painted, all wore various kinds of head ornaments, and bells on their legs. They could not speak English, so they tried to make the people understand by their unintelligible words and by gestures that they wished to have seats in one of the benches. They caused more or less disturbance in this attempt to communicate their thoughts, so the pastor requested the people to give them seats. They sat down and remained perfectly quiet, except for occasional, curious gestures. When I arose after the pastor had concluded his address, their attention was directed to me, as I led in the singing. They were evidently highly amused, for they laughed and carried on in such a manner that I was almost convulsed with suppressed laughter. When the pastor later descended from the pulpit, they marched solemnly and majestically all the way up the aisle, pressed the pastor's hand, and then very frankly requested that he give them the money which had been collected for the poor. Without a doubt they thought that the collection had been taken up for their benefit.

"The state road from here to Jefferson City has been surveyed and the work of putting it into proper shape has begun. We shall profit by this road, because it will follow the Middle road to that point on this side of Harris's, where our road, coming from the Wild Horse, unites with it. From there it will turn again across the divide toward the old Manchester road, with which it will merge for four miles beyond Manchester, at Captain Ferris' farm. The connection from St. Albans and the Tavern valley with this road will now be very easily made.

"From here to Harris's there is not a single acre of Congress land to be had any more. Even at the place where we turn from this road to go to the Missouri several farms have been laid out. The land rises rapidly in value.

"My school is making splendid progress. At the beginning of this month more than forty patrons joined. We have now between 130 and 140 patrons. Each of these pays a fee of four dollars annually. I have now over sixty pupils, each of which pays a monthly tuition of one dollar. The directors

of the school are delighted that they can thus make my position profitable. But I must confess to you, dear Becker, that in spite of the fact that everything goes so well with me in my new field of labor, and that various social and intellectual treats, such as balls, plays and concerts crowd one upon the other, I cannot overcome my dislike for city life. The country has more delightful symphonies. If my school did not give me so much pleasure, I would leave here at once.

FR. STEINES."

Lindenthal (Post Office, Port Williams),
Franklin County, Missouri. (?) 1840.

"My Dear Dellmann and sister:—

"Last week I spent a few days in St. Louis. On January 8 Doctor Engelmann* returned from his journey to Germany. He brought us your letters and the assurance of your well-being.

"This year I had planned to go back to Germany with my wife for a short visit. On December 31, 1839, however, a daughter was born to us. So the plans of a home-coming are, of course, given up for the time being.

"As you already know, I went to St. Louis in the winter of 1837 to become the first teacher of the new German public school. In this capacity I served for two years. My work was agreeable and on the whole everything was very pleasant. When the hard times came, owing to the financial depression, the school did not develop as satisfactorily as was at first anticipated. In addition to this we found living conditions in St. Louis very unsatisfactory, for we were all sick every summer we spent in the city. From my earlier letters you already know that St. Louis is a very unhealthful place. At

*Dr. George Engelmann studied medicine in Heidelberg, Berlin and Paris, and in addition devoted much time to the study of Botany, Geology and Chemistry. He was a special friend of L. Agassiz, A Braun and C. Schimper. Was induced by Duden's work to come to America. Served as scout for a number of friends and relatives who wished to follow later. In the capacity of scout he made extensive excursions into the interior. Was the friend and advisor of the French Geographer Nicollet and his assistant Fremont who explored the unknown west. E. was a noted physician and scientist. Cf. Koerner's Das deutsche Element, pp. 327 and 328.

first it was my intention to take up farming again. Many persons, and even the public press urged me, however, to establish an educational institution on my farm. After careful consideration of the matter, I decided to undertake this new venture. At this particular time the undertaking must indeed be called a venture.

"The bank humbug in the United States has made the times harder and harder, so that at the present time scarcely any good money is in circulation. If in the next presidential election, which occurs in November, the Democrats are victorious and re-elect Van Buren, things will soon be better again. The paper money swindle will then be buried, business will be put on a sound basis once more and take a regulated course. Now it is very bad. The merchants and the rich speculators allow everything to go topsy-turvy. Their wickedness causes all business to stand still, gold and silver slumbers, only bad bank notes are in circulation, and the whole country is in great distress. Then the wicked Whigs cry out: 'These are the fruits of the present administration, the Bank of the United States ought not to have been abolished, then we would not have such distressing times.' Now you know that money has great power and it is not surprising that many citizens, who do not reason for themselves, have gone over to the Whig party. However, there is scarcely a doubt but what the Deomcrats will be victorious again, and the aristocracy of the rich will be abolished for a long time. At present there are almost 900 small banks in the different states of the Union. On one of these small banks my father-in-law and I hold a note amounting to $496.00, which was due in December of last year. The bank became insolvent and we have, as yet, not received a single cent of this amount. Thousands of people have suffered loss in this manner.

"These hard times are also to blame for the relatively slow progress which my new school is making. Money is too scarce. It is possible that I may go back to St. Louis again. This is very much desired by the Germans there. Only last week plans and propositions were made to me in regard to this matter. But I am firmly resolved never to live in the city

again with my family. If I could live two or three miles outside of the city and simply go in for school hours, as has been suggested to me, I might consider the proposition seriously For the time being I shall remain here. Everybody hopes for better times, so I shall be optimistic also.

"About what else shall I write to you? Shall I tell you about the life on a farm. You already know that that has its bright as well as its dark side. In choosing one's occupation in this country it is most appropriate that one should keep in mind the good old German adage: 'Shoemaker, stick to your last.' Farmers by profession, such as come from Wuertemberg, Hanover and other regions, feel themselves at home here from the very outset. They are accustomed to hard labor and they do not miss the higher pleasures of life, since they are unknown to them. They do not miss social and intellectual pleasures, and are able to earn their livelihood more easily here than in the old fatherland. On the other hand I can say without fear of contradiction that among a thousand educated Germans hardly ten feel themselves really happy.

"As far as I am myself concerned, dear Dellmann, you will understand me when I congratulate you upon having remained in Germany. Do not think that long absence from there had made me forget the things that drove me away from the land of my birth. I suffered many an insult and much injustice. I sought satisfaction from a king whom I had been taught to respect because of his sense of justice. I was deceived. Frederick William III, peace be to his ashes,* was not the man that I thought him to be, and that I should always like to think he was. Be that as it may, I renounce the fatherland, and the recollections of things suffered there help to assuage the feelings of disontent which unpleasant things in this country occasionally awaken in me.

"But to come back to my former theme. You see, however truthfully Duden may have written, his "Report" is after all a little too flowery. You know from your own ex-

*Frederick William III reigned from 1797 to 1840. He died on June 7, 1840.

perience, how charming and enticing the distant and all that the distant contains, usually seems. Therefore it is no wonder that the enticing parts of a book are read again and again and the rest is left unnoticed. To illustrate by a single example. I have often heard people curse Duden most bitterly, because, as they say, he gave a deceptive account of the climate here, which he made to resemble that of Italy. A hundred times and more I have asked those discontented persons if they had not read in the same book that Duden had stated that such weather conditions were exceptional, that the rivers were sometimes covered with a blanket of ice strong enough to bear heavy loads. It is certainly clear that this could not be produced by delightful sunshine, which made the grass to sprout, in which the children played while the adults were making maple sugar in February.*

"A thought has often urged itself upon me, a thought which in my opinion ought to be heeded by educators. Even to children we give entertaining books which direct their gaze to foreign lands, paints in their imagination pictures of rarest beauties, to the neglect of the thousand beauties that are at home. Our much deserving Mr. Campe** doubtlessly little dreamed that his "Robinson Crusoe" gave the impulse to more emigration than Duden's book and publications of that nature. For conceptions so beautifully formed in a boy's mind are never blotted out, and the hope of their realization is never entirely given up. Our own Germany has without a doubt as many charms as any land, and as far as climate and beauties of nature are concerned America cannot compare with it. Writers can therefore find material enough to instill love foi fatherland in the minds of youths, which will make them value their native land more highly than any othei.

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*Cf. Duden's "Report," Elberfeld edition, 1829, p. 62, line 7 ff.

**Joachim Heinrich Campe, who died in 1818 in Braunschweig, was the author of a book entitled "Robinson der Juengere" (Robinson the Younger). This work passed through more than 120 editions in Germany, besides having been translated into all the languages of Western Europe, into Latin and Turkish. In 1720 the first translation of Daniel Defoe's famous book appeare in Germany, passing thru five editions during the first year. Then came a perfect flood of imitations, bearing such names as the German Robinson, the Italian Robinson, and Clerical R., the Medical R., the Jewish R., etc.

"Educated Germans live a truly wretched life in America. They come in contact with their rude uneducated countrymen, who arguing from the premise that America is a free country, assume the right of unwarranted familiarities. From his intercourse with Americans, too, he derives but little pleasure. Usually these people are endowed with an unwarranted egotism. Of course, only a few of them have enjoyed a thoro education. Their general character is so cold, I should say so stiff, so unfeeling, that the warm heartedness of the Germans is unable to awaken any kind of sympathy in them. In short, the uneducated, boorish Germans ought to come here, where they may and do become happy; moreover, those Germans ought to come here who because of business undertakings are able to enrich themselves more quickly here than anywhere else, and those who are undecided as to whether they intend to make this their permanent home or not. But if they come here to enjoy the ideal of country life, they are deceived. They had better stay where they are. I know very well that I will be criticised for these assertions, but I shall speak the truth nevertheless. Many persons write all sorts of stuff to their friends at home. Often their account by no means agrees with what they actually feel, which feeling they express freely enough here. Most people write only, when, as they say, they 'feel like it.' Therefore they write when they are in a certain state of excitement. Whether this state is occasioned by joy or sorrow determines the tenor of their communication. In neither event is the story accurate.

"I do not wish you to conclude from the above that I am opposed to emigration; on the contrary I regard it as necessary. But each one ought to consider the matter most carefully before taking this step. In Germany so much is done for the poor. I wonder why no one has struck upon the idea of sending as many as possible of these poor people to this country. But cognizance should be taken of the fact that only such persons are sent who with the best of intentions and with tireless industry have not been able to acquire endurable living conditions, their own hearth and an inde-

pendent existence. These would gladly come and would do well to come. But with the educated German it is another matter. A few years ago, I met a jurist from Boston in St. Louis. At the end of our conversation he said: 'In America man vegetates and in Germany he lives.' Truly, here man only vegetates. To make money is the sole ambition of the average American. Money is the mainspring of his actions, it is the axis around which the whole world turns for him. In this sense a school-master in the little town of Washington on the Missouri once wrote into the copy-books of his pupils as follows: 'God made bees, and bees make honey; God made men, and men make money.' This shows sufficiently what in general seems to be the end and goal of the earthly existence of most Americans. I say it guardedly, for I know that there are many good, honest, warm-hearted men among the Americans, but on the whole the American nation is most like the Jews.

Imagine then a number of rough, uneducated, uncouth Germans, who live and think only physically, whose physical strength and ability is, according to their conception, the highest good of man, by virtue of which they stand high above their educated countrymen, and whom they, without a doubt, exceed in general adaptability, whereby they are confirmed in their unbearable, boorish pride, these people and then the mass of Americans, as depicted above, constitute the associates of that class of Germans, who, in the fatherland, after the performance of their various duties, were accustomed to spend the hours of leisure in the circle of dear, cultured friends, in whose association they found food for mind, heart and soul.

"It is not surprising that in various localities educated German families have settled close together. Their dear countrymen contemptuously call them the learned, Latin, Hebrew or Greek farmers.* But what are they to gain by

*A. B. Faust, in "The German Element in the United States," Vol. I, pp. 441 to 442, described what happened after the publication of Duden's book. We read: "At first there came a large number of farmers and laborers from Westphalia and Hannover. They were followed by many people of a higher social class, who settled in the neighborhood of Duden's farm in Warren (then

thus living together? Nothing! To obtain their living they do hard manual labor; their intellectual forces become paralysed as their physical strength decreases; they realize that they are in the wrong place, and still unable to extricate themselves from their environment, their appreciation of the better things is dulled,—in short they lead a wretched existence, and yet these people are too proud to admit their inability to adapt themselves. What can become of such beings blighted and self-consuming?

"You ask whether it is not better in the cities? I tell you even worse. In the nature of circumstances it is impossible for one to live secluded there. Thus the educated immigrants constantly come in contact with men of wealth without ideals. They must associate with men of low caliber, even with wretched, brutal saloon keepers, who, because they have made money, play an important role, and who never fail to let their educated but poorer countrymen feel their superiority. It is the peculiarity of a new and crude country that crudity adapts itself best there. For this reason you will find most of the educated, cultured people poor, gaining their subsistence but meagerly, while on the other hand, the commonest artisan earns much money, and in consequence of this fact plays an important role. The American as well as the Americanized German usually evaluate a person by the question: 'How much is he worth?' Answer: '1,000, 10,000 or more dollars.'

Montgomery) County, Missouri. The latter consisted of counts and barons, scholars, preachers, gentlemen-farmers, officers, merchants and students, all of them possessing some means and therefore unaccustomed and not willing to do the work of laborers. The plain farmers, after years of toil, prospered almost without exception, but the others as constantly went backward. When they had completely exhausted their means of support, they would either go to ruin utterly, or begin life anew with the determination to labor and succeed. Many committed suicide, some died as beggars on the street. Owing to the fact that so many of the colonists had been educated in the German gymnasia, and there received thoro instruction in Latin and Greek, their abode was called the "Latin settlement." The epithet, "Latin farmers," has commonly been applied to the scholarly German settlers, who became quite numerous about the revolutionary periods of 1830 and 1848, a class of cultivated men, yet frequently unpractical, for whom manual labor proved a hard school of experience."

"Of course you will not misunderstand and misinterpret me. I am the last man to despise the working class. May God in future also guard me against such folly. I am only speaking of the low, common creatures among this class. Every person has his imperfections and deficiencies, but there are in Germany no such plebeian princes as the princely plebeians of this country. Therefore the choice as to where we should like best to be ought to be easy enough.

"Now you naturally wonder how I personally feel under such conditions. Have no anxiety on my account, dear Dellmann. Of course there are a thousand things here that are displeasing to me, but on the other hand, in Germany it wasn't much better either. When I recall how the little officials, from the police to the Landrath, from the subordinate officer to the Major, treated me, the common citizen, then I also feel displeased. In the last analysis it resolves itself to this—the Utopia is nowhere to be found.

"Since I have left St. Louis I have lived as reserved as possible, and I feel comfortable in doing so. Among my German neighbors there are a few families with whom I live on intimate terms. From others I hold myself aloof as much as possible, without excluding myself entirely from them. In my immediate neighborhood there are no Americans whom I like very well, a fact which I do not let them know, however. Farther away there are some very fine people with whom I occasionally like to visit. But even there the topics of conversation hardly ever extend beyond discussions of agriculture and politics.

"During a recent election of local officers my friends wished to put me in the office of Justice of the Peace, an honor which I emphatically declined. Now the office is left vacant and is to be filled at the general presidential election in November. Upon the urgent request of my neighbors, especially the Americans, I have consented to run for the office of Justice of the Peace of Boles Township. In this country the Justice of the Peace attends to those matters which at home the burgomaster, the justice of the peace and the notary public looks after. This notable difference must be observed,

however, that in this country such an officer dares not become a little tyrant, as he sometimes is abroad.

"I wish that thousands of my dear countrymen might know the content of this letter, to make them more circumspect and thoughtful before they leave the fatherland. America is good, very, very good, but for the time being only for a certain class of people.

"From now on it will be easier for me to write to you. I can now write the news concerning America and can do it with a clear conscience. The first few years of residence are deceiving. The beginner expects that everything he undertakes will go as he had figured it out in Germany. I cannot deny either that the newcomer is made to take things too lightly after reading Duden. Not until later does he see that everything is not as beautiful nor as easy as he had thought at first. He learns to know his fellow countrymen better also. Moreover, he learns to discriminate more accurately between the practical and the impractical. First reports are never quite accurate. They exaggerate in the matter of praise as also in the matter of criticism.

"Tell your dear ones that I still hope to see them sometime. Traveling between America and Europe is so easy even now that one speaks of a trip to Germany as of less importance than we, in our childhood, thought of a journey from Duesseldorf to Berlin.

Your loving brother,

Fr. Steines."

POPULARIZING STATE HISTORY*

By Floyd C. Shoemaker.

Popularizing state history is profitable as well as educational. Any commonwealth which exploits well its own annals has an advantage in retaining its population and in attracting new citizens. Fortunate is that state which has a vital history; but more fortunate is the state which has vitalized that history. To exploit material greatness is no longer considered improper, if in truth it ever were; to exploit men and women greatness is even more appropriate. America's greatest asset is not her natural resources, it is rather her national historical heritage. A people without a past or without knowledge of a past is handicapped. The stabilizing forces of precedent are lacking, the problem of former decades is forgotten, past victories and defeats, except on the field of war, fail to serve as guides and warnings. Still more regrettable for such a people is the absence of well-poised pride. Popularizing history, especially state history, bears or should bear no import of provincial chauvinism. The latter is, in fact, usually strongest and most damaging where accurate history has not been democratized. There the demagogue's appeal finds fertile soil. Not so among a people who have been instructed in their own annals.

The East along the Atlantic seaboard *may* learn something from the West; the West *is* profiting much from the East. Just as New York State awakened to the widespread dissemination of Massachusetts history and the comparative oblivion of its own history of Revolutionary days, so is the Mississippi Valley realizing that its people have more knowledge of Salem witchcraft than of the great St. Louis fur trade. New England was early converted to the principle of popularizing local history. So well has she succeeded that every American school boy knows a remarkable number of

*An address delivered by the author on April 14, 1921, at the annual meeting of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association held in Madison, Wis.

even rather minor characters and incidents native to this section, however ignorant he may be of even the most important men and successes of his own state. The West can well learn from the East, not history, but the art and work of popularizing history.

In the East that art had its inception early. The oldest historical organization in America today is the Massachusetts Historical Society. That society with its learned and public-spirited supporters diffused an influence far reaching. America's textbooks on United States history, until recently, might have been copyrighted, stamped and labeled—"Made in New England—for the Remainder of America." All honor to New England's glorious history; greater honor to New England's historical societies and historians. What the West and the Middle West lack is not history but popularized history. The latter seems to be harder to obtain than the former was to make. Why? Because a people acting collectively has to make history, but they are not forced to know history. They leave this to the seers and singers, forgetting that the age of saga authorship is past. Today it is as necessary to have collective support of a people to foster state history as it is a political movement. To obtain strength and support, one must, in a democracy, go to the people.

No state can expect to popularize its history without a central directing agency. A state historical society serves as a logical instrument. Given such an institution marks only the bare inception of work. Most commonwealths have these, and many have stopped here. An historical society which catacombs its library, services, and publications, in even the most pretentious quarters, is not unlike a country rich in natural resources which remains undeveloped. The benefit to the people in both cases is largely potential. Both are inclined to live in the past, for the benefit of the future, at the expense of the present. Is there a workable plan, retentive of the good in the old and receptive of the dynamic in the new? Missouri's experience is illustrative.

Founded in 1898, becoming a state institution in 1899, The State Historical Society of Missouri, at Columbia, began

its real work in 1901 on receiving its first state biennial appropriation of $4,500. Its active existence covers twenty years. Three-fourths of this period was devoted to collecting a library on Missouri and Western history, publishing a quarterly, and compiling bibliographies. The historical collection work was invaluable, but it affected the popularizing of state history little. On being promoted from assistant librarian to secretary in 1915, our active membership and the paid circulation of our *Review* was less than 400 and had remained around that figure for years despite 100 additions biennially. It appeared that we were depopularizing history at the cost of 25% of our members every two years. We were covering the state negatively. I began to question our progressiveness in realizing our opportunity. Critics, regarded as authorities, informed me that the field was limited, that 500 or 600 was the highest goal attainable in Missouri. They said that Wisconsin or Minnesota with societies half a century old, with large appropriations, with fine publications, might go higher than these figures, but Missouri could not compete with these states. Moerover, they maintained that in any state there were few persons, not over 1,000, who were interested in local history. If this were true, I felt that I had embarked in a poor life-work. But, was it true, despite statistics and authority? I first attempted to analyze historical society work, both in and outside Missouri, from the viewpoint of a scholar who had spent six years on one historical monograph, and then I tried to obtain the viewpoint of the teacher, merchant, and banker. From the scholar's vantage, these institutions, or the leading ones, rather, were doing their work. In short, it was an easy matter to sell a historical society to a scholar. But, where was the inducement to buy on the part of the business man? Among my friends were bankers, lawyers, merchants, and professional men; I had taught in the public schools, and the university. After investigation, I realized that many historical publications held little direct appeal to the average American citizen.

We began to change the policy of *The Missouri Historical Review* in 1916 and 1917. More readable articles were

published and some attention was paid to connecting history with present-day subjects. The world war opened a new field. In 1919 and 1920, Missouri's centennial revealed another opportunity. Our active membership and paid subscription list soon reached 500, then 750, then 1,000 and today it is 1,300—not including 700 exchange and editorial members—and increasing at the rate of 50 a month. I believe this is the second largest number of active pay members affiliating today with any state historical society in the United States. Six years ago this Society held lower rank, around fifteenth, in this respect. I can see no valid reason for a state historical society ultimately having less than 2,000 members. This is our goal for 1921. It should be clearly stated, however, that altho we do regard a large active paid membership as a very important indication of the value of the Society's educational service to our commonwealth, it is not exclusively an end in itself. It is a firm foundation on which other valuable structures may be built, such as preserving historical records, founding local societies, stimulating scholarship in the historical field, and encouraging contributions in the form of monographs, pamphlets, and books. We are not forwarding popularization at the expense of scholarship, rather are we advancing scholarship thru the medium of educating our democracy.*

It is, perhaps, necessary to clear away erroneous concepts regarding the inaneness of the popular and the dryness of the scholarly. A historical article or a magazine for general reading may be and should be accurate, scholarly, and interesting—popular. A scholarly article need not be dry, in fact, in the field of history it is faulty if it is dry. But a so-called popular article is not always interesting and unfortunately is frequently inaccurate. Some of our best historians, our most original and scholarly, were popular authors. Parkman, Thwaites, Turner, Roosevelt, to mention only a few, wrote

*The Society publishes other material besides the *Review*. It has recently issued a two-volume work on the *Journal of the Missouri Constitutional Convention of 1875*, and is now planning the publication of a five- or six-volume work on the *Messages of Missouri Governors*.

interestingly and with vigor. All grant them credit for serious research. Their labors, however, never dulled their pen.

The importance of an interesting historical magazine is second only to a central historical directing agency in popularizing state history. Both are necessary but each must be exploited. The means and manner of action are varied. The advertising methods employed by commercial organizations are worthy of consideration. The good will and active support of state-wide bodies are helpful. Personal friendships and an extended acquaintanceship are important—perhaps the most important. Visits over the state are helpful. The cooperation of authors, journalists and leading local historians should be cultivated. The organization of local historical societies with dual membership features should be advanced. These are merely suggestive of the many plans of attack. It is assumed that such fundamentals as courtesy, helpful information and free service must be observed. One of the most important means employed in this work is to give the central directing agency a personality. Most people regard history as another "dead language." Life must be breathed into it. This accomplished, effort must be concentrated in having the historical society generally regarded as a clearing house of data and work in its field, and even beyond its field. If these be observed and patiently adhered to, progress is made and the results as satisfying.

In sixteen years, from 1901 to 1916, inclusive, the biennial state support of The State Historical Society of Missouri rose from $4,500 to only $12,600, or less than one-third the amount neeeded. Since 1916 the appropriations have reflected greater appreciation of the work being accomplished. Indifference to The State Historical Society and to preserving state history characterized the average Missouri legislator during the former period. Little progress had been made in popularizing our local annals. An active and aggressive interest in Missouri history marked the latter years. Any state official can appreciate the difficulty and embarrassing situation of appealing for thirty minutes to a joint appropriation committee of twenty to thirty legislators, having few

questions asked which do not indicate either ignorance or indifference to the work his institution is performing, and finally leaving the hearing with an appropriation made more on the basis of charity than on character of service. He can also appreciate the different situation where the queries are constructive, where the room is crowded with legislators and their wives, where the spirit of co-operation is manifest, and where open applause closes the hearing. It is significant that over 10% of the members of the recent legislature of Missouri were members of The State Historical Society.

In 1901 there was only one textbook on Missouri history. Today there are four, besides Missouri history supplementary readers. The effect is seen again in the local and metropolitan press in Missouri. As an illustration: within two weeks, March 20th to April 3rd, three entire articles—all rather long—from *The Missouri Historical Review* were reproduced in three of Missouri's largest metropolitan papers without suggestion on our part. The rural press has responded equally as well. In short, it is becoming nothing unusual for the best editors in the state to pay attention to the state history field since they have learned that their readers are interested. The effect of this effort to popularize state history is observed in the increasing number of women's club programs on Missouri history and in the featuring of this subject in the public schools. Public men have not failed to observe this trend. One candidate for the legislature, Hon. S. F. O'Fallon of Oregon, Mo., voluntarily recommended to his audience in his political speeches last fall that every Missourian affiliate with The State Historical Society, help it organize county societies, and promote the study of Missouri history in schools and clubs. Mr. O'Fallon was, of course, a member of The State Historical Society, but he had never visited its headquarters in Columbia. He became speaker of the Missouri House of Representatives.

I would not point to The State Historical Society of Missouri as the model institution of its kind. In fact, the condition in each commonwealth are rarely duplicated in any other. This is true in counties. We in Missouri have tried

to invoice our assets and liabilities, our exploited fields and our field of opportunity. Our policies have been based upon and guided by the results of that inventory. One of these policies was to popularize Missouri state history. So far that policy has resulted in better historical publications, better textbooks, better teachers trained in Missouri history, greater co-operation of citizens and organizations, more county historical societies, a larger and better historical library, a better *Missouri Historical Review*, more adequate state support, and an ever increasing number of citizens actively interested in forwarding historical education in the state.

SHELBY'S EXPEDITION TO MEXICO

AN UNWRITTEN LEAF OF THE WAR.

John N. Edwards.

FIFTH ARTICLE (REPRINT).

CHAPTER X.

In Monterey, at the time of Shelby's arrival, there was one man who had figured somewhat extensively in a *role* new to most Americans. This man was the Hon. William M. Gwin, ex-United States Senator and ex-Governor of California. He had been to France and just returned. Accomplished in all of the social graces; an aristocrat born and a bit of an Imperialist as well; full of wise words and sage reflections; graceful in his conversation and charming over his wine; having the political history of his country at heart as a young Catholic does his catechism; fond of the pomp and the paraphernalia of royalty; nothing of a soldier but much of a diplomatist; a stranger to reverence and a cosmopolitan in religion, he was a right proper man to hold court in Sonora, the Mexican province whose affairs he was administer upon as a Duke. Napoleon had granted him letters patent for this, and for this he had ennobled him. It is nowhere recorded that he took possession of his province. Granted an audience by Maximilian he laid his plans before him and asked for a prompt installment into the administration of the dukedom. It was refused peremptorily. At the mercy of Bazaine, and having no soldiers worthy the name other than French soldiers, the Mexican Emperor had weighty reasons besides private ones for such refusal. It was not time for the coquettries of Empire before that Empire had an army, a bank account, and a clean bill of health. Gwin became indignant, Bazaine became amused, and Maximilian became disgusted. In the end the Duke left the country and the

guerrillas seized upon the dukedom. When Shelby reached Monterey, ex-Governor Gwin was outward bound for Matamoras, reaching the United States later only to be imprisoned in Fort Jackson below New Orleans for several long and weary months. The royal sufferer had most excellent company—although Democratic and therefore unsympathetic. General John B. Clark, returning about the same time, was pounced upon and duly incarcerated. Gwin attempted to convert him to imperialism, but it ended by Clark bringing Gwin back to Democracy. And a noble Missourian was "Old" General Clark, as the soldiers loved to call him. Lame from a wound received while leading his brigade gallantly into action at Wilson's Creek, penniless in a land for whose sake he had given up gladly a magnificent fortune, proscribed of the government, a prisoner without a country, an exile who was not permitted to return in peace, dogmatic and defiant to the last, he went into Fort Jackson a rebel, remained a rebel there, came away a rebel, and a rebel he will continue to be as long as life permits him to use the rough Anglo-Saxon oaths which go to make up his rebel vocabulary. On the march into Mexico he had renewed his youth. In the night watches he told tales of his boyhood, and by the camp fires he replenished anew the fires of his memory. Hence all the anecdotes that amused—all the reminiscences which delighted. At the crossing of the Salinas river he fell in beside General Shelby, a musket in his hand, and the old ardor of battle upon his stern and weather-beaten face.

"Where would you go?" asked Shelby.

"As far as you go, my young man."

"Not this day, my old friend, if I can help it. There are younger and less valuable men who shall take this risk alone. Get out of the ranks, General. The column can not advance unless you do."

Forced against his will to retire, he was mad for a week, and only recovered his amiability after being permitted to engage in the night encounter at the Pass of the Palms.

Before marching northward from Monterey, Shelby sought one last interview with General Jeanningros. It was

courteously accorded. General Preston, who had gone forward from Texas to open negotiations with Maximilian, and who had reached Mexico City in safety, had not yet reported the condition of his surroundings. It was Shelby's desire to take military service in the Empire since his men had refused to become the followers of Juarez at Piedras Negras. Knowing that a corps of fifty thousand Americans could be recruited in a few months after a base of operations had once been established, he sought the advice of General Jeanningros to this end, meaning to deal frankly with him, and to discuss fully his plans and purposes.

Jeanningros had grown gray in the service. He acknowledged but one standard of perfection—success. Never mind the means, so only the end was glory and France. The camps had made him cruel; the barracks had given to this cruelty a kind of fascinating rhetoric. Sometimes he dealt in parables. One of these told more of the paymaster than the Zouave, more of Minister Rouher than Marshal McMahon. He would say:

"Napoleon and Maximiliam have formed a partnership. To get it well agoing much money has been spent. Some bargains have been bad, and some vessels have been lost. There is a crisis at hand. More capital is needed to save what has already been invested, and for one, rather than lose the millions swallowed up yesterday, I would put in as many more millions to-day. It is economy to hold on."

Shelby went straight at his work:

"I do not know what you think of things here, General, nor of the outcome the future has in store for the Empire, but one thing is certain, I shall tell you the plain truth. The Federal Government has no love for your French occupation of Mexico. If diplomacy can't get you out, infantry divisions will. I left a large army concentrating upon the Rio Grande, and all the faces of all the men were looking straight forward into Mexico. Will France fight? For one, I hope so; but it seems to me that if your Emperor had meant to be serious in this thing, his plan should have been to have formed an alliance long ago, offensive and defensive, with JEFFERSON

DAVIS. This, in the event of success, would have guaranteed you the whole country, and obliged you as well to have opened the ports of Charleston, Savannah and New Orleans. Better battles could have been fought on the Potomac than on the Rio Grande; surer results would have followed from a French landing at Mobile than at Tampico or Vera Cruz. You have waited too long. Flushed with a triumphant termination of the war, American diplomacy now means the Monroe Doctrine, pure and simple with a little of Yankee brutality and braggadocio thrown in. Give me a port as a basis of operations, and I can organize an American force capable of keeping Maximilian upon his throne. If left discretionary with me, that port shall be either Guaymas or Mazatlan. The Californians love adventure, and many leaders among them have already sent messengers to me with overtures. My agent at the Capital has not yet reported, and, consequently, I am uninformed as to the wishes of the Emperor; but one thing is certain, the French cannot remain, and he cannot rule over Mexicans with Mexicans. Without foreign aid he is lost. You know Bazaine better than I do, and so what would Bazaine say to all this?"

Jeanningros heard him patiently to the end, answering Shelby as frankly as he had been addressed:

"There will be no war between France and the United States, and of this you may rest assured. I cannot answer for Marshal Bazaine, nor for his wishes and intentions. There is scant love, however, between his excellency and Maximilian, because one is a scholar and the other is a soldier; but I do not think the Marshal would be averse to the employment of American soldiers in the service of the Empire. You have my full permission to march to the Pacific, and to take such other steps as will seem best to you in the matter of which you have just spoken. The day is not far distant when every French soldier in Mexico will be withdrawn, although this would not necessarily destroy the Empire. Who will take their places? Mexicans. Bah! beggars ruling over beggars, cut-throats lying in wait for cut-throats, traitors on the inside making signs for traitors on the outside to come in.

Not thus are governments upheld and administered. Healthy blood must be poured through every effete and corrupted vein of this effete and corrupted nation ere the Austrian can sleep a good man's sleep in his palace of Chapultepec."

The interview ended, and Shelby marched northward to Saltillo. The first camp beyond was upon the battle-field of Buena Vista. It was sunset when the column reached the memorable and historic field. A gentle rain in the morning had washed the grass until it shone—had washed the trees until the leaves glistened and smelt of perfume. After the bivouac was made, silence and twilight, as twin ghosts, crept up the glade together. Nest spoke unto nest in the gloaming, and bade good-night as the moon arose. It was an harvest moon, white, and splendid, and large as a tent-leaved palm. Away over to the left a mountain arose, where the mist gathered and hung dependent as the locks of giant. The left of the American army had rested there. In its shadows had McKee fallen, and there had Hardin died, and there had the lance's point found Yell's dauntless heart, and there had the young Clay yielded up his precious life in its stainless and its spotless prime. The great ravine still cut the level plain asunder. Rank mesquite grew all along the crest of the deadly hill where the Mississippians formed, and where, black-lipped and waiting, Bragg's battery crouched in ambush at its feet. Shining as a satin band, the broad highway lay white under the moonlight towards Saltillo—the highway to gain which Santa Anna dashed his desperate army in vain—the highway which held the rear, and the life and the fame of the Northern handful.

General Hindman, a soldier in the regiment of Col. Jefferson Davis, explored the field under the moon and the stars, having at his back a regiment of younger Americans who, although the actors in a direr and more dreadful war, yet clung on to their earliest superstitions and their spring-time faith in the glory and the carnage of Buena Vista. He made the camp a long to be remembered one. Here a squadron charged; there a Lancer regiment, gaily caparisoned in scarlet and gold, crept onward and onward until the battery's dun

smoke broke as a wave over pennant and plume; here the grim Northern lines reeled and rallied; there the sandaled Mexicans, rent into fragments, swarmed into the jaws of the ravine, crouching low as the hot tempest of grape and canister rushed over and beyond them; yonder, where the rank grass is greenest and freshest, the uncoffined dead were buried; and everywhere, upon the right and the left, the little mounds arose, guarding forevermore the sacred dust of the stranger slain.

The midnight came, and the harvest moon, as a spectral boat, was floating away to the west in a tide of silver and gold. The battlefield lay under the great, calm face of the sky—a sepulchre. Looking out from his bivouac, who knows what visions came to the musing soldier, as grave after grave gave up its dead, and as spirit after spirit put on its uniform and its martial array. Pale squadrons galloped again through the gloom of the powder-pall; again the deep roar of the artillery lent its mighty voice to swell the thunder of the gathering battle; again the rival flags rose and fell in the "hot, lit foreground of the fight;" again the Lancers charged; piercing, and sweet, and wildly shrill, the bugles again called out for victory; and again from out of the jaws of the cavernous ravine a tawny tide emerged, clutching fiercely at the priceless road, and falling there in giant windrows as the summer hay when the scythe of the reapers takes the grass that is rankest.

The moon went down. The mirage disappeared, and only the silent and deserted battle-field lay out under the stars, its low trees waving in the night wind, and its droning katydids sighing in the grasses above the graves.

CHAPTER XI.

From Parras there was a broad, national highway running directly to Sonora, and so Shelby marched from Altillo to Parras, intending to rest there a few days and then continue on to the Pacific, keeping steadily in view the advice and the information given him by General Jeanningros.

His entrance into the city was stormy, and his reception there had neither sunlight nor temperate air about it. Indeed none of the Parras winds blew him good. When within two days' march of Parras a sudden rain storm came out of the sky, literally inundating the ground of the bivouac. The watch fires were all put out. Sleep was banished, and in the noisy jubilation of the wind a guerrilla band stole down upon the camp. Dick Collins, James Kirtley, George Winship and James Meadow were on picket duty at the mouth of a canyon on the north. They were peerless soldiers and they knew how to keep their powder dry. The unseen moon had gone down, and the rain and the wind warred with each other. Some black objects rose up between the eyes of Winship on the outermost post, and the murky clouds, yet a little light, above the darker jaws of the canyon. Weather-proof, Winship spoke to Collins:

"There is game afoot. No peaceful thing travels on such a devil's night as this."

The four men gathered closer together, watching. Of a sudden a tawny and straggling kind of flame leaped out from the canyon and showed the faces of the Americans, one to another. They were all resolute and determined. They told how the dountless four meant to stand there, and fight there, and die there, if needs be, until the sleeping camp could get well upon its feet. Sheltered a little by the darkness, and more by the rocks before and around them, they held desperately on, four men fighting two hundred. The strange combat waxed hotter and closer. Under the murky night the guerrillas crawled ever nearer and nearer. Standing closely together the Americans fired at the flashes of the Mexican muskets. As yet they had not resorted to their revolvers. Trained to perfection in the use of Sharp's carbines, their guns seemed always loaded. Collins spoke first in his quaint, characteristic way:

"Boys, it's hot despite the rain."

"It will be hotter," answered Winship.

Then the wild work commenced again. This time they could not load their carbines. The revolvers had taken part

in the melee. Kirtley was hit badly in the left arm, Collins was bleeding from an ugly wound in the right shoulder, Meadow and Winship each were struck slightly, and the guerrillas were ready for the death grapple. Neither thought of giving one inch of ground. The wind blew furiously and rain poured down. At the moment when the final rush had come, the piercing notes of Shelby's bugle were heard, and clearer and nearer and deadlier the great shout of an oncoming host, leaping swiftly forward to the rescue. Past the four men on guard, Shelby leading, the tide poured into the pass. What happened there the daylight revealed. It was sure enough and ghastly enough to satisfy all, and better for some if the sunlight had never uncovered to kindred eyes the rigid corpses lying stark and stiff where they had fallen.

All at once a furious fire of musketry was heard in the rear, and in amid the tethered horses. Again the bugle's notes were heard, and again Shelby's rallying voice rang out:

"Countermarch for your lives. Make haste!—make haste!—the very clouds are raining Mexicans to-night."

It was a quarter of a mile to the camp. The swiftest men got there first. Sure enough the attack had been a most formidable one. Slayback and Cundiff held the post in the rear and were fighting desperately. On foot, in the darkness, and attacked by four hundred guerrillas well acquainted with the whole country, they had yet neither been surprised nor driven back. Woe unto the horses if they had, and horses were as precious as gold. Attracted only by the firing, and waiting for no orders, there had rushed to the rearward post McDougall, Fell, Dorsey, Macey, Ras Wood, Charley Jones, Vines, Armistead and Elliott. Some aroused from their blankets, were hatless and bootless. Inglehardt snatched a lighted torch from a sheltered fire and attempted to light the way. The rain put it out. Henry Chiles, having his family to protect, knew, however, by instinct that the rear was in danger, and pressed forward with Jim Wood and the Berry brothers. Langhorne, from the left, bore down with John and Martin Kritzer, where he had been all night with the herd, keeping vigilant watch. In the impenetrable

darkness the men mistook each other. Moreland fired upon George Hall and shot away the collar of his overcoat. Hall recognized his voice and made himself known. Jake Connor, with the full swell and compass of his magnificent voice, struck up, "Tramp, tramp, the boys are marching," until, guided by the music of the song, the detached parties came together in the gloom and pressed on rapidly to the rear.

It was time. Slayback and Cundiff, having only a detachment of twelve men, nine of whom were killed or wounded, were half surrounded. They, too, had refused to fall back. In the rain—in the darkness—having no authorized commander—fired on from three sides—ignorant of the number and the position of their assailants, they yet charged furiously in a body and drove everything before them. When Shelby arrived with reinforcements the combat was over. It had been the most persistent and bloody of the Expedition. Calculating their chances well, the guerrillas had attacked simultaneously from the front and rear, and fought with a tenacity unknown before in their history. The horses were the prize, and right furiously did they struggle for them. Close, reckless fighting alone saved the camp and scattered the desperate robbers in every direction among the mountains.

Colonel Depreuil, with the Fifty-second of the French line, held Parras, an extreme outpost on the north—the key, in fact, of the position towards Chihuahua and Sonora. Unlike Jeanningros in many things, he was yet a fine soldier, a most overbearing and tyrannical man. Gathered together at Parras also, and waiting permission to march to Sonora, was Colonel Terry, one of the famous principals in the Broderick duel, and a detachment of Texas, numbering, probably twenty-five. Terry's own account of this memorable duel was all the more interesting because given by one who, of all others, knew best the causes and the surroundings which rendered it necessary. In substance the following contains the main points of the narrative:

"The political contest preceding the duel was exceptionally and bitterly personal. Broderick recognized the code

fully, and had once before fought and wounded his man. He was cool, brave, dangerous and very determined. His influence over his own immediate followers and friends was more marked and emphatic than that exercised by any other man I have ever known. He excelled in organization and attack, and possessed many of the most exalted qualities of a successful commander. As an orator he was rugged, yet inspired, reminding me somewhat of my own picturings of Mirabeau, without the gigantic persistence and intellect of Mirabeau. I do not desire to enter into even the details which led to the unfortunate meeting, for these have been given again and again in as many false and unnatural ways as possible. After the terms had all been fully discussed and agreed upon, and the time and place of the combat settled, I said confidentially to a friend of mine that I did not intend to kill Broderick. This friend seemed greatly surprised, and asked me, after a few moments' reflection, what I *really* intended to do in the matter? My answer was that I simply desired to save my own life, and that I should only disable him. 'It is a dangerous game you are playing,' he replied, 'and one likely to bring you trouble. Broderick is no trifling antagonist. He shoots to kill every time.' When I arrived on the field I had not changed my mind, but when I looked into his eyes, I saw murder there as plainly as murder was ever depicted, and then I *knew* that one of us had to die. I put my life fairly against his own. His bearing was magnificent, and his nerve superbly cool. It has been asserted that I remarked to my second, while he was measuring the ground, that he must take short steps. This is untrue, for the ground was measured twice, once by my own second, and once by the second of Broderick. They both agreed perfectly. The distance was ten paces, and in size neither had the advantage. I felt confident of killing him, however, but if required to give a reason for this belief I could not give either a sensible or an intelligent reason. You know the result. He fell at the first fire, shot through the neck and mortally wounded. I did not approach him afterward, nor were any attempts made at reconciliation. At the hands of his friends I received

about as large a share of personal abuse as usually falls to the lot of a man; at the hands of my friends I had no reason to complain of their generous support and confidence. When the war commenced I left California as a volunteer in the Confederate army, and am here today, like the rest of you, a penniless and an adventurous man. What a strange thing is destiny? I sometimes think we can neither mar nor make our furtunes, but have to live the life that is ordained for us. The future nobody knows. Perhaps it is best to take it as we find it, and bow gracefully when we come face to face with the inevitable."

Colonel Terry had felt his own sorrows, too, in the desperate struggle. One brother had been shot down by his side in Kentucky; a dearly loved child had just been buried in a foreign land; penniless and an exile himself, he had neither home, property, a country, nor a cause. All that were left to him was his honor and his scars.

Before Shelby arrived in Parras, Colonel Depreuil had received an order from Marshal Bazaine intended entirely for the Americans. It was very concise and very much to the point. It commenced by declaring that Shelby's advance was but the commencement of an irruption of Americans—Yankees, Bazaine called them—who intended to overrun Mexico, and to make war alike upon the French and upon Maximilian. Their march to Sonora, therefore, was to be arrested, and if they refused to return to their own country, they were to be ordered to report to him in the City of Mexico. No exceptions were to be permitted, and in any event Sonora was to be held as forbidden territory.

Used to so many disappointments, and so constantly misunderstood and misinterpreted, Shelby felt the last blow less, perhaps, than some heavier ones among the first of a long series. He called upon Colonel Depreuil, however, for an official confirmation.

This interview, like the night attack, was a stormy one. The Frenchman was drinking and abusive. Uninvited to a seat, Shelby took the nearest one at hand. Upon his entrance into the officer's reception room, he had removed his

hat. This was an act of politeness as natural as it was mechanical. Afterward it came near unto bloodshed.

"I have called, Colonel," Shelby began, "for permission to continue my march to Sonora."

"Such permission is impossible. You will turn aside to Mexico."

"May I ask the reason of this sudden resolution? General Jeanningros had no information to this effect when I left him the other day in Monterey."

At the mention of Jeanningros' name, Depreuil became furious in a moment. It may have been that the subordinate was wanting in respect for his superior, or it may have been that he imagined, in his drunken way, that Shelby sought to threaten him with higher authority. At any rate he roared out:

"What do I care for your information. Let the devil fly away with you and your information. It is the same old game you Americans are forever trying to play—robbing today, and killing tomorrow—and plundering, plundering, plundering all the time. You shall not go to Sonora, and you shall not stay here; but whatever you do you shall obey."

Shelby's face darkened. He arose as he spoke, put his hat on, and walked some paces toward the speaker. His voice was so cold and harsh when he answered him, that it sounded strange and unnatural:

"I am mistaken it seems. I imagined that when an American soldier called upon a French soldier, he was at least visiting a gentleman. One can not always keep his hands clean, and I wash mine of you because you are a slanderer and a coward."

Depreuil laid his hand upon his sword: Shelby unbuttoned the flap of his revolver scabbard. A rencontre was imminent. Those of Shelby's men who were with him massed themselves in one corner, silent and threatening. A guard of soldiers in an adjoining room fell into line. The hush of expectancy that came over all was ominous. A spark would have exploded a magazine.

Nothing could have surpassed the scornful, insulting ges-

ture of Depreuil as, pointing to Shelby's hat, he ordered fiercely:

"Remove that."

"Only to beauty and to God," was the stern, calm reply; "to a coward, never."

It seemed for a moment afterwards that Depreuil would strike him. He looked first at his own guard, then grasped the hilt of his sword, and finally with a fierce oath, he broke out:

"Retire—retire instantly—lest I outrage all hospitality and dishonor you in my own house. You shall pay for this—you shall apologize for this."

Depreuil was no coward. Perhaps there was no braver and more impulsive man in the whole French army. The sequel proved this.

Shelby went calmly from his presence. He talked about various things, but never about the difficulty until he found Governor Reynolds.

"Come apart with me a few moments, Governor," he said.

Reynolds was alone with him for an hour. When he came out he went straight to the quarters of Colonel Depreuil. It did not take long thereafter to arrange terms of a meeting. Governor Reynolds was both a diplomatist and a soldier, and so at daylight the next morning they were to fight with pistols at ten paces. In this the Frenchman was chivalrous, notwithstanding his overbearing and insulting conduct at the interview. Shelby's right hand and arm had been disabled by a severe wound, and this Depreuil had noticed. Indeed, while he was an expert with the sword, Shelby's wrist was so stiff that to handle a sword at all would have been impossible. Depreuil, therefore, chose the pistol, agreed to the distance, talked some brief moments pleasantly with Governor Reynolds, and went to bed. Shelby, on his part, had even fewer preparations to make that Depreuil. Face to face with death for four long years, he had seen him in so many shapes, and in so many places that this last aspect was one of his least uncertain and terrifying.

The duel, however, never occurred. That night, about ten o'clock, a tremendous clattering of sabres and galloping of horses were heard, and some one went out to ascertain the cause, returned with the information that General Jeanningross, on an inspecting tour of the entire northern line of outposts, had arrived in Parras with four squadrons of the Chasseurs d'Afrique. It was not long before all the details of the interview between Depreuil and Shelby were related to him. His quick French instinct, divined in a moment that other alternative waiting for the daylight, and in an instant Depreuil was in arrest, the violation of which would have cost him his life. Nor did it end with arrest simply. After fully investigating the circumstances connected with the whole affair, Jeanningros required Depreuil to make a free and frank apology, which he did most cordially and sincerely, regretting as much as a sober man could the disagreeable and overbearing things did when he was drunk.

How strange a thing is destiny. About one year after this Parras difficulty, Depreuil was keeping isolated guard above Queretero, threatned by heavy bodies of advancing Juaristas, and in imminent peril of destruction. Shelby, no longer a soldier now but a trader, knew his peril and knew the value of a friendly warning given while it was yet time. Taking all risks, and putting to the hazard not only his own life, but the lives of forty others, Shelby rode one hundred and sixty-two miles in twenty-six hours, saved Depreuil, rescued his detachment, and received in a general order from Bazaine the thanks of the French army.

HISTORICAL NOTES AND COMMENTS

Readers of the *Review* will welcome the new historical features that are now making their appearance in this publication. A remarkable article is Dr. John D. Lawson's "A Century of Missouri Legal Literature." New alike in subject and treatment, it appeals to both legal specialist and citizen. Dr. S. H. Wainwright's contribution in April on "Missourians in Japan," is followed by Mr. J. B. Powell's article on "Missourians in China." It is hoped to make further surveys along this line. The serial by Dr. W. G. Bek on "The Followers of Duden" grows in interest and value. It is a noteworthy contribution. Prof. E. M. Violette's scholarly article on "The Missouri and Mississippi Railroad Debt" will be concluded in the next issue. The author is planning to continue his researches in this field. The paper by M. Maurice Casenave on "Influence of the Mississippi Valley on the Development of Modern France" is of interest in showing the inter-relation of European countries and their colonial dependencies. Significant also is the author's account of the origin of credit in modern France, brought about thru Law's Mississippi Bubble. Mr. John C. Stapel's summary of "Atchison County's Memorial at Rock Port, Missouri" should be read by all Missourians, and by those who ought to be. This memorial is a monument and tribute to the living and the dead,—an honor and pride to its creators. Attention is called to a new feature under "Notes and Comments" by Mr. J. Willard Ridings on "Missouri History Not Found in Text Books." If this develops, as it is now hoped, it will appear regularly. Mr. Ridings has charge of the Newspaper Department of The State Historical Society.

COMMENTS.

"I really feel *The Missouri Historical Review* invaluable for adding to any Missouri library, and I hope to interest our P. E. O. chapters in seeing that a file of the back numbers of the *Review* is

placed in each of their public libraries. They should, in fact, be in every school library, especially in those outside of the cities."

Mrs. W. W. Henderson,
President, Missouri P. E. O.
LaPlata, Missouri,
May 9, 1921.

"I have enjoyed the *Review* for a number of years, as Senator Bennett receives it regularly, and I am so anxious that other women here become interested that I am going to give one of them a membership in the Society."

Mrs. Phil. A. Bennett,
Buffalo, Missouri,
May 12, 1921.

"*The Missouri Historical Review* is a historical magazine of real and rare merit."

J. L. Wilcox, Editor, *Ashland Bugle*,
Ashland, Missouri,
March 3, 1921.

"Our annual is now published, and realizing that you are interested in the Missouri Centennial, I'm sending you one of our annuals under special cover. In behalf of the entire staff I wish to extend to you our hearty thanks for your trouble in helping us secure literature for our annual."

Lloyd J. Beckman, Editor *King Jack*.
Webb City High School,
Webb City, Missouri,
May 16, 1921.

"The National Genealogical Society has received for its Library *The Missouri Historical Review*, Vol. XV, No. 2, January, 1921, and extends its congratulations to the State Historical Society of Missouri upon this excellent Centennial number. Please accept the thanks of the Society."

Cora C. Curry, Librarian,
1020 Monroe St., N. W.,
Washington, D. C.,
May 7, 1921.

"The two volumes of *The Missouri Historical Review* arrived yesterday afternoon, and I was mighty glad to get them. I read with a great deal of interest Walter B. Stevens' story of the old Missouri taverns, and in the course of the chapter I ran across a story of my own that I printed a few years ago in the *Globe-Dem-*

ocrat. You are doing a splendid work for the people of Missouri in compiling a publication of this sort."

Edgar White, Editor,
Macon Daily Chronicle-Herald,
Macon, Missouri,
Marcn 10, 1921.

"You certainly have a most interesting magazine, one which should be better known to all Missourians."

Chas. J. Walker,
Prescription Druggist,
Hannibal, Missouri,
April 14, 1921.

"Just recently I finished reading the January number of *The Missouri Historical Review.* It is a splendid number, indeed."

H. E. Heinberg, Teacher,
4050 The Paseo,
Kansas City, Missouri,
March 21, 1921.

"May I congratulate you on the Centennial Number of the *Review.* I consider each number a valuable addition to my library."

E. A. Collins, Superintendent,
Edgerton Public Schools,
Edgerton, Missouri,
March 22, 1921.

"The January *Review* was splendid and I enjoyed it thoroughly. I hope the Legislature has been generous with the Society and that you are going to publish some more good material."

Tom Barclay,
Political Scientist and Historian,
424 W. 119th St.,
New York City, N. Y.,
March 20, 1921.

"I have access here to the Wisconsin State Historical Society books and MSS. and have very often seen *The Missouri Historical Review,* which I enjoy very much. I am looking forward to receiving it with much pleasure."

Mrs. Margaret Gray Blanton,
Psychologist,
415 Sterling St.,
Madison, Wisconsin,
March 28, 1921.

"I want to express my pleasure in receiving and reading *The Missouri Historical Review.* The last number presents an attractive cover, and a cursory glance at the contents convinces me that there is a store of treat for all your readers."

T. Berry Smith,
Professor of Chemistry,
Central College,
Fayette, Missouri,
February 25, 1921.

"Was very glad indeed to receive your letter a few days ago and I am enclosing personal check for membership. The State Historical Society is doing a wonderful work for Missouri and accomplishing great things. I will be happy to take the other membership blanks with me to the club and trust to interest many in the great value of *The Missouri Historical Review.*

Mrs. Vina Ives Bowden, Treasurer,
Supreme Chapter P. E. O. Sisterhood, Brookfield, Missouri,
May 2, 1921.

JUORNAL MISSOURI CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION, 1875.

The journal of the convention which framed Missouri's present Constitution is second in importance only to the Constitution itself. Yet, until now, this journal has been practically inaccessible, owing to its having been preserved only in the original manuscript form. This journal has just been published by the State Historical Society of Missouri in two volumes. The work is edited by Dean Isidor Loeb of the University of Missouri, and Floyd C. Shoemaker, Secretary of the State Historical Society of Missouri. Besides the documentary reproduction of the journal itself, the work contains three introductory articles which give valuable information relating to this subject. These articles are: "Constitutions and Constitutional Conventions in Missouri," by Isidor Loeb; "Personnel of the Convention," by Floyd C. Shoemaker; and "Biographical Sketches of the Delegates," by Buel Leopard. A large insert displays a collective photograph of the delegates. An appendix is included at the end of volume II giving a "List of Members of the Constitutional Convention, with Residence, Districts Represented and

Committees." The 44-page index to the work is comprehensive and gives over 8,000 page references.

This journal is published by the State Historical Society as a contribution to the observance of Missouri's Centennial. Its appearance is further apropos because of the recent agitation for a new constitution in this state. The State's present Constitution can be better understood by a study of the journal of the convention which framed it.

The publication is in two volumes and is priced at $2.50, postpaid in Missouri; $2.75, postpaid outside of Missouri. Copies may be obtained by ordering from this Society.

MISSOURI HISTORY NOT FOUND IN TEXTBOOKS.

Compiled by J. Willard Ridings

For several years this Society has been indexing historical articles which appear in Missouri newspapers. These lists have been printed in *The Review* and used extensively in reference work. However, so much historical matter of general interest has appeared in newspaper articles that the Society has decided to place some of the most interesting before the readers of *The Review*. Lack of space necessitates a somewhat arbitrary selection of the articles to be reprinted, but it is the intention to select subject matter that will be of general interest and at the same time such as has not been incorporated in the ordinary historical publication. In each case the name of the publication from which the article is taken, together with the date, will be given. It is hoped that the reader will not only be interested in the articles reprinted in this department, but that he will also gain a better appreciation of the value of the work that is being done under the heading of Historical Articles in Missouri Newspapers.

ASHLAND CLAIMS FIRST TELEPHONE IN MISSOURI.

From Ashland *Bugle*, February 17, 1921.

W. L. Webb's statement in the Kansas City *Star* that Ashland was the first town in Missouri to have a telephone is correct—and it was a long distance one too.

About 1879, before the telephone could talk plain, or three years after its birth, Bass, Johnstons, Brooks & Harris, a mercantile firm here composed of L. Bass, J. W. Johnston, John T. M. Johnston, Hiram Brooks and Overton Harris, strung a wire from Ashland to Guthrie, a distance of eight miles. A branch of the big store at Ashland was located at Guthrie. The object of the first long distance was to put the main store in hourly touch with the branch store. The wire was supported by trees. Only where absolutely necessary was a pole planted. Jacob S. Johnston superintended the job of stringing the wire. Older citizens will remember the sensation the installation of this first telephone line caused.

BEGINNING OF THE Y. M. C. A. IN MISSOURI.

From St. Louis, *Missouri's Young Men*, January-March, 1921.

The first Young Men's Christian Association in Missouri was organized in the fall of 1853 at St. Louis. Its work was largely of the general evangelistic type, rather than an attempt to promote an all-round program of service for men and boys. It was one of the nineteen Associations that sent a representative (Rev. Robert Young) to the first International Convention at Buffalo in June, 1854. Internal dissensions during the Civil War caused it to be disbanded.

An Association was organized at Jefferson City in 1859 on the general model of St. Louis, and continued in existence for several years. The first St. Joseph Association was organized in 1866, but it ceased to exist after a few years and the present organization was formed in 1882. Kansas City had its first organization in 1868, but had to be reorganized in 1872. In 1869 associations were reported as existing in Chillicothe, Jefferson City, Hannibal and Macon. Holden and Kirksville were later organized, but in 1872 they had apparently gone out of existence as no report was made to the International Convention held at Lowell, Mass., in that year.

The coming of D. L. Moody, in 1875, for a series of evangelistic meetings in St. Louis resulted in a new organization in that city. * * * * The first conference on organization was held in the rooms of the Presbyterian Board of Publication on April 27, 1877, and the meeting for final organization was held on June 15th. Rev. Robert Irwin, W. Hargrave White and Walter C. Douglass were the moving spirits. The latter was, at that time, secretary of the St. Louis Association later secretary at Boston and Philadelphia. * * * * *

When the State Committee was finally formed four rather loosely organized Associations existed. There were two employed

officers. The Associations owned no property. The total expense for the work in the entire State was only a little more than $3,000.

* * * * *

The first State Committee consisted of Rev. Robert Irwin, St. Louis, Chairman; W. Hargrave White, St. Louis, Recording Secretary; John Boogher, St. Louis, Treasurer; E. Anson More, St. Louis; H. Penfield, Sedalia; Allen H. Vories, St. Joseph; Frank W. Lane, Palmyra; Louis E. Kline, St. Louis; E. O. Stanard, St. Louis; W. H. Reed, Kansas City; Edw. Price, Hannibal, and W. E. Crissey, Warrensburg.

The first State Convention was held in the Ohio Street M. E. Church, Sedalia, in November, 1878.

P. K.—PRICE'S CAVALRY!

From Jefferson City, *Mosby's Missouri Message*, March 11, 1921.

Col. J. Ed. Belch was a famous Jefferson City lawyer in his day. The following story of one of his cases is related by Judge L. B. Woodside of Salem:

General Sterling Price, in his raid through Missouri in September, 1864, captured Pilot Knob. The Pilot Knob Iron Company had a great many fine mules which were branded "P. K." Price confiscated these. A few weeks later, when the Confederate troops got near Jefferson City, two of the mules became so lame that they could not travel. The confederates left them with an old farmer by the name of Brown, and took two fresh mules from him in their place. Brown nursed them to strength and by spring he had a fine span of 16-hand mules, able to do an immense amount of farm work. One of his jealous neighbors reported to the Pilot Knob Company the whereabouts of the mules and they sent an agent to look for them, who instituted a replevin suit in a justice's court. Farmer Brown did not like the idea of giving the mules up and employed Belch to defend the case. The agent of the company identified the mules in a general way, but particularly by the brand "P. K." which was on the mules. He said this was the Pilot Knob Iron Company's brand and he was positive that they were the plaintiff's mules which were taken by Price the fall before. The defendant could only state the manner and time of getting the mules and their condition when he got them. Belch made a short but convincing argument:

"Gentlemen of the Jury," he began, "here is this hireling of a big corporation running around over the country hunting up mules left by Price's army. He has jumped old man Brown and is trying to take away his only means of making a crop this summer. When Brown got these mules they were broken down, lame

and poor and could do nothing but eat. Now he has nursed them, fed and curried them and just got them in shape to work, and this fellow wants to take them away from him. And on what kind of evidence? He can't identify the mules. He never worked them, never fed them, but just identified them by the brand 'P. K.' He says this stands for Pilot Knob. He must think we are suckers in Cole county. P. K.! Pilot Knob! Whoever heard of anybody spelling Knob with a 'K?' N-o-b spells Knob and I have got it right here in the dictionary. I will tell you, gentlemen, what P. K. stands for. It stands for Price's Cavalry, and all the evidence in this case shows it plainly. In all of my experience I have never seen a clearer case of corroboration. Brown got his mules from Price's Army. They got his mules. Price's Army was all cavalry. 'P. K.' stands for Price's Cavalry."

The jury promptly returned a verdict for the defendant and the agent was so much disgustedwith Cole county justice that the did not make an appeal.

KANSAS CITY MAN INVENTED OVERHEAD TROLLEY.

From Kansas City *Star*, May 22, 1921.

Wide circulation recently has been given to statements that the first electric street railway began operations in Richmond, Va., May 4, 1888. These came to the attention of Rawson Bennett of Oakland, Calif., a newspaper reporter in Kansas City from June, 1887, to January, 1888, who recalls that there was an electric railroad operating in Kansas City at that time.

"The line started, as I remember, on Fifth Street, near the Gilliss opera house," Mr. Bennett says in a letter to *The Star*, "and ran thence eastward over a route which I do not recall. My work being mainly in the courts and public offices, I had not frequent occasion to use these cars and do not, in fact, feel sure that I rode on them more than once. The trolley was not, I think, then regarded locally as likely to be a serious competitor of the cable road."

If Mr. Bennett rode once on that electric line in 1887 he has the distinction of having ridden on the first electric trolley car in the world, built by the man who was the first to use the term "trolley." Patents on file in Washington and court records are said to prove that John C. Henry of Kansas City patented the electric overhead trolley and other devices for the operation of his electric car, and that the Fifth Street line was the first practical use to which cars so operated were ever put.

If Richmond had an electric trolley line operating May, 1888, that city was just six months behind Kansas City in adopting the

innovation, and Kansas City by that time had tried the trolley and permitted the project to go into bankruptcy. The little cars were open, summer affairs, and although the citizens had patronized the road liberally in the summer of 1887, when electric transportation was such a decided novelty, they did not care enough for the sensations afforded to ride on the open cars when the winter winds began to blow.

Henry, the father of the trolley car, was a native of Canada, who immigrated to Kansas in the early '70's and became a prosperous farmer. He was a telegraph operator by training, however, and experimented in electricity, conceiving his idea of operating a car by electricity and being ready to send his application for patents to Washington when the state was swept by grasshoppers and drought and he lost his property.

He came to Kansas City in 1880, taking a position as telegraph operator and train dispatcher for the Kansas City, Fort Scott and Memphis Railroad. He succeeded in interesting Kansas City capitalists in his theory and in 1884 a company was formed, the Henry Electric Railway Company, with a capital stock of one-half million dollars. The company was incorporated and received a charter January 23, 1886, the charter stating that the objects of the concern were the control of patents made by John C. Henry and the promotion of electrical locomotion.

Some time in the summer of 1885 Henry proved himself something more than a visionary when, with an old threshing machine engine operating a generator that had been brought from Chicago and installed in a frame building in Westport, near Thirty-ninth Street, he ran an old mule car on a half mile of track on the old Westport line on South Broadway. None of the officers and directors of the company who were present cared to risk making the trip with him and he was the only person on the car when it jumped the track after attaining a speed of twelve miles an hour. Weeks were required to repair the damage done and on the next trial the car plowed into a hedge fence beside the track and threw the inventor over it. Numerous other more successful experiments followed.

C. F. Cobleigh, a foreman in the electric shops of the City Street Railways Company, whose father, an architect, drew the specifications and designs for Henry's first inventions, declared in an interview printed in *The Star* September 22, 1912, that in 1886 Kansas City was experiencing its real estate "boom" and Henry could not continue to interest capital as he had done. He succeeded, however, in organizing the Kansas City Electric Railway Company in 1887 and the double tracks on the East Fifth Street line, extending from Grand Avenue to Lydia Avenue, according to Mr. Cobleigh, were leased. Four summer cars were purchased

and the road equipped with a double trolley. For the one summer the line made money, but as patronage failed with the coming of cold weather the company failed.

In vain did the inventor prophesy that within ten years electricity would be the popular motive power for street railways. Capitalists laughed at him, but he finally went to San Diego, Calif., where his ideas were more favorably received and where he got a road in operation within a year after his arrival.

VALUABLE GIFT TO THE SOCIETY.

Through the public-spirited donation of Mr. R. M. Wallace of Alhambra, California, this Society has recently received an excellent file of the *LaGrange* (Missouri) *Democrat*, bound, covering the following years, July 1872 to June 1882, and June 1884 to June 1891. Mr. Wallace was formerly editor of the *LaGrange Democrat* and is still a loyal Missourian. This letter from Mr. Wallace, under date of May 5, 1921, will be of special interest to those who recall with pleasure the early days of the Missouri Press Association when the editors of the state were entertained with poetry and music by Missouri's beloved children's poet, 'Gene Field.

"Your very kind favor of April 1st was received. I have also to acknowledge receipt of the October, 1920, number of *The Missouri Historical Review*, for which please accept my sincere thanks. I have greatly enjoyed reading the historical sketches of Missouri's pioneers, who laid the foundation for the state's future greatness, and of later statesmen and writers, some of whom I knew quite well. How well I remember 'Gene Field as he made merry every Editorial convention through the '70s and '80s, bubbling over with good will and scintillant with wit and burlesque Bohemianism. I felt honored when chosen by him to take a place in his quartette for the rendition of such classic selections as "Mary Had a Little Lamb," "Tell Aunt Rhoda," and "Miss Lucy Long," with such adaptations and improvisations as only he was capable of producing. He was truly a wild song-bird, and some of his sonnets would not be appropriate for the Baptist Hymnal, still, one who could write "Little Boy Blue" must have a place inside the chancel rail with others of heaven's choristers.

"I am glad to know that Walter B. Stevens is still in the land of the living and that he is President of the Historical Society, a position for which he is pre-eminently fitted. He was a friend of the long-ago, when we both 'did time' in Jefferson City and later

in the National Capital. I would be glad to be remembered to him most kindly. I always regarded him as one of 'Nature's noblemen.'

"Yesterday I forwarded by express the eight volumes of the old *LaGrange Democrat.* I am sorry that the charges are so much; but I found that to send the packages by freight would cost almost as much, and as the boxes were none to strongly put together, I thought it safer to send by express. I trust they will reach you in good condition. I could not help feeling a little sad at parting with the old volumes; but I trust that you will be able to make some use of them. If I were doing the work over again I would correct many errors of speech, be more courteous to my contemporaries, and would inject far less vitriol into my strictures against my political antagonists. But what is written is written, and there's the end on it.

"When you have grown old in journalistic work and need a rest, come to California.

"With very kind regards and best wishes, I remain."

MISSOURIANS IN JAPAN.

April 22, 1921.

My dear Prof. Shoemaker:

I met Miss Evans at the railway station in Kobe and got this information. With such a romantic background, it is not strange that she found her way to Japan, attracted to pioneer work. I hope that this can find its place in your account.

Yours cordially,

S. H. WAINRIGHT.

Miss Sarah Evans was born in Belleview Valley, Iron county, Missouri, June 24, 1860. Her great grandmother, Sarah Barton, organized the first Sunday School west of the Mississippi river. When there was no preaching she rode horseback over the section and encouraged parents to send their children. Her Sunday School resembled somewhat the original institution founded by Robert Raikes. She taught the children not only the Bible, but sewing, knitting, gardening and other practical things as well.

Miss Evans was born in a log cabin where court and preaching services were held and where the Post Office was conducted. She came to Japan in 1893, under the Southern Presbyterian Mission, and worked in the Tosa Province at such places as Kochi, Sakawa and Susaki. In 1908 she had charge of the Kinjo Girls' School at Nagoya. She came back to Japan, from a short stay

in America, as an independent missionary in 1914. She has been living at Kobe.

Miss Evans' father engaged in the unique industry of preparing charcoal in the Ozarks, for use in the smelters in that region. Miss Evans is a graduate of the State Normal School at Cape Girardeau. Her early education was received at Irondale.

CALIFORNIA—MISSOURI CENTENNIAL ASSOCIATION.

The recently organized California-Missouri Centennial Association, under the presidency of Mr. Charles E. Stokes of Los Angeles, has been active in stimulating interest in Missouri history and traditions among former sons and daughters of the State who are now living on the Coast. Mr. Stokes is editor of *The Golden West*, published in Los Angeles. "The Missouri Picnic" at Long Beach, California, was held on May 14th and was a success. More than 12,000 persons attended, representing 515 Missouri towns and cities and 111 Missouri counties. The crowd came from all over southern California, from as far north as Sacramento and from San Diego in the south. Missourians registered from Arizona, California, Colorado, Mississippi, Missouri, Nevada, New Mexico, Washington and Wyoming.

The badges read, "I'm From Missouri, the Land of the Shining Mountain." County registers were arranged alphabetically on the trees around the park and the day witnessed many pleasant reunions. Good old Missouri fare was spread in abundance. Speeches and songs were features of the day.

The great Missouri Centennial Celebration of Californians will be held at Lincoln Park, Los Angeles, July 9th. At this gathering final plans will be perfected for sending a large delegation of California-Missourians to attend the Missouri State Centennial Exposition at Sedalia in August.

REQUEST FOR INFORMATION.

The following request for information is made by Mrs. Katherine Richardson Lewis, feature editor, *St. Louis Star*, St. Louis, Missouri. If members know any facts that will throw light on this request, they will be conferring a favor

to furnish such data to Mrs. Lewis. The Society is glad to reproduce requests relating to the field of Missouri history and genealogy.

"I am tracing the genealogy of my great-grandparents, Samuel Miller and his wife Polly Hatton Miller, who were pioneer settlers in Callaway county. I wonder if it would be in line with your policy to insert in your next number for me a small paragraph asking that descendants of these two and of their brothers and sisters in the state communicate with me so that we might exchange the records which they have, and which I have dug up. Samuel Miller's brothers, who also settled in Callaway or adjacent counties, were Phillip, William and Abraham. Polly Hatton's brother married Polly Butler of Kentucky and settled in Callaway. Polly Hatton was the daughter of Reuben Hatton, who married Joanna Bellew of Virginia.

"I am the third generation removed from Polly Hatton and I have no elderly relatives who can give me much information, but I know there are a number of descendants of this family in and around Columbia and Fulton who have records which would be of value to me could I obtain copies."

MISSOURI STATE SONG.

In 1911 Governor Herbert S. Hadley announced a contest for a State Song. Out of more than a thousand contestants, Mrs. Lizzie Chambers Hull of St. Louis was awarded a prize of $500 for her words, which were accepted and proclaimed by Governor Hadley as the official Missouri State Song. None of the music submitted in this contest was found suitable.

Without music the words could not be used and in 1913 the Missouri D. A. R. held a contest in which several hundred compositions were submitted. From these the composition of Mrs. Julie Stevens Bacon was chosen as most fitting for Mrs. Hull's beautiful words, and in this form the song was adopted by the Missouri D. A. R. as their official Missouri state song. This song has also been recently endorsed by the St. Louis School Board and by the Associated Musicians of St. Louis.

BOOK REVIEW.

Garraghan, Rev. Gilbert J., S. J.—Catholic Beginnings in Kansas City, Missouri. 137 pp. Loyola University Press, Chicago, 1920.

This interesting historical work by Rev. Gilbert J. Garraghan, S. J., is a valuable account of the subject treated. Source material in letters and diaries form a considerable portion of the book and secondary authorities have also been extensively consulted. The footnotes, especially in the early chapters, are of value. The subject is interesting in itself and many sidelights on economic conditions in the pioneer settlements at the mouth of the Kansas and the vicinity are pertinent. The author shows scholarship in his weighing of evidence on disputed points as well as in his willingness to collect carefully his data.

AMBASSADOR FRANCIS' BOOK.

By Walter B. Stevens.

To books by Missourians is added a narrative of experiences without parallel in diplomatic history. David R. Francis presented his resignation as ambassador to Russia on the 3rd of March, 1921. Four times he had offered it to President Wilson but without acceptance. This explains why Ambassador Francis' book, with its absorbing revelations of American diplomacy in Russia during the World War period, has been withheld from publication until now.

As told in twenty chapters, Ambassador Francis' service covered five years, most of that time in active and strenuous service, the remainder on the inactive list and without pay. The service included more than a year under the monarchy while the ambassador watched the forces of revolution preparing for the downfall of the easy-going, unsuspecting Nicholas. Then came the Provisional Government of which the United States was the first nation to give recognition under circumstances which the Ambassador's book now makes

public. Mainly through the efforts of the United States and by the activities of the American Embassy, the Provisional Government, the leaders of which aimed at a republic, was sustained, was kept in power through critical months while German money and German intrigue spurred on the Bolshevik movement. The United States had entered the war, but it was the year of preparation. Support of the Provisional Government meant the holding of a hundred German divisions along the Russian front and delaying their transfer to the French front until American troops arrived in numbers.

With the overthrow of the Provisional Government the Missourian became the dean of the diplomatic corps, moving from place to place, living on railroad trains, authorized to leave Russia whenever he thought best, deciding to stay, ignoring repeated threats of anarchists even to the point of facing mobs, issuing appeal after appeal to the Russian people to repudiate the Bolshevik usurpation, defying the demands of the German government that he be expelled from Russia.

A high official of the United States has said that the communications of Ambassador Francis on the rapid succession of thrilling events in Russia were the only diplomatic reports which he read in their entirety during the war. In his book the Ambassador has drawn liberally on this confidential official correspondence. He has made the narrative vivid by the incorporation of letters written to his family and to personal friends recording facts and impressions while fresh. He carries the reader with him through the bloody scenes of the red terror, the street battles of Petrograd, the creation of Vologda as a diplomatic capital, the thwarted attempts of the Bolsheviks to control the diplomatic corps.

When, five days before the armistice, the Ambassador was carried on board the Olympia at Archangel to go to London for a surgical operation which Russian surgeons refused to perform, he expected to return to Russia as soon as he got out of the hospital. As he lay on his bed in the cabin of the warship he developed his plan for the regeneration of Russia and prepared his recommendation to be forwarded to

Washington. The years of intimate association with Russians in various parts of the country, the close observation of Bolshevik rule which began with seductive appeal to the proletariat and evolved into the red reign of terror, had brought definite conclusions to the mind of the Ambassador. He saw that Bolshevism had not captivated the masses; that its apparent success had been due to German propaganda and to desperate tactics of a few daring fanatics bent on world wide social revolution. He satisfied himself that not ten per cent of the population of Russia accepted Bolshevik principles. The friction in Northern Russia between the Allied expeditionary forces under British leadership had given the Ambassador his conviction of the wrong way to deal with an unprecedented international situation.

"My plan, as I recommended," the Ambassador writes, "was to occupy the embassy at Petrograd. I said I would require not more than 50,000 American soldiers. I was satisfied that as soon as the English, the French and the Italians learned I was returning to Petrograd they would send their ambassadors to join me. Our soldiers would be strengthened by a detail of at least 50,000 French, 50,000 English and 20,000 Italian soldiers.

"The plan as I outlined it was that I, as dean of the diplomatic corps, would announce in Petrograd to the Russian people that we had not come for the purpose of interfering in their domestic affairs but for the protection of our embassies, and to enable the people of Russia to hold a free election with a fair count for a constituent assembly, that assembly to choose a government preferred by the majority of the Russian people."

It was a part of the Ambassador's plan that "abundant food supplies" should be taken on the return to Petrograd. The soldiers were to take no aggressive position against the Bolsheviks, to act solely on the defensive, to be in Petrograd for moral effect, to protect the Red Cross and other Allied agencies in their relief work.

Ambassador Francis attended the dinner given by King George to President Wilson just before Christmas, 1918. A

brief conversation with the King encouraged the Ambassador in pressing the plan to reoccupy the embassies at Petrograd.

"Mr. Ambassador, what do you think we ought to do about Russia?" King George asked.

"I think the Allies should overturn the Bolshevik government in that afflicted country," Ambassador Francis replied.

"The King rejoined by telling me he thought so too, but President Wilson differed from us," the Ambassador writes.

Leaving the London hospital, Ambassador Francis went to Paris by instruction of the Department of State to attend the Peace Conference.

"I stated my recommendation and plan to return to Petrograd," the Ambassador writes, "in conversations with Secretary Lansing, General Bliss, Colonel House, General Pershing and Henry White. With each one of them separately I went over the recommendation, and each one of those men said to me, 'You tell that to the President.' "

Of his presentation of the plan to President Wilson, the Ambassador writes:

"I outlined my recommendation about Russia to him. He replied that sending American soldiers to Russia after the armistice was signed would be very unpopular in America. I ventured to differ with him. I expressed the opinion that many of the 2,000,000 soldiers he had in Europe were disappointed that the armistice was signed before they could engage in battle. I said: 'You could get 50,000 volunteers out of the 2,000,000 American soldiers who would be glad to go to Russia to protect a representative of their government in that country.' The President replied that he had mentioned my recommendation to Lloyd-George and that Lloyd-George's expression was, if he should order any British soldiers to go to Russia, they would not only object but would refuse to go. The President furthermore stated that he had mentioned the same subject to Clemenceau, and he had met with the reply that if Clemenceau should order French troops to Russia they would mutiny. But the President said he would give further consideration to my recommendation.

"I also suggested that the proposed Prinkipo investigation be transferred to Petrograd and that all professed Russian governments be summoned there and that their statements be confined to replying to questions asked. President Wilson suggested permitting the Russians to settle their own differences, and when I told him that would entail great human slaughter, he replied that no one abhorred bloodshed more than he did, but if I was right he thought 'it must needs come.' "

"President Wilson," the Ambassador continues, "may have been influenced by my emaciated condition and apparent weakness, or he may have thought the League of Nations would be formed and America would join the League and that would serve the same purpose. He soon started on the tour of the country, and if he had not broken down, I have always thought the result would have been different,—America would have joined the modified League and Russia would have been saved."

Time has not changed the Ambassador's conviction that his plan to go back to Petrograd was entirely practicable and that the Russian problem might have been solved as he recommended.

"I think that if the recommendation had been carried out it would have saved Europe from Bolshevism which came near overturning the German government, and did succeed in deposing the Austrian and Hungarian government, menaced France and threatened England and was the cause of unrest in America and throughout the world."

To the American representatives at the Peace Conference, Secretary Lansing, General Bliss, Colonel House and Henry White, Ambassador Francis gave his formal opinion that "no peace treaty would be effective with Russia left out."

"If a treaty is signed with Bolsheviks dominating Russia, or disorder prevailing there, Germany will so utilize Russia's immeasureable resources and so organize Russia's man power as to convert defeat into victory in ten years or shorter time. Furthermore, Bolshevism prevailing in Russia would

extend its baneful influence to other countries and become a more potential menace than it is now, not only to organized governments but to society itself. Bolshevik doctrines destroy family relations and if they predominate they will mean return to barbarism."

The "Conclusion" of Ambassador Francis' timely book brings home to the American government and the American people the sense of a great obligation due to Russia:

"Who will gainsay that Russia was and is the chief victim of the World War? Belgium and France are recovering rapidly, as are the Balkan States; Germany and Austria were never laid waste by hostile army; nor was England. Turkey is no worse off than before the war; and all of the other belligerents were too far removed from the scene of battle to have suffered any devastation whatever, while Russia not only lost more of her sons in the war that did any other nation, notwithstanding she withdrew from the contest almost a year before it ended. But no progress has been made toward her recuperation. On the other hand, Russia was in the throes of civil war for two years after the armistice; her industries have been wrecked; her transportation lines are idle for want of motive power and equipment; her intelligentsia are in exile; her proud capital is deserted and infested with epidemics and racked by famine. And what is the cause? Bolshevism!

"Russia deserves a better fate. Twice she saved the conflict before America entered the war. Twice she defended our Government,—once when England was about to recognize the Southern Confederacy, and once when our country was in the panic of 1893, by tendering $300,000,000 in gold. True the offer was not accepted, but the good will was manifested; nor should we forget that Russia sold us Alaska for the paltry sum of $7,000,000."

PERSONALS.

Hon. James Arbuckle, Sr.: Born in Scotland————————; died at Los Angeles, California, June 1, 1921. He came to the United States in 1859, locating first at New Orleans and then in St. Louis. During the Civil War he returned to the

South and in 1895 again came to St. Louis as manager of the Latin-American Club and Foreign Trade Association. In this capacity he became widely interested in trade relations between the United States and Latin-American countries. Later he was appointed royal vice-consul for Spain and became editor of several Spanish-language trade journals. He was decorated in 1908 by the King of Spain for an essay delivered at the International Historical Congress, and later knighted for his work in bringing about better trade relations between the United States and Latin-American countries.

Hon. Charles F. Booher: Born at East Groveland, New York, January 31, 1848; died at Savannah, Missouri, January 21, 1921. He studied law with a firm at Geneseo, New York, and in 1873 began the practice of law in Rochester, Missouri. In 1875 he was appointed prosecuting attorney of Andrew county, and later served two more terms in the same office. He served a few months in Congress in 1888, to fill out the unexpired term of Col. James N. Burnes. In 1906 he was elected to the Sixtieth Congress and at the time of his death was completing his seventh consecutive term.

Prof. Payne Augustine Boulton: Born in Columbia, Missouri, August 18, 1864; died in Portland, Oregon, April 10, 1921. He was educated at the University of Missouri and pursued graduate courses in Paris, France, and Florence and Rome, Italy. He taught in various colleges and universities in the United States during his lifetime.

Gen. Harvey C. Clark: Born in Morgan county, Missouri, September 17, 1869; died at St. Louis April 11, 1921. General Clark entered the Missouri militia in 1888 as a private in Company B, at Butler, and passed through every grade to commanding officer. During the Spanish-American War he recruited and was Lieutenant-Colonel of the 6th Missouri Volunteers. At the close of the war he reorganized the Missouri State Guard, receiving the rank of Brigadier-General. During the Mexican border trouble he was designated by the War Department as commander of the Laredo, Texas, military district. During the World War he was ranking

militia officer with the depot brigade at Camp Doniphan, Oklahoma. In 1919-1920 he served as Adjutant-General of Missouri. In civil life General Clark was a lawyer and had for years been counsel for the Missouri Pacific Railroad.

John T. Doneghy: Brown at Danville, Kentucky, February 18, 1852; died at Macon, Missouri, April 8, 1921. He came to Missouri with his parents in 1855, locating at Independence. In 1874 he moved to LaPlata and in 1900 to Macon. He was prominent in the business circles of Macon county. Mr. Doneghy had been a member of the State Historical Society for —— years.

Mrs. Jessie L. Gaynor: Born at St. Louis, February 17, 1863; died at Webster Groves February 20, 1921. Mrs. Gaynor made an intensive study of music early in life in St. Louis and Boston. For many years thereafter she taught music in schools and conservatories in Chicago, St. Joseph and St. Louis, at the same time working on musical compositions. It is for her composing that she is best known. A majority of these were songs adapted for use by children, lilts and lyrics and playtime verses. She also composed several operettas for children.

Rev. David Hopkins: Born at Hampshire, England, June 15, 1830; died at Carthage, Missouri, January 12, 1921. He came with his parents to Osage county, Missouri, as a child, grew to manhood there and served as a captain in the Missouri Union forces during the Civil War. In 1870 he moved to a farm six miles northwest of Joplin and was for thirty years a leader in that community in political, industrial and religious activities. In 1874 he was elected a judge of the county court and in 1886 was elected to the Missouri General Assembly from the western district of Jasper county.

Hon. E. B. Hull: Born in Pike County, Missouri, in 1838; died at St. Louis, January 7, 1921. Before the Civil War he was quite an extensive farmer and landowner, but lost a considerable portion of his estate during the war. He served in the Confederate forces and rose to the rank of a commissioned officer. He represented Lincoln county in the State Legislative in 1877.

Rev. Edward W. Pfaffenberger: Born at Seymour, Indiana, September 11, 1855; died at Boonville, Missouri, March 27, 1921. He was educated at the College of Berea, Ohio, and located in Missouri in 1875. He served various pastorates of the German Methodist Episcopal Church during the next fifteen years. In 1891 Rev. Pfaffenberger established the Western Christian Union at Boonville and was its editor and publisher until his death.

Judge George D. Reynolds: Born at Gettysburg, Pennsylvania, December 16, 1841; died at St. Louis, Missouri, March 18, 1921. At the outbreak of the Civil War he entered the Union army and was advanced until he attained the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel. He came to St. Louis after the Civil War and in 1889 was appointed United States district attorney by President Harrison. He served in this capacity until 1894. He then practiced law in St. Louis until 1908, when he was elected judge of the St. Louis Circuit Court of Appeals. He was a graduate of the University of Illinois, with the degrees of A. B. and A. M.

Hon. A. B. Row: Born in Holmes county, Ohio, November 23, 1838; died at Gentry, Missouri, March 2, 1921. As a young man Mr. Row taught school in Gentry county. During the Civil War he served as Captain in the State Militia. In 1870 he was elected clerk of the circuit court and served in this capacity for eight years. In 1882 he was elected to the State Legislature from Gentry county.

Hon. E. H. Stiles: Born at Granby, Connecticut, in 1835; died at Pasadena, California, May 9, 1921. He came to Iowa in 1857 and began the practice of law. In that state he was a member of the state senate and later of the Supreme Court of Iowa. In 1886 he moved to Kansas City, where he became associated in the practice of law with Thomas T. Crittenden and H. C. McDougal. In 1892 he was elected to fill a vacancy in the circuit court in Kansas City, resigning in November of the same year to accept an appointment as master in chancery of the Federal Court for the Kansas City district. He had lived in California for about twelve years.

HISTORICAL ARTICLES IN MISSOURI NEWSPAPERS

OCTOBER-DECEMBER, 1919.

Andrew County. Savannah, *Democrat*

Dec. 26. Sketch of the life of John Lewis Merritt, Confederate veteran.

Atchison County. Rockport, *Atchison County Journal*

Oct. 23. Memories of the past. First of a series of reminiscences by John D. Dopf, founder of the *Atchison County Journal*. Continued in issue of October 30th.

Sketch of the life of Wm. T. Buckham, former county official and pioneer citizen.

Dec. 4. Sketch of the life of Frederick Marlatt, Union veteran. See also *Atchison County Mail* for December 12th.

———— Tarkio, *Avalanche*

Dec. 19. County tax list in early day. Items from the first tax list of Allen County (now Atchison County) of 1844.

Audrain County. Mexico, *Weekly Intelligencer*

Oct. 30. Sketch of the life of E. R. Myers, former editor of the *Intelligencer*.

———— ————, *Weekly Ledger*

Oct. 2. Early school days; Recollections of early days in Mexico, by W. H. Garrett.

Nov. 6. Sketch of the life of Dr. W. W. Macfarlane, Confederate veteran.

Barton County. Lamar, *Republican-Sentinel*

Dec. 18. Sketch of the life of Frederick L. Boss, Union veteran.

———— Liberal, *News*

Oct. 3. Reminiscenses of Mrs. Jennie Giver Cartmel. Continued in issues of October 10th, 24th, 31st and November 7th.

Boone County. Columbia, *Evening Missourian*

Oct. 15. Answered the call in 1893. Statistics concerning amount bid for the location of the State University. Reprinted in the Columbia *Herald-Statesmon* October 16th.

Oct. 10. Old-time toll gate. Sketch of Ashland gravel road.

Nov. 11. These old stills once made brandies. Some facts about Boone County distilleries. Reprinted in Columbia *Herald-Statesman* November 10th.

Nov. 18. University of Missouri held chapel and made wine then. Reminiscenses of University in 1868-69, by Dr. Woodson Moss.

Dec. 1. Old Missouri University president writes book at 95. Notes concerning life of Dr. S. S. Laws.

Dec. 8. M. U. journal of 48 years ago is found. Review of volume 1, number 1, of the *University Missourian* for June 1871.

Dec. 10. Columbia's last big bear hunt in 1866. Reprinted in Columbia *Herald-Statesman* for December 11th.

Dec. 18. One date in six weeks was limit then. Reminiscenses of Christian College in 1879, by Mrs. Sallie C. Robinson.

Buchanan County. St. Joseph, *Observer*

Oct. 4. When "Honey War" raged in Marion (county). Story of a bloodless war of 1839.

Oct. 11. A native Missourian. Short sketch of Rear Admiral Coontz.

Nov. 1. Colonel Guenman well remembered it. Story of a train robbery at Glendale by James Boys in 1879. Reprinted from Kansas City *Times*.

Nov. 8. The famous battle of Franklin, Tennessee. Part Cochrell and his men played in Civil War battle. Reprinted from Lexington *News*.

Dec. 6. Back in '57. Unique letter which a Callaway County postmaster sent to President Buchanan. Reprinted from Hopkins *Journal*.

Dec. 27. A pioneer of Holt County. Sketch of John Troxel Rhoades of Fortescue, with considerable description of pioneer life. Reprinted from Oregon, *Holt County Sentinel*.

It was a slaughter of the leaders. Facts concerning famous Civil War battle at Franklin, Tennessee.

Caldwell County. Hamilton, *Advocate-Hamiltonian*

Oct. 23. The change wrought in 56 years. Some pictures of Kingston neighborhood in 1863, by W. A. Hill.

Callaway County. Fulton, *Gazette*

Oct. 23. An early-day description. Description of Callaway County taken from Wetmore's Gazetter of the State of Missouri, published in 1837.

———— ————, *Missouri Telegraph*

Dec. 11. Writes book though sight is impaired. Some notes concerning Dr. S. S. Laws and his new book, The At-onement of Christianity.

Cape Girardeau County. Jackson, *Missouri Cash-Book*

Oct. 2. Old Bethel Reports. Continued in issues of October 30th and November 13th.

Nov. 13. Sketch of the life of Mr. and Mrs. John W. Knox, pioneers, on their 60th wedding anniversary.

Cass County. Pleasant Hill, *Times*

Oct. 3. More Cass County history. History of circumstances leading to the changing of name of Van Buren County to Cass County. Reprinted from Kansas City *Star*.

Chariton County. Salisbury, *Press-Spectator*

Oct. 3. Centralia massacre was 55 years ago. An account by an eyewitness. Reprinted from Kansas City *Star*.

Nov. 21. Miami and the buried treasure. A story of pioneer Missouri. Reprinted from Kansas City *Star*.

Dec. 19. Sketch of the life of George T. Johnson, former county official.

Clark County. Kahoka, *Gazette-Herald*

Oct. 3. Chapters of Clark County history. Random accounts of early days in Clark County, by Jasper Blines. Continued in preceding and succeeding issues.

Nov. 28. McCoy writes of early doctors. Sketches of Doctors Chapman and Briggs, pioneer physicians of Clark County. Others mentioned in issues of December 5th, 12th and 19th.

Clay County. Liberty, *Advance*
Oct. 3. Sketch of the life of W. E. Fowler, former county official and pioneer citizen.

———— ————, *Tribune*
Nov. 7. River days recalled. Some historical notes on Missouri River navigation. Reprinted from Kansas City *Post*.

Cole County. Jefferson City, *Cole County Weekly Rustler*.
Oct. 3. Sketch of the life of Judge Henry W. Bond, Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Missouri.

Cooper County. Boonville, *Weekly Advertiser*
Oct. 17. 65 years ago. Some business and financial statistics of 1854.

———— Bunceton, *Weekly Eagle*.
Oct. 3. Sketch of the life of T. A. Harris, former county official.

Daviess County. Gallatin, *Democrat*.
Dec. 25. Sketch of the life of Wesley L. Robertson, editor of the *Democrat*.

———— ————, *North Missourian*.
Oct. 23. Sketch of the life of Wm. C. Gillihan, Union veteran and former county official.

Dent County. Salem, *Post*
Oct. 30. Sketch of the life of Rev. E. H. Foster, member of Missouri General Assembly.

Dunklin County. Kennett, *Dunklin County News*.
Dec. 12. Sketch of the life of H. A. Gardner, pioneer.

Greene County. Springfield, *Leader*
Dec. 1. Bill Carlisle case recalls old robbery on Frisco. Account of exploits of Jim Cummings in the '80's.

———— ————, *Republican*
Oct. 2. 50 years of successful merchandising celebrated by greater Hess Company. With incidental description of business world in early Springfield.

Holt County. Mound City, *News-Jeffersonian*
Oct. 31. Sketch of the life of John Troxel Rhoades, pioneer and Union veteran.

Howard County. Fayette, *Advertiser*
Nov. 27. Some ancient history. Random clippings from old newspaper.

Howell County. West Plains, *Howell County Gazette*
Oct. 2. Sketch of the life of Norris B. Wilkinson, Spanish-American War veteran.

———— ————, *Journal*
Oct. 30. *The Type of the Times*, West Plains' first paper. A review of the issue of October 2, 1869.

Iron County. Ironton, *Iron County Register*
Oct. 9. First settlement in Ozarks. Account of settlement in 1814. Reprinted from West Plains, *Howell County Gazette*.

Jackson County. Independence, *Jackson Examiner*

Nov. 21. Sold goods 50 years. C. S. McMillen tells of merchandising in Jackson County in days gone by.

———— Kansas City, *Post*

Oct. 5. Thrilling experience of Hugh Glass in frontier days.

Oct. 6. Sketch of the life of Arthur W. Brewster, former State senator.

Nov. 2. Missouri River days recalled. Early steamboat navigation on Missouri River, as recalled by Capt. James Kennedy, pioneer river navigator.

Nov. 9. Case in Macon Court recalls co-operative colony at Old Bethel. Account of Shelby County experiment in 1840-45.

Dec. 7. Passing of old 1808 brings out flood of reminiscences. Stories of early days of St. Louis *Republic*.

———— ————, *Star*

Oct. 1. Pioneer days real sport. Reminiscences of Joseph Ward of Macon County. Reprinted from St. Louis *Republic*.

Oct. 5. A Missouri town that abounds in weird mysteries. A sketch of St. Aubert.

Oct. 7. Old Turner Hall to go. Some facts about old "convention hall.

Oct. 12. A Missourian heads Uncle Sam's navy. Short sketch of Rear Admiral R. E. Coontz.

Nov. 7. Conquest of Big Muddy 100 years ago. Account of the voyage of the Independence and the Western Engineer up the Missouri River in 1819.

Nov. 9. Miami and the buried treasure. Story of buried treasure in Saline County as handed down from early days of 19th century.

Nov. 17. New York City meets the ethereal Patience Worth. Sketch of Mrs. John Curran and her ouija board writings.

Nov. 30. Fame and fortune fighting fire. An account of George C. Hale and his famous fire fighters.

Dec. 3. The thrifty pioneers of the west bottom. A picture of life in Kansas City's west bottom forty years ago, by Rev. Father Wm. J. Dalton.

Dec. 25. A bank after 86 years. Sketch of Springhill, Livingston County.

Dec. 30. Missouri's oldest newspaper started out in a log cabin. Sketch of Paris *Mercury*.

———— ————, *Times*

Oct. 18. Was hangout of notables. Sketch of historic saloon of Kansas City.

Dec. 1. Sketch of John N. Taylor, pioneer merchant of Kansas City.

Dec. 2. Stories of John Taylor, with description of Kansas City's business district 40 years ago.

Jasper County. Carthage, *Press*.

Oct. 2. An interesting document. Some facts concerning original patent to part of site of Carthage.

———— ————, *Jasper County Democrat*

Nov. 11. Sketch of the life of Ferdinand Ozment, Confederate veteran. See also Carthage *Press* for November 13th.

Nov. 28. Sketch of the life of David Miller, Union veteran.

———————— Joplin, *News-Herald*
Oct. 19. Carl Junction is old in years, young in spirit. A few historical notes concerning that town.

Knox County. Edina, *Sentinel*
Oct. 30. Sketch of the life of A. W. Lewis, Confederate veteran.

Lafayette County. Lexington, *News*
Nov. 6. Industrial and historical edition. Contains:
First marriage license in Lafayette County;
First school in Lafayette County:
Soldiers of 1812;
First courthouse;
Under the hill, a description of Lexington in river days;
Sketch of Gilead Rupe, first white settler in county;
Historical sketch of Central College for Women, Confederate home, Masonic College;
Battle of Lexington;
Sketch of Stephen G. Wentworth, founder of Wentworth Military Academy;
Historical sketches of various pioneer citizens, churches and business institutions.
Dec. 4. On the old Santa Fe trail. An interesting incident of 1832.

———————— Odessa, *Democrat*
Nov. 28. To Oregon in an ox wagon. Some notes on a trip from Missouri to Oregon made by Mrs. Lottie Walker in 1853.

Lawrence County. Aurora, *Advertiser*
Nov. 6. About Aurora's past. A review of the first issue of the Aurora *Times*, July 14, 1886.
Dec. 18. In the old wild west. Items from the diary of William Heagerty in 1863.

Lewis County. LaGrange, *Indicotor*
Oct. 30. Sketch of the life of Thomas Pryce, Union veteran and former county official.
Dec. 4. 30 years ago in Lagrange. Review of *Lewis County Herald* for February 6, 1890.

Lincoln County. Elsberry, *Democrat*
Oct. 3. County's history recalled. Pioneer days of Lincoln and Pike counties. Reprinted from St. Louis *Post-Dispatch*.
Oct. 10. Clark tells of his first race. Champ Clark reviews election contest between himself and Col. "Dick" Norton in 1892.

Mercer County. Princeton, *Telegraph*
Dec. 17. Sketch of the life of James T. Alley, former county official.

Miller County. Eldon, *Advertiser*
Dec. 11. Early happenings in Miller County. An incident of the Civil War in Miller County. Reprinted in the Iberia *Sentinel* for December 19th.

Moniteau County. Tipton, *Times*
Dec. 19. Sketch of the life of G. W. McPherson, Union veteran.

Monroe County. Monroe City, *Semi-Weekly News*
Oct. 7. Sketch of the life of John M. Ryan, Confederate veteran.
Sketch of the life of Madison Payne, Confederate veteran.

———— Paris, *Mercury*
Nov. 28. Stories of old Paris—The Old Bugler.

———— ————, *Monroe County Appeal*
Oct. 24. Monroe County soldiers. Service record of all Monroe County men who served in European war.

Montgomery County. Montgomery City, *Montgomery Standard*
Dec. 5. A glimpse of the real Daniel Boone. Reprinted from St. Louis *Republic.*

Osage County. Linn, *Osage County Republican*
Dec. 11. Bonnots Mill. History of Osage County town. Reprinted from Official Directory of Osage County.
Dec. 18. Westphalia; history of. Reprinted from Osage County Business and Industrial Directory.

Pike County. Bowling Green, *Times*
Oct. 2. History column. A sermon taken from St. Louis *Republic* of October 4, 1809.
Oct. 9. How Missourians came to be called pukes.
Oct. 30. A bloody Civil War day. Recollections of the Centralia massacre of September 27, 1864. Reprinted from the Kansas City *Star.*
Nov. 6. Daniel Boone; why he left Kentucky and came to Missouri. Continued in issue of November 13th under heading, "The Trail Breakers."
Dec. 11. Two revivals in Bowling Green (1869-1919).

Randolph County. Moberly, *Weekly Monitor*
Oct. 2. Anniversary of birth of Moberly. Incident of first sale of lots in 1866.

Ray County. Richmond, *Missourian*
Oct. 2. Sketch of the life of Wm. E. Fowler, pioneer and former county official of Clay County.

St. Charles County. St. Charles, *Cosmos-Monitor*
Oct. 1. Masonic lodge 100 years old. Short historical sketch of Masonic lodge in St. Charles.
Dec. 10. Oldest paper passes away. Some historical notes on St. Louis *Republic.*

St. Louis County. Carondelet, *News*
Nov. 14. Golden jubilee celebration of Evangelical Church. A short history of the Carondelet denomination.
Comment and chroniclings of the Carondelet of years ago. Random notes on Carondelet's early history. See succeeding issues.

St. Louis City. *Globe-Democrat*
Oct. 3. Sketch of the life of Rev. J. W. Lee, prominent Methodist minister.
Oct. 19. Sketch of the life of Frederick N. Judson, noted lawyer. See also *Post-Dispatch* for October 18th.
Dec. 4. Newspaper 111 years old ends its existence. Historical notes on St. Louis *Republic.* Also a historical sketch by Walter B. Stevens, written in 1908. See also *Star* and *Post-Dispatch* for December 4th.
Dec. 13. Sketch of the life of Emil Boehl, noted photographer.

———— *Post-Dispatch*

Nov. 14. Sketch of the life of Everett W. Pattison, prominent St. Louis attorney.

Nov. 30. Church 50 years old. Some historical notes concerning St. James Evangelical Church.

Dec. 7. Stories of the *Republic* and its achievements in the "Good old days."

Dec. 14. St. Louisan's invention which measures the millionth part of an inch. Major W. E. Hoke.

Dec. 18. Miss Fannie Hurst tells stories at luncheon. Side lights on famous writer.

Dec. 21. Preserving for posterity Missouri's 200 battle flags carried in the Civil War. Short sketch of flags to be permanently displayed at Jefferson City.

———— *Republic*

Oct. 26. Centennial celebration of Christ Church Cathedral. With short history of church. See also *Globe-Democrat* for October 26th.

Dramatic reminiscences of early days of St. Louis bench and bar, by Hon. Shepard Barclay.

Oct. 27. Sketch of the life of John M. Sheppard, Confederate veteran.

———— *Star*

Dec. 2. Sketch of J. W. Alexander of Gallatin, Missouri, newly appointed Secretary of Commerce.

Dec. 3. Reported that *Globe-Democrat* may buy *Republic*. With short historical sketch of *Republic*.

Saline County. Marshall, *Democrat-News*

Nov. 27. A war day at Miami, by W. H. Sidenstricker. Incident of Civil War.

———— Slater, *Rustler*

Dec. 5. Oldest paper in west ends its existence. Historical notes on St. Louis *Republic*.

Scotland County. Memphis, *Reveille*

Oct. 2. Interesting incident in Scotland County's pioneer days of 1855. A strange death and a coroner's court held in July, 1855.

Scott County. Sikeston, *Standard*

Dec. 9. The haunted house of Cape Girardeau. A Civil War tradition.

Dec. 12. A glimpse of the real Daniel Boone.

Shelby County. Shelbina, *Democrat*

Nov. 2. Reminiscences of General Crowder. A few facts regarding his early life in Missouri.

Wayne County. Piedmont, *Banner*

Dec. 11. 75 years ago settler tells of early school (in Wayne County).

Worth County. Grant City, *Worth County Tribune*

Dec. 10. Sketch of the life of James P. Asher, pioneer.

2772